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Anastasius of Sinai

HEXAEMERON

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and

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with a Foreword by

Joseph A. Munitiz, S.J.



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this book is dedicated to

The Society of Jesus

for their support, guidance, encouragement, and prayers

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FOREWORD

At present all that we know about Anastasius of Sinai has to be deduced from his own writings. External sources are unreliable or silent. Yet it is enough to read his works to conclude that he must have been what in modern parlance we call a "character". There is an attractive idiosyncrasy to his writing that explains his charm: he is ready to think for himself and to put forward his personal views—even if partly to show what a clever debater he was (as in the *Hodegos*). In his *Erotapokriseis* he comes across as a kindly spiritual father, devout and well-meaning, but with no great theological pretensions. Clearly he had a fund of good stories (many of them collected in his *Narrationes*), and he could be loquacious (as his *Sermones* demonstrate).

Hence the possibility that he was the author of the twelve sermons (λόγοι) on Genesis, the *Hexaemeron*, must come as no surprise. Even so, the survival of this work is an astonishing story. After some eight centuries of (complete?) obscurity—roughly between the years 700 and 1500—it suddenly reappears on the stage of history just as the Church of Rome is preparing to celebrate the Council of Trent. Yet little wonder that this long disquisition on the Church as the Eve created to accompany Christ, the new Adam, should have been seen by enterprising Greek copyists in Venice as likely to attract interest among the bishops gathering in Northern Italy to protect the Church against the swirling currents of the Reformation.

And little wonder also that a seriously censored version should have then become current. The vast majority of the manuscripts containing the work omit the last book, and even those that preserve it have had the final lines omitted, as if some (not very bright) copyist had been instructed to leave out the "ending", but thought that only the final few lines were meant. The reason is all too obvious, as the first modern editor of Book XII, Pierre Allix (who published his work in London in 1682) partly suspected: he accused the Roman papacy of intervening. And in fact the eucharistic teaching in this book is so idiosyncratic that even the Constantinopolitan patriarchate must have raised an eyebrow:

The worthy enjoy the bread that comes down forever from heaven. That is: they enjoy the inhabitation and illumination of the Holy Spirit of Christ's divinity, as they reflect upon divine and heavenly things. But the earthly and they who are absorbed by earthly matters participate boldly—and unworthily—*only in the earth-born flesh of Christ* (τῆς γηγενοῦς καὶ μόνης σαρκὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεταλαμβάνουσι). (*Hex.* XII.316-320; cf. VIII.501-504)

When such teaching is taken into consideration, the long silence over this extraordinary work becomes more understandable. In the case of the *Erotapokriseis*, there is clear proof that the need was felt to play down the personal and the idiosyncratic aspects, and hence attempts were made to save his "Questions and Answers" by touching up the text and adding florilegia of justifying extracts from established patristic authors. It is quite likely that the *Hexaemeron* was considered with some suspicion, and survived in very few copies.

Once arrived in print, however, the *Hexaemeron* continued to puzzle its readers. Then it caught the attention of a remarkable Spanish scholar, Antonio Orbe, famous for his work on early heretical writings and in particular for his mastery of the Gnostic writings of the first centuries, though his publications, nearly all in Spanish, failed to win the wider public they deserved. It was he who, in the 1960s, suggested to John Baggarly, then looking for a thesis subject, an investigation of this text. It proved to be a major task as most of the Greek text had never been published and great uncertainty existed about its authenticity. Fortunately, parallel studies on other works of Anastasius were under way at the time, particularly the monumental work of Karl-Heinz Uthemann on the *Hodegos* and other pieces, and the studies launched by Marcel Richard. The long years that have been needed to bring this text to its present state have not been wasted, and John Baggarly has been fortunate in finding a close collaborator in Clement Kuehn.

It may seem ironic that Anastasius should have benefited from so much scholarly work contributed by members of the Society of Jesus: Jacobus Gretser, back in the early 17th century, was the first in a long line. Partly fortuitous, no doubt, but the interest of these various editors is also due in part to the character of Anastasius: pastoral; spiritual; at heart very traditional; aware that he had something personal to give, something that would be of help to the Church of the Christ he loved; and willing to accept correction. With the publication of the *Hexaemeron*, a very important piece (even if not quite the final one) in the mosaic that portrays the true features of Anastasius is carefully fitted into place.

Joseph A. Munitiz, S.J.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This is a first step toward a comprehensive edition of the *Hexaemeron* ascribed to Anastasius of Sinai. It was deemed necessary in order to make a reliable edition available to scholars involved in the rapidly developing field of Anastasian studies, to whom Books I-XI have been available in only a Latin translation. It will also make the *Hexaemeron* more accessible to new students of this important Church theologian, mystic, and eyewitness of the expansion of Islam during the seventh century.

Although limited in scope, this edition has taken many years and the efforts of many people. Some of those involved were already mentioned in acknowledgments in the dissertation extract published by John Baggarly, *The Conjugates Christ-Church in the Hexaemeron of Ps.-Anastasius of Sinai* (Rome, 1974). The editors would like again to express their gratitude to them and add a few more thanks to those who have been especially generous with their help during the past few years.

First and foremost we are indebted to Joseph Munitiz, S.J. His corrections, suggestions, and comments on an earlier draft were extensive and thoughtful. His erudite knowledge of Byzantine studies in general and Anastasius in particular helped us avoid many blunders and improved the quality of both the Greek and English texts. He also kindly agreed to write the Foreword to this book.

Robert Taft, S.J., and Edward Farrugia, S.J., were exceptionally supportive and patient in accepting and preparing this edition for publication in the *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* series. Jaroslaw Dziewicki made sure that it had a polished look, and Mike McCabe helped with the technology.

We would also like to thank Barbara Riley of Hopkins School and Sir Michael Scholar of St. John's College, Oxford University, for providing Clement Kuehn with a summer study period in order to examine the texts of the *Hexaemeron* at the Bodleian Library. Juliet Chester made sure that all the college's resources were readily available. We thank J. G. Pusey for facilitating the research at the Bodleian, and Nigel Wilson (Lincoln College, Oxford) and Robert Weaver (Dulwich College) for their help with sixteenth century watermarks and bookbinding.

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We would also like to give special thanks to Elisabeth Angele and our parents Heinz and Regina Kuehn and Otis and Helen Baggarly for their untiring faith, and finally the theologians Antonio Orbe, S.J., and Karl Rahner, S.J., who started us on this path.

Clement Kuehn
John Baggarly, S.J.
31 July 2007
feast of St. Ignatius of Loyola

INTRODUCTION

I. AUTHOR AND DATE

The *Hexaameron*, traditionally ascribed to Anastasius of Sinai, may be one of the most important works of Christian mysticism from the Byzantine era; it is certainly one of the most controversial. Three factors make it especially significant. 1) It is one of the longest and most detailed surviving examples of Christian mystical exegesis as practiced in the Byzantine period. In its deeply spiritual vision, it serves as a counterpoint to the more literal interpretation of Genesis found in Basil's popular *Hexaameron*. Although the date of composition is still in question, it reflects a seventh-century vision. 2) The *Hexaameron* is an extensive and unified exposition of the theology of an important Church writer. If Anastasius of Sinai did not compose it, the author made every effort to be in harmony with several Anastasian sermons on the creation of man, the *Viae Dux*, and other related works. 3) The *Hexaameron* is not only steeped in biblical literature, but also contains a large reservoir of quotes and paraphrases of the early Church Fathers on the first three chapters of Genesis.

A large number of works have been traditionally ascribed to Anastasius of Sinai, yet not all are authentic and some are the works of other Anastasii.¹ Already in 1897, Ehrhard pointed out the need for an investigation of the manuscript tradition of the different Anastasian works in order to determine the literary parentage of each.² In 1959, Hans-Georg Beck went a step further by remarking that an exact *diatriba de Anastasiis* would be necessary before delineating the course of the life of Anastasius of Sinai and determining which works belong to him.³ In his doctoral dissertation *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναϊτῶν*, published in Thessalonica in 1964, Stergios Sakkos approached the two lines of investigation suggested by Ehrhard and Beck, listing and discussing some 112 works ascribed to diverse Anastasii of Sinai.⁴ We do not intend to enter here into the extensive study required to determine the relationship of the *Hexaameron* to the other Anastasian works. Instead, we will confine ourselves almost exclusively to creating a reasonably reliable edition of the original Greek text of the *Hexaameron*. Before doing so, however, it might be worthwhile to sketch out briefly the large lines along which research on Anastasius of Sinai has moved since the sixteenth century to the present time.⁵

¹ J.-P. Migne collected most of the works attributed to Anastasius of Sinai in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca Prior* (PG 89) (Paris, 1865; reprinted from the 1860 edition), columns 35-1288, 1389-1397. See also PG 44 columns 1328-1345; and PG 55 columns 543-55. Migne printed a Latin translation of the *Hexaameron* at columns 851-1077A. For a more detailed list of the works, see Mauritius Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, Volume 3 (Turnhout, 1979; second edition, 2003), numbers 7745-7781.

² Karl Krumbacher, A. Ehrhard, and H. Gelzer, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* (Munich, 1897; reprinted New York, 1958), 60.

³ In *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 442.

⁴ Sakkos, *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναϊτῶν*, 40-43.

⁵ Much of the following was discussed in the unpublished first chapter of the doctoral dissertation by John Baggarly, *The Conjugates Christ-Church in the Hexaameron of Ps.*

First, to speak in broad terms, we may say that three Anastasii have figured most prominently in the discussions of the *Hexaemeron* that have taken place over the past four centuries. The first is Anastasius I, Patriarch of Antioch from 559 to 570 and again from 593 to 598. The second is Anastasius II, Patriarch of Antioch from 599 to 609. The third is Anastasius of Sinai, priest and monk of the monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai—but never Patriarch of Antioch—who apparently was still active shortly after 700. At present, no scholar seriously questions the historical existence of these three Anastasii. Scholarly opinions, however, on the relationship of these three persons to the largest Anastasian works, the *Viae Dux* (*Hodegos*), the *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, and the *Hexaemeron*, have fluctuated widely.

A. Anastasius Research from Gretser to Sakkos

The divergent opinions of scholars on the authorship of these three major Anastasian works quite naturally entered into Sakkos's review of the progress of research on the Anastasii of Sinai from the sixteenth century until the time he wrote his dissertation (1964). Sakkos classed the different positions under four views. Those who embraced the first view held that only Anastasius I, Patriarch of Antioch, was a noteworthy author, and that he was responsible for the major Anastasian works. Jakob Gretser (1562-1625) was a representative of this group.⁶ For the principal proponent of the second view, Sakkos proposed Remy Oudin (1638-1717), who postulated the existence of four Anastasii, all of whom were Sinaites and Patriarchs of Antioch. Anastasius III lived around 685; Anastasius IV died no later than the start of the eleventh century, and wrote the *Viae Dux*, the *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, the *Hexaemeron*, and other works.⁷ Konstantinos Oikonomos (1780-1857) stood as the sole representative of the third view. This author, although he did not investigate other Anastasii nor the authenticity of the Anastasian works, ascribed the *Viae Dux*, the *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, and the *Hexaemeron* to Anastasius II, Patriarch of Antioch from 599 to 609.⁸ The fourth view could be found in the *Bibliotheca Graeca* composed by Johann Albert Fabricius (1668-1736), which was later amplified and republished by Gottlieb Christoph Harles (1738-1815). Fabricius and Harles distinguished the Patriarchs of Antioch, Anastasius I and II, from Anastasius of Sinai, who was the

author of the *Viae Dux*, the *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, and the *Hexaemeron*. In a passage in *Viae Dux* X, the author identifies himself as: "I, Anastasius, a monk of the holy Mount Sinai" (Ἐγὼ Ἀναστάσιος μοναχὸς τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους Σινᾶ, PG 89, 188A13-14 = CCSG 8, pg. 191).⁹ Furthermore, since *Viae Dux* X mentions¹⁰ the activities of a certain Severian prefect of Egypt that took place after the time of Eulogius, "Papa" of Alexandria, who died in 608, the *Viae Dux* must have been written after that date.¹¹ More specifically, Fabricius and Harles said that Anastasius of Sinai wrote a scholion in *Viae Dux* XV¹² between 677 and 686, during the time when a certain John was bishop of the Theodosians at Alexandria. With respect to the authenticity of the three major Anastasian works, Fabricius and Harles were willing to admit certain interpolations in the *Viae Dux*. And they recognized that certain citations in the *Quaestiones et Responsiones* rendered it impossible that the work in its totality, as Gretser had printed it, came from any Anastasius of Sinai of the sixth or seventh century.¹³ Finally, Fabricius and Harles seem to have assigned the *Hexaemeron* to Anastasius of Sinai chiefly because Michael Glycas attributed it to him.¹⁴

The view of Fabricius and Harles in its substantial lines dominated the field until the time Sakkos wrote his dissertation.¹⁵ This view found acceptance in Joannes Kumpfmüller's dissertation, *De Anastasio Sinaita*, which appeared in 1865 and which covered the whole range of Anastasian works.¹⁶ In this precocious study of the content, style, and theology of the chief works attributed to Anastasius of Sinai, Kumpfmüller concluded that the *Hexaemeron* was written by the same author as the *Viae Dux*, *Sermo* III (*de creatione hominis*), and many but not all of the *Quaestiones*, and could be dated to the seventh century.¹⁷

A nuance was introduced in an important contribution made in 1868 by Jean-Baptiste Pitra (1812-1889). In his *Iuris ecclesiastici Graecorum historia et monumenta*, he discussed thirteen different Anastasii, and attributed the *Viae Dux*, the *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, and the *Hexaemeron* to the sixth of them.¹⁸ This sixth Anastasius was a monk and abbot of Sinai, and was writing after 667, the year when the

Anastasius of Sinai (Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana: Rome, 1973). For the published extract, appearing under the same title, see the full citation below.

⁶ Sakkos, *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν*, 23-25; PG 89, 29-34. Philippe Labbe (1607-1667) also accepted Gretser's view of their authorship. See *Philippi Labbe, Biturici, Societatis Iesu Theologi, De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*. Volume 1 (Paris, 1660), 68-75.

⁷ Cf. Sakkos, *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν*, 25. Oudin's position on the Anastasii may be found in *Casimiri Oudini Commentarius de scriptoribus Ecclesiae antiquis*. Volume 1 (Frankfurt am Main, 1722) columns 1479-92; and Volume 2 (Leipzig, 1722), columns 544-83. On the date of the fourth Anastasius, Oudin wrote (Volume 2, column 552): "Denique conicimus Anastasium hunc nostrum haud fuisse supergressum Seculi XI. initium." On the *Hexaemeron*, cf. Volume 2, columns 568-9.

⁸ *Περὶ τῶν Ὁ' Ἐρημηνοῦτων Τῆς Παλαιᾶς Θείας Γραφῆς, Βιβλία Δ'* (Athens, 1844-9), 706-7, 721-3.

⁹ Sakkos, *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν*, 105.

¹⁰ PG 89, 11-12 and 184D44-52.

¹¹ Fabricius treated Anastasius of Sinai in his *Bibliothecae Graecae Volumen Nonum* (Hamburg, 1737), Liber V, pars V, cap. XXXV, pages 312-43. Harles put this chapter in his *Bibliotheca Graeca ... Editio Nova* (Hamburg, 1807), Liber V, cap. XXXII, pages 571-631. On the date when Anastasius of Sinai wrote, see Fabricius, 312-3 (cf. Harles, 571-2 = PG 89, 9-12). Fabricius-Harles' discussion of the *Viae Dux*, the *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, and the *Hexaemeron*, can be found at PG 89, 11-22 and 1857-64.

¹² PG 89, 257B19-26.

¹³ See the citation from Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople from 806 to 815, in *Quaestio* II (PG 89, 352A5-B21).

¹⁴ See PG 89, 19-20 (lines 39-40).

¹⁵ Sakkos, *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν*, 28-38, discusses the literature that appeared in the interval between Harles' publication and 1964.

¹⁶ Joannes B. Kumpfmüller, *De Anastasio Sinaita* (Würzburg, 1865).

¹⁷ See especially pages 104-136. Since Kumpfmüller did not have access to a Greek text, he relied on the Latin translation of the *Hexaemeron* found in Migne 89.

¹⁸ "XI. Anastasiana", found in Volume 2, Pars III, cap. I, art. II, pages 238-94.

Saracens captured Cyprus.¹⁹

To our knowledge, only one purely theological study on Anastasius of Sinai has appeared. In 1922 and 1923, Teofil Spáčil (1875-1950) published the article "La teologia di S. Anastasio Sinaita".²⁰ With certain reservations, Spáčil accepted the position of Fabricius and Harles, and he concluded that St. Anastasius of Sinai was teaching a truly Catholic theology.

In the twentieth century, the date of composition of the *Viae Dux* received further attention. In a posthumous publication of 1923, Jean Maspéro (1885-1915) proposed 622 as the approximate date for the composition of the *Viae Dux*.²¹ Adolf Jülicher (1857-1938) in an article, "Zur Geschichte der Monophysitenkirche",²² disagreed with Maspéro's finding and in effect stated that 687 was the *terminus ante quem non* for the composition of the *Viae Dux*. Marcel Richard (1907-1976) differed with both Maspéro and Jülicher in an article, "Anastase le Sinaïte, l'Hodégos et le monothélisme".²³ Richard proposed that the first redaction of the *Viae Dux* was made not too long after 641, and that the work underwent some revision after the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680-681). The discussion in Maspéro, Jülicher, and Richard turned on the identity of the bishop John mentioned in *Viae Dux* XV (PG 89, 257B19 = CCSG 8, pg. 264) and the date of his Easter letters. The *Quaestiones et Responsiones* were also put under investigation by Richard. He wrote a notice on them that appeared in 1962 in volume five of the *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*.²⁴ His work with the manuscript tradition showed that the form in which the *Quaestiones et Responsiones* occurred most frequently is one of eighty-eight questions. Richard saw no reason not to ascribe the responses QQ. I-XXII (in Gretser's edition and in the collection of eighty-eight questions) to Anastasius of Sinai. The historical and geographical indications found in the responses clearly pointed to Egypt as it was in the seventh century. Richard also said that Anastasius of Sinai could not have compiled the *florilegia* that followed the responses, not only in QQ. I-XXII, but also in the other *Quaestiones*.

¹⁹ See especially pages 241-2. Cf. Hans-Georg Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), especially 444.

²⁰ In *Bessarione* 26 (1922): 157-78; and 27 (1923): 15-44. With respect to strictly theological aspects of Anastasian studies, Antonio Orbe in more recent years incorporated elements from the *Hexaemeron* in his publications. See especially: "Ipse tuum calcabit caput (San Ireneo y Gen 3,15)," *Gregorianum* 52 (1971): 95, 129-33; "El día de la creación del hombre entre los teólogos del s. II," *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 42 (1967): 298, 304 note 31, 307, 310-312, 327 note 110; and "El pecado de Eva, signo de división," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 29 (1963): 313-314.

²¹ *Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie depuis la mort de l'empereur Anastase jusqu'à la réconciliation des Églises Jacobites* (518-616) (Paris, 1923), 327, 336-42. Jean Maspéro, who died in battle during W. W. I, is best known for his seminal works on the sixth century papyrus of Dioscorus of Aphrodit. For a bibliography composed by his father in 1915, see G. Maspéro, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Papyrus Grecs d'Époque Byzantine*. Volume 3 (1916; reprinted Milan, 1973), xxiv-xxxvi.

²² In *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 24 (1925): 17-43.

²³ In *Revue des Études Byzantines* 16 (1958): 29-42.

²⁴ See "III. Florilèges grecs," in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, Volume 5, Fasc. 33-34, especially columns 500-502.

With the publication of *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν* by Sakkos in 1964, one might say that a fifth view emerged. In addition to the two Patriarchs of Antioch, he proposed the existence of four clearly distinguishable Anastasii that were monks of Sinai and whose lifetimes fell in the period covering the seventh to the ninth centuries.²⁵ Furthermore, he asserted that a seventh Anastasius of Sinai, who lived in the ninth century and was a monk and a priest, was the composer of the *Hexaemeron*.²⁶ He called this Anastasius "the Priest and Allegorist". According to Sakkos, it was Anastasius II, Patriarch of Antioch, that was the author of *Viae Dux* III-XV, with the exception of the scholia and some superscriptions,²⁷ and also the author of the *Quaestiones et Responsiones* XXIII to LXXIII and others.²⁸ And it was Anastasius III of Nicaea that was the author of the original QQ. I-XXII. Sakkos proposed that "the Allegorist", the author of the *Hexaemeron*, was responsible for interpolating the remaining parts of the *Viae Dux* and for adding QQ. LXXV to CXLII (with the exception of Q. CXXVIII) to the *Quaestiones et Responsiones*.²⁹ Sakkos advanced ten arguments to show that "the Allegorist" was also the author of the spurious parts of the *Viae Dux*.³⁰ The present editors will not delineate those arguments here nor suggest their various strengths and weaknesses. The reader is referred to the *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν* itself and to the published reviews.³¹ Sakkos dedicated his entire fourth chapter to "Anastasius, the Priest and Allegorist".³² Besides the *Hexaemeron*, he attributed twenty-nine other works to him, among which he found similarities in language, style, content, sources, and theology, in addition to parallel passages.

B. Anastasius Research from Weiss to Munitiz

In 1965 Günter Weiss published his dissertation *Studien zum Leben, zu den Schriften und zur Theologie des Patriarchen Anastasius I. von Antiochien* (559-598).³³ The title of this study indicates its three parts.

²⁵ A summary of Sakkos' view can be found at *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν*, 38-43.

²⁶ For Sakkos' biography of Anastasius "the Priest and Allegorist", see *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν*, 187-190.

²⁷ *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν*, 107-8.

²⁸ According to Sakkos, the others include QQ. CXXVIII and CXLII-CLIII; but he was not the author of QQ. XXIV, XXVII, XLIX, LVI, LXI, LXVI, LXVII, and LXXII.

²⁹ Sakkos' position on the *Quaestiones et Responsiones* can be found at *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν*, 150-1.

³⁰ *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν*, 121-3.

³¹ Reviews of *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν* by S. Sakkos include: J. Gribomont, *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 61 (1966): 543-7; Günter Weiss, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 60 (1967): 342-6; J. Darrouzès, *Revue des Études Byzantines* XXV (1967): 280-3; and E. Chrysos, "Νεώτεροι ἔρευναι περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν," *Κληρονομία* I (1969): 121-44. See also the introduction to Karl-Heinz Uthemann's edition of the *Viae Dux*, CCVI-CCXVIII (full citation below).

³² *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν*, 187-221. The notice on the *Hexaemeron* covers pages 205-8. Cf. M. Geerard, "Anastasius Sinaita," *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, Volume 3 (Turnhout, 1979), 453.

³³ Number 4 in the series *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia* by the Institut für Byzantinistik und neugriechische Philologie der Universität München.

In his introduction,³⁴ Weiss summarized the results of the last four centuries of work on the Anastasii by saying that on essential points a consensus had been reached, differentiating the works of Anastasius I from the *Corpus Anastasianum*. The *Viae Dux*, the *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, and the *Hexaameron* clearly remained within the *Corpus Anastasianum*, and therefore lay for the most part outside of the scope of his own dissertation. *Viae Dux* II, however, did concern Weiss, for it contained material (PG 89, 52C43-44 = CCSG 8, pg. 23) that belonged to the genuine collection of definitions by Anastasius I. In fact, a fair number of manuscripts contained the collection of definitions of *Viae Dux* II in an independent form.³⁵ Weiss had not received a copy of Sakkos' book before finishing his own, but in his review³⁶ he believed that Sakkos had not succeeded in situating the *Viae Dux* in the closing years of the sixth century or the first decade of the seventh.³⁷ And although Sakkos had attributed the collection of definitions in *Viae Dux* II to Anastasius "the Allegorist", Weiss gave them to Anastasius I, Patriarch of Antioch.³⁸

Sakkos had also attempted to distinguish the author of the "genuine" part of the *Viae Dux* from the author of the *Hexaameron* by characterizing the first as an historical exegete and the second as an allegorist.³⁹ Weiss, in his comments on Sakkos' use of the *Hexaameron*,⁴⁰ asked whether this division of forms of exegesis, which may have been valid for the fourth century, was admissible for the Byzantine epoch, when the Old Testament was ordinarily understood in a Christological sense. And, Weiss pointed out, even the "genuine" part of the *Viae Dux* adopted this allegorical manner of exegesis.⁴¹ He also maintained that the problems of *θέλημα* and *ἐνέργεια* (terms found also in the *Hexaameron*) had entered into the Monophysite controversy already in the sixth century.⁴² Thus Sakkos' argument that one part of the *Viae Dux* in its present form was written after the outbreak of monenergism and was therefore spurious, while another part was written before it,⁴³ was not valid.

Evangelos Chrysos, in a review article "Νεώτεροι ἐρευνᾶν περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν,"⁴⁴ discussed the dissertations of both Sakkos and Weiss. Chrysos introduced an interesting new element into the discussion. *Codex Parisinus graecus* 1115, which was copied in 1276 and which contained almost the whole *Viae Dux* in its present form, had a

semiosis that indicated that it had been copied from an exemplar in Rome, and that the exemplar itself had been copied in the year of the world 6267 or 759 C.E. Folios 239r to 283 contained polemical material against the iconoclastic council of 754, but were silent on the Seventh Ecumenical Council of 787. On the evidence of the semiosis in this codex, an alleged interpolator of the *Viae Dux* could not have done his work later than 759 C.E.

In 1969 Marcel Richard published the seminal article "Les véritables 'Questions et Réponses' d'Anastase le Sinaïte,"⁴⁵ which continued Richard's investigation of the textual tradition of the *Quaestiones et Responsiones*. He said that the text as it stood in the edition of Gretser did not appear in the manuscript tradition until the eleventh century. It was found in *Codex Florentinus Laurentianus* plut. IV, 16, dated to the year 1072, and in another codex of the same library, plut. VI, 35, dated to the eleventh century.⁴⁶ The text of Gretser's edition resulted from the combination of two previous collections. The first was a collection of 103 questions and responses, without a florilegium, attributed to Abbas Anastasius.⁴⁷ Richard saw no reason to deny it to Anastasius of Sinai, the author of the *Viae Dux*.⁴⁸ The second collection was a spiritual and exegetical florilegium in eighty-eight questions and responses, most often attributed to Anastasius of Sinai, but really composed by a pseudo-Anastasius either in the ninth century or, more probably, at the beginning of the tenth.⁴⁹ The compiler of Gretser's recension had combined the two collections.

And in the following year (1970), one of the present editors offered a new theory about the authorship of the *Hexaameron*.⁵⁰ Already in 1967 he had discovered exact parallels between passages of Book I and three sections of Michael Psellus's *De omnifaria doctrina*.⁵¹ Based upon this finding, Baggary now posed four possibilities: Psellus copied from Anastasius, Anastasius copied from Psellus, both copied from a third source, or Psellus's text was interpolated by a scribe into the *Hexaameron*. Of these four, Baggary preferred the possibility that the author of the *Hexaameron* copied from Psellus. The latter, a talented writer, had no need to take material from the *Hexaameron* for his exposition, and a common source for both authors has not been found.

³⁴ In *Bulletin de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes* 15 (1967-8): 39-56.

³⁵ "Les véritables 'Questions et Réponses'," 40 and 50.

³⁶ "Les véritables 'Questions et Réponses'," 40 and 42.

³⁷ "Les véritables 'Questions et Réponses'," 41.

³⁸ "Les véritables 'Questions et Réponses'," 40.

³⁹ See John Baggary, "A Parallel between Michael Psellus and the *Hexaameron* of Anastasius of Sinai," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 36 (1970): 337-347; *idem*, *The Conjugates Christ-Church in the Hexaameron of Ps. - Anastasius of Sinai. Textual Foundations and Theological Context* (Rome, 1974), 22; *idem*, review of *Anastasii Sinaïtae Sermones duo* (CCSG 12), ed. Karl-Heinz Uthemann, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 54/1 (1988): 253-255.

⁴⁰ *Hex.* I.194-214 = 82-83; *Hex.* I.215-225 = 18. References to the *Hexaameron* are to book numbers and line numbers in this edition. References to the *De omnifaria doctrina* are to section numbers in L. G. Westerink, ed., *Michael Psellus, De omnifaria doctrina* (Nijmegen, 1948), 25, 50. Westerink used the fourth redaction by Psellus for his critical edition; the third redaction is closer to the *Hexaameron*.

³⁴ *Anastasius I. von Antiochien*, XXVI.

³⁵ *Anastasius I. von Antiochien*, 74-75. Weiss called attention to four such codices. Cf. Sakkos, *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν*, 240-1. Migne printed the collection under the name of Athanasius (PG 28, 533-554).

³⁶ In *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 60 (1967): 342-6.

³⁷ Review of *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν*, 344.

³⁸ *Anastasius I. von Antiochien*, 74-83; review of *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν*, 346.

³⁹ Sakkos, *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν*, 123 and 206.

⁴⁰ Review of *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν*, 344. Cf. Weiss's *Anastasius I. von Antiochien*, 132-8. Weiss made other remarks on the *Hexaameron* in his review, pages 345 and 346.

⁴¹ E.g., PG 89, 96B (= CCSG 8, page 84) with respect to Bar 3:38.

⁴² Review of *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν*, 343.

⁴³ Sakkos, *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν*, 121-2.

⁴⁴ In *Κληρονομία* I (1969): 121-44.

Baggarly then dated the composition of the *Hexaameron* between 1042 (the *terminus ante quem non* of redaction I of the *De omnifaria doctrina*) and 1164.⁵² Michael Glycas' *Annales*, which made use of the *Hexaameron*,⁵³ was composed about that time. The late date of this hypothesis also helped eliminate another problem: the apparent lack of early manuscripts of the *Hexaameron*. No manuscript has yet been found that was copied without doubt earlier than the fifteenth century.⁵⁴

The past thirty-five years have seen a rapid expansion in the study of Anastasius of Sinai and his works. This activity has been inspired, in part, by the appearance of several new editions of works attributed to Anastasius of Sinai in the series *Anastasii Sinaitae Opera* published by Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca (CCSG). Along with these thorough and much-needed new editions, there has arisen a body of excellent modern scholarship that has attempted to refine the biography of the seventh-century Anastasius of Sinai and more clearly define those works or parts of works composed by him. We would like to mention a few of those most pertinent to establishing the bibliography of Anastasius of Sinai.

Of considerable assistance to the study of Anastasius was a compilation in 1979 of a list of texts ascribed to Anastasius of Sinai,⁵⁵ presented by M. Geerard in volume three of the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* in the *Corpus Christianorum* series. In his annotated bibliography, Geerard placed Anastasius Sinaita in the seventh century (page XI) and included among his genuine works the *Viae Dux* (7745), the *Quaestiones et Responsiones* (7746), three homilies about the creation of man according to the image of God (7747-9), and three collections of *Narrationes* (7758). In a separate category, "Anastasiana incertae originis", Geerard placed the *Hexaameron* (7770) and several other works.

In 1981, there appeared the first volume in the *Anastasii Sinaitae Opera* series: the 1977 dissertation by Karl-Heinz Uthemann, *Anastasii Sinaitae Viae Dux* (CCSG 8) (Turnhout, 1981), which was written under the guidance of Hans-Georg Beck. It included a carefully wrought critical edition of the *Viae Dux* and a study of its manuscript tradition (pages XXXI-CCV). In the introduction, Uthemann reviewed the arguments against its authenticity, beginning with V. G. Cave and Oudin, and he answered the five chief doubts raised by Sakkos (pages CCVI-CCXI). Uthemann then concluded with a suggestion first proposed by Richard in his article "Anastase le Sinaïte, l'*Hodegos* et le monothélisme," that the text of the *Viae Dux* went through two redactions in the life of its author, Anastasius of Sinai. First, the individual parts of the *Viae Dux* were completed,⁵⁶ and then these parts

⁵² This hypothesis was opposed by Uthemann: see *Sermones duo*, CXLVII and footnote 289; and by Alexander Kazhdan: see "Anastasios of Sinai," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Volume 1 (Oxford, 1991), 87-88. Cf. José Declerck, review of *Anastasii Sinaitae Sermones duo*, in *Byzantion*, 57 (1987): 285-292.

⁵³ For the correspondences, see Baggarly, "A Parallel," 347 footnote 6; Sakkos, *Περὶ Ἀναστασίου Σιναιτῶν*, 208 footnote 1.

⁵⁴ Baggarly, *Conjugates*, 21-22; *idem*, "A Parallel," 347 footnote 3.

⁵⁵ Cf. the compilation of codices made by Sakkos in *Περὶ Ἀναστασίου Σιναιτῶν*, 239-58.

⁵⁶ For a list of these parts, see Uthemann, *Viae Dux*, CCXIV-CCXVI.

were combined, with the author's own scholia, between 686 and 689.⁵⁷

Then in 1985 in the same series, Uthemann published a collection of other works ascribed to Anastasius of Sinai: *Anastasii Sinaitae Sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem Dei necnon opuscula adversus monotheletas* (CCSG 12) (Turnhout, 1985). There appeared to be a close relationship between these works, especially *Sermones I-III* (*Homiliae i-iii de creatione hominis*) and the *Hexaameron*, and Uthemann presented an in-depth discussion on the authorship of the *Hexaameron* in his Introduction.⁵⁸ His hypotheses went along the following lines.

There is a relationship between *Sermo II* and the *Hexaameron* in their contents and styles and in the scholia accompanying the sermon. Discussions about the creation of man are found in both; an exegetical and typological style is found in both; and a scholion to *Sermo II* says that: "The solution to these chapters lies in the book of our *Hexaameron*." (Τούτων αἱ λύσεις τῶν κεφαλαίων κεῖνται ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ἐξαήμερου ἡμῶν.)⁵⁹ Such an extended discussion ("solution") is indeed found in the *Hexaameron*. The impression is that the author of *Sermo II*, probably Anastasius of Sinai, wrote the *scholion* himself and was also the author of the *Hexaameron*.⁶⁰ This identification is supported by references in the *Hexaameron* to Anastasius's sermons on the creation of man. For instance, in Book VI of the *Hexaameron* we find:

Οὕτω γὰρ κυρίως ἐστὶν εἰκὼν καὶ στήλη κατὰ μίμησιν καὶ τύπον καὶ εἰκόνα τῶν διαφορῶν αὐτῆς τεχνιτῶν τῆς μιᾶς καὶ ἀδιαίρετου τοῦ ἐνδὸς καὶ μόνου Θεοῦ οὐσίας καὶ φύσεως, τῆς μὲν ψυχῆς ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ νοουμένης εἰς εἰκόνα Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός, καθὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς προσονομασθεῖσι δύο ἐνομίσαμεν λόγοις τοῖς ἰδίᾳ ἐκδοθεῖσι περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς, τοῦ δὲ λόγου ταύτης τοῦ ἐνδιαθέτου διαγράφοντος τὸν ἐκ Πατρός γεννώμενον Θεὸν Λόγον, νοῦ δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα φέροντος τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ παναγίου. (*Hex.* VI.367-374)

The topic is mentioned in *Sermones I* and *II* (as edited by Uthemann).⁶¹

Uthemann suggested that the author of the three sermons on the constitution of man was the same as the author of the *Viae Dux* (*Hodegos*), based upon traditional ascriptions and similarities in style and content.⁶² He also suggested that the author was Anastasius, a monk and presbyter at the Monastery of Saint Catherine in the seventh

⁵⁷ Uthemann, *Viae Dux*, CCXVIII.

⁵⁸ Uthemann, *Sermones duo*, CXXXIX-CL.

⁵⁹ B². For a discussion of two other *scholia* that relate to the content of the *Hexaameron*, see Uthemann, *Sermones duo*, CXLVI.

⁶⁰ Uthemann, *Sermones duo*, CXL-CXLI.

⁶¹ Perhaps the author here was indicating simply that the two sermons were published independent of the *Hexaameron*: perhaps he was not saying that the two sermons were published together as a freestanding edition. Cf. Uthemann, *Sermones duo*, CXLIII: "Eine solche Überlieferung liegt uns nicht vor. Denn in den uns zuhandenen Handschriften begegnen uns beide Logoi, welche über die Konstitution des Menschen und seine Gottebenbildlichkeit handeln, nur in einem Zusammenhang mit dem sog. *Sermo III*."

⁶² See Uthemann, *Sermones duo*, CXLV; *idem*, *Viae Dux*, CCVI-CCXVIII.

century.⁶³ The third sermon, in fact, was probably written after 701.⁶⁴ If this same Anastasius was the author of the present *Hexaameron*, Uthemann then saw the following creative stages:⁶⁵ 1) The *Viae Dux* was published with scholia in the form that has been transmitted to us. This was between 686 and 689. 2) *Sermones* I and II were published together. 3) *Sermo* III and the *Hexaameron* were completed. 4) All three sermons with the author's scholia were published together.⁶⁶

In conclusion, however, Uthemann preferred not to identify the author of the three sermons about the creation of man with the author of the *Hexaameron*. This preference was based upon the hypothetical age of the author, who would have been more than eighty years old at its completion, if around 701. Nevertheless, Uthemann withheld his final decision until an edition of the *Hexaameron* would be published and one could examine the internal evidence more closely.

Work on the writings of Anastasius of Sinai was carried forward and refined by the Swiss scholar, André Binggeli, in his 2001 dissertation for the Université Paris IV (Sorbonne).⁶⁷ In this edition and translation of the *Narrationes*, ascribed to Anastasius of Sinai and which Binggeli accepted as authentic,⁶⁸ he argued that the composition of the second redaction of the *Viae Dux* was later than the date proposed by Uthemann.⁶⁹ Binggeli suggested the 680's for the first compilation and 691 or 692 for the final redaction with the author's scholia. Binggeli did not discuss the *Hexaameron* in the author's curriculum vitae.

Before his death in 1976, Marcel Richard asked Joseph Munitiz to continue his work on creating a critical edition of the original *Quaestiones et Responsiones* (see above). Munitiz continued and developed Richard's research, and the completed text was published in the Anastasii Sinaitae Opera series: *Anastasii Sinaitae Quaestiones et responsiones* (CCSG 59) (Turnhout, 2006). In the Introduction, Munitiz confirmed the hypothesis that Anastasius of Sinai, the author of the *Viae Dux*, originally composed 103 questions and responses, but these perhaps were not collected and published until after the author's

⁶³ Uthemann, *Sermones duo*, CXLVI.

⁶⁴ Uthemann, *Sermones duo*, CXLIX; *Viae Dux*, CCXVIII footnote 73.

⁶⁵ Uthemann, *Sermones duo*, CXLVIII. Cf. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, 442-446.

⁶⁶ For a discussion of this hypothetical collection, archetype ω , see Uthemann, *Sermones duo*, CL-CLXVIII. Joseph Munitiz suggested that some of the *Quaestiones et Responsiones* were also written by the same Anastasius, and Munitiz placed the publication of the original collection after the death of author. See Marcel Richard and Joseph Munitiz, eds., *Anastasii Sinaitae Quaestiones et responsiones* (CCSG 59) (Turnhout, 2006), XVII-XIX and L. For parallels between the *Quaestiones* and the *Hexaameron*, see John Baggaly, review of *Anastasii Sinaitae Sermones duo*, edited by K.-H. Uthemann, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 54/1 (1988): 254-5.

⁶⁷ *Anastase le Sinaïte, Récits sur le Sinaï et Récits utiles à l'âme: édition, traduction, commentaire*, 2 volumes (Ph.D. diss., University of Paris, 2001). The study of the life of Anastasius of Siani can be found in volume 2, pages 330-357.

⁶⁸ For earlier work on the *Narrationes*, see F. Nau, ed. "Le texte grec des récits du moine Anastase sur les saints pères du Sinaï." *Oriens Christianus* 2 (1902): 58-89; and "Le texte grec des récits utiles à l'âme d'Anastase (le Sinaïte)," *Oriens Christianus* 3 (1903): 56-75, 78-79.

⁶⁹ Binggeli, 341-344.

death,⁷⁰ some time after 700.⁷¹

Employing the research undertaken by Richard and Munitiz, but before the publication of the critical edition, John Haldon in 1992 published an intriguing article on the 103 original questions and answers.⁷² Not only were they authentic, according to Haldon, but they were also an important window into a traumatic period for the Christian Church: the seventh century. This century saw the expansion and domination by Moslem Arabs in the Byzantine Empire, including Sinai and Egypt. Many of the questions were a response to the new social order and to the impact Islam had on Christian life and theology.⁷³

In conclusion, it is conceivable that the *Viae Dux*, the *Sermones in constitutionem hominis* I, II, and III, the original 103 *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, and the 42 *Narrationes* were written by one and the same author, a monk and priest at Sinai, who lived in the seventh century and was still active after 701. Some of his works went through several redactions during his lifetime, and some were first published posthumously. There lingers, however, some uncertainty about the author of the *Hexaameron*.

⁷⁰ Richard and Munitiz, *Quaestiones*, L.

⁷¹ Richard and Munitiz, *Quaestiones*, XVII. Munitiz was able to establish the original collection by using two manuscripts that had preserved much of the original collection, a small number of partial manuscripts, and the evidence of other collections; Richard and Munitiz, *Quaestiones*, XVIII. See also the study of the Pseudo-Anastasian questions and answers in the 2004 dissertation by Douwe T. Sieswerda, *Pseudo-Anastasius en Anastasius Sinaita: Een vergelijking. De Pseudo-Anastasiaanse Quaestiones et responsiones in de ΣΩΤΗΡΙΟΣ. Prolegomena, tekst en commentaar* (Ph.D. diss., Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2004).

⁷² John Haldon, "The Works of Anastasius of Sinai: A Key Source for the History of Seventh-Century East Mediterranean Society and Belief," in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, Volume I: Problems in the Literary Source Material*, edited by A. Cameron and L. Conrad (Princeton, 1992), pages 107-47. This was first presented as a paper in 1989 at a workshop on Late Antiquity and Early Islam.

⁷³ The collection covered a wide variety of topics, both secular and monastic; Richard and Munitiz, *Quaestiones*, L-LI.

II. THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE HEXAEMERON

John Baggary initiated his study of the manuscripts of the *Hexaemeron* in the early 1960s, through the suggestion of Antonio Orbe and with the assistance of Marcel Richard. In his preliminary investigations, he examined several manuscripts personally and asked curators at several libraries and museums to examine other manuscripts for him. He acquired copies on microfilm of most of the *Hexaemeron* manuscripts. This research became the basis of a chapter devoted to the manuscript history in his dissertation, *The Conjugates Christ-Church in the Hexaemeron of Ps.-Anastasius of Sinai* (Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana: Rome, 1973); and this chapter became the foundation of an extract published in 1974 under the same name. After that time, Baggary continued his investigations of *Hexaemeron* manuscripts, but no new evidence persuaded him to alter significantly the stemma that he had published in 1974. Thus the following section remains generally unchanged from the extract (pages 21-75), except for some emendations by Kuehn, based in part upon his examinations of *Hexaemeron* manuscripts at Oxford and London in 2005. Further investigation and a closer analysis of all the known manuscripts are in progress.

Our treatment of the manuscripts consists of four parts: a list of the known manuscripts, divided into families; a summary and concordance; the textual evidence for the families; and the construction of a provisional stemma.

A. List of the Manuscripts¹

We present here a list of manuscripts of the *Hexaemeron*, not a catalogue of the manuscripts. A catalogue would contain a full description of each manuscript. The amount of data we give on the manuscripts varies. In all cases, the information aims at fixing the position of the manuscript in the textual tradition. One major step in achieving this goal is to determine as closely as possible the date when a manuscript was copied. To some extent we have had recourse to watermarks in assigning dates to manuscripts, although we are aware of the divergent views concerning their value for dating manuscripts.² So far we have found no manuscript that unequivocally belongs to the fifteenth century or to an earlier period.³

We have given more ample descriptions of the manuscripts of Families I and IIa than the manuscripts of other families, because of the importance of the principal manuscripts of these families: *Collegii Novi*

139 and *Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus* 372 respectively. Since the title of the *Hexaemeron* tells us its author was a monk at Sinai, it is of interest that neither V. Benešević⁴ nor K. Clark⁵ noted the existence of any manuscript of the Anastasian *Hexaemeron* in the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai.⁶

All of the manuscripts listed below contain the Greek text of the *Hexaemeron*. We know of no manuscript that contains a translation of the work into another language.⁷ All of the manuscripts that we have examined are written in minuscule letters.

The order in which the manuscripts are described follows that of the families into which they fall. This division into families must be regarded as provisional, since we have based it on the collation of a restricted number of passages in the *Hexaemeron* and on material characteristics of the manuscripts. We do not believe, however, that a complete collation of all manuscripts would make any radical change in the manner in which the manuscripts are divided, since the data already obtained exclude certain relationships among them.

The manuscripts M, N, and P, which seem to come from different families, were used to establish the text of this *editio princeps*, and their variants are included in the critical apparatus. The manuscript F, the Latin translation by Hervet, and the edition of Book XII by Allix-Dacier were consulted regularly, but generally were not included in the apparatus.⁸

Family I

N *Codex Oxoniensis Collegii Novi* 139.⁹ Paper; in folio; 307 x 225 mm.; 272 folios. The Anastasius portion of the codex: early XVth century; IV, 149 folios, II.

Catalogue: Henricus O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum mss. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*. Pars I, *Catalogus codicum mss. Collegii Novi* (Oxford, 1852), 50.

The entry by Coxe reads: "*Codex chartaceus, in folio, ff. 272, sec. XV; olim 'W.B. 1648'.*" After a brief description of the included works by Clement of Alexandria, Coxe writes: "*3. Anastasii Sinaitae, archiepiscopi Antiocheni, Anagogicarum Contemplationum in Hexaemeron libri*

⁴ In *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Graecorum qui in Monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in Monte Sina asservantur*, T. I (Petropoli, 1911) and T. III, P. I (Petropoli, 1917).

⁵ In *Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai. Microfilmed for the Library of Congress*, 1950 (Washington, 1952).

⁶ This apparent absence was verified by the monks during Kuehn's visit to the monastery in March 1996. A new survey of the manuscripts was completed on March 3, 2006, but we have not yet had the opportunity to examine the results.

⁷ In September 1964, the monks at the library of Armenian manuscripts at Venice, the Biblioteca di San Lazzaro, helped search for manuscripts of the *Hexaemeron*. None, however, were found.

⁸ We are responsible for assigning all sigla except P and V, which were assigned by Franz Cumont in "Lydus et Anastase le Sinaïte," *Bizantinische Zeitschrift* 30 (1929-30): 31-35.

⁹ The designations for each manuscript include the symbol used in this edition and the name found in its library catalogue. The symbols used in Baggary's dissertation extract can be found in the Concordance.

¹ It is a pleasure to acknowledge our indebtedness to Monsieur l'Abbé Marcel Richard of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris for his generosity and courtesy in sending a list that contained the greater part (24) of the thirty-five manuscripts of which we have knowledge (letters of November 24 and December 11, 1963). See also the list in Sakkos, *Περὶ Ἀναστασίου Σιναιτῶν*, 253.

² See C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*. A facsimile of the 1907 edition with supplementary material, ed. Allan Stevenson. Volume 1 (Amsterdam, 1968), 31.

³ For a possible reason for these late dates, see Baggary, "A Parallel," 337-347.

duodecim ad Theophilum; praevia tabula. Fol. 124. Liber ultimus solummodo exstat Graece London 1682; reliqui Latine tantum editi sunt in variis Bibl. Patrum editionibus. Sequitur fragmentum Paedagogi lib. ii. capp. iv. et v." Coxe continues: "Tit. τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀναστασίου πρεσβυτέρου καὶ μοναχοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου ὁρους Σινᾶ καὶ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀντιοχείας εἰς τὴν πνευματικὴν ἀναγωγὴν τῆς ἑξαήμερου κτίσεως."

This codex is the only surviving manuscript that contains all of Book XII of the *Hexaameron* (i.e. XII.489-493). In addition to the *Hexaameron*, the codex contains texts of Clement of Alexandria's *Protrepticus* and *Paedagogus* II and III, which were used by J. Potter in his edition of *Clementis Alexandrini opera quae exstant*, Volume I (Oxford, 1715). The Clement manuscripts figure in several studies by Otto Stählin, and he treats them in his edition *Clemens Alexandrinus*, Volume I (GCS 12), (Leipzig, 1905), XXV, XLVII-L, and LXXI. P. M. Barnard discusses them in his *Clement of Alexandria, Quis dives salvetur* (TSt V/2), XV-XVIII. Four blank folios separate the works of Clement from the work of Anastasius. Folio 272 is not blank, but a misplaced folio from Clement's *Paedagogus*. An index of the contents of each chapter in the *Hexaameron*, written in the same hand as the *Hexaameron* itself, is found on f. 123r-v, and the *Hexaameron* occupies ff. 124r - 271v.

The paper is of high quality, trimmed, and in excellent condition; there is no staining except for slight water damage at the upper outside corners of the final folios. The paper quality and condition appear homogenous from the beginning of the codex to the end. There appear at least three different watermark designs in the codex. On ff. I, 47b, and 273, which are blank leaves, there appears an anchor in a circle, which is surmounted by a star. There is also a distinctive knob at the end of the stem of the anchor. The same watermark appears on f. 46 along with text from Clement's *Protrepticus* and on ff. 62, 63, and 66 along with text from his *Paedagogus*. This watermark is similar in design to Briquet nn. 492 and 493, but more similar in size to 492. Briquet n° 492 has been attested at Lucques and can be dated to 1522. An example of 493 has been found at Udine and can be dated to 1524-1530. A similar variant has been attested at Arnoldstein, which can be dated to 1529.

In the *Hexaameron*, a variant watermark is found.¹⁰ Instead of three points on each of the two prongs of the anchor, there are two points. This watermark can be seen on ff. 119 and 121, which are blank leaves preceding the *Hexaameron*, and on ff. 167, 193, 194, 197, 198, 201, 203, and 208, which contain Anastasian text. This watermark is similar to Briquet n° 588.¹¹ An example of this has been attested at Innsbruck and can be dated to 1521-1522. A similar variant has been attested at Vicenza and can be dated to 1510.¹² Both these types of anchors resemble the sequence Piccard V 348-350, which can be dated between 1511 and 1514.¹³ As both Briquet and Piccard point out, all samples of

¹⁰ The editors would like to thank Ruth Barbour of the Bodleian Library and Nigel Wilson of Lincoln College, Oxford, for their assistance in examining and identifying these watermarks.

¹¹ Contrary to what was stated in Baggary, *Conjugates*, 24, the watermarks in the *Hexaameron* do not have the wing decorations as in n° 589.

¹² See Briquet 1968, Vol. 3, nn. 492, 493, and 588; and Vol. 1, pp. 40-44.

¹³ See Gerhard Piccard, *Wasserzeichen Anker* (Stuttgart, 1978).

this particular watermark, the anchor in a circle with a star, come from the region around Venice.¹⁴ A third and different watermark appears in the *Hexaameron* on ff. 194, 197, and 198: a ladder in a shield surmounted by a star. This resembles Briquet n° 5926, an example of which has been attested at Sienne and can be dated to 1524. A variant has been attested at Florence and can be dated to 1524-1532. This watermark comes from many regions of Italy.¹⁵

Ruth Barbour of the Bodleian Library wrote¹⁶ that ff. 1-71 and 82-91 of Clement's works were copied by Zacharias Callierges, who was working between 1499 and 1524. The information Barnard gives (pg. xvi) in his edition of Clement's *Quis dives salvetur* indicates that two other scribes copied out the other parts of this codex. So far, we have been unable to ascertain the scribe that copied the *Hexaameron*. As far as we can judge, a single scribe copied the whole of the *Hexaameron* and its prefixed table of contents. The minuscule script is neat, regular, and inclined slightly to the right. The iota subscript is almost always present. The ink for most of the text is brown; a small decorative braid, maiusculè letter, and a red first line signal the beginning of each chapter. The script is arranged figuratively at the end of the λόγοι. The scribe has the practice of noting catchwords in his manuscript at the bottom right edge of the verso side, where the first two words of the next gathering are written at a 90 degree angle to the text. This practice is seen at 231v, 251v, 261v, etc. There are also some corrections in a darker ink and different hand.

The codex was bound at Oxford.¹⁷ The binding consists of wooden boards covered with leather and two metal clasps (now broken); it is ornamented with blind rolls. The layout pattern, a rectangle within a fillet frame, is similar to Pearson B2b.¹⁸ The rolls can be clearly identified as Gibson XII (Oldham MW.a[1]) in conjunction with Gibson XVIII (Oldham FP.g[9]).¹⁹ Neil Ker has gathered evidence that roll XII was used in combination with XVIII by Dominic Pinart in the 1570's.²⁰ The original pastedowns seem to be in place on the insides of both covers. These pastedowns, which seem to be an academic Latin text, perhaps medical and medieval, have not been catalogued. Ker writes that "pastedown were used regularly between 1520-1570" and "commonly or occasionally during the half-century on either side."²¹ The front pastedown holds the notation "W.B. 1648," which was noted by Coxe. The tightback spine is more recent and was probably added to repair the codex.

¹⁴ Briquet 1968, Vol. 1, pp. 40-44; Piccard, *Anker*, 9.

¹⁵ Briquet 1968, Vol. 1, pg. 344.

¹⁶ Personal letter of 20 December 1966.

¹⁷ The editors would like to thank Ruth Barbour and Robert Weaver of Dulwich College for their assistance in examining and identifying the various elements of the binding.

¹⁸ David Pearson, *Oxford Bookbinding 1500-1640* (Oxford, 2000), pg. 5 and figure 30.

¹⁹ Strickland Gibson, *Early Oxford Bindings* (Oxford, 1903), plates XXV and XXVI; and J. Basil Oldham, *English Blind-Stamped Bindings: The Sanders Lectures 1949* (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 41, 54, and plate LI.

²⁰ Pearson, *Oxford Bookbinding*, 69.

²¹ Neil R. Ker, *Pastedowns in Oxford Bindings with a Survey of Oxford Binding c. 1515-1620* (Oxford, 1954), pg. VII.

According to O. Stählin,²² *Codex Genuensis Missionis Urbanae* 28 of the Biblioteca Franzoniani in Genoa, Italy, was the direct exemplar of *Collegii Novi* 139. An inspection of A. Ehrhard's notice on the Genoa manuscript, however, shows that while it contains Clement's *Protrepticus* and his *Paedagogus* II and III, it does not contain the Anastasian *Hexaemeron*.²³ Moreover, the library does not possess a copy of the *Hexaemeron*.

In sum, the data we possess at present suggest that the *Hexaemeron* was copied at the beginning of the XVIth century, near the time that Clement's works were copied, and the two authors were bound together at Oxford in the second half of the same century.

We call attention to three blank spaces in the text. These blanks would be present either because words were illegible or missing in the exemplar, or because the scribe deliberately omitted them. The first is a blank of about 10 letters long (26 mm.), which we find at f. 125r16 (*Hex.* I.70: ἐγκατέθηκεν P; PG 89, 853D54: *inseruit*). The second blank is equivalent to about 9 letters long (20 mm.), and occurs at f. 170v5 (*Hex.* V.126: ζωσδων MP; PG 89, 916B23: *animatorum*). The third blank is at f. 269v11 and is about 9 letters long (23 mm.). A caret is inserted in this last blank and refers to a correction, ἐκτισεν, inserted in the right margin by a second hand (perhaps Grabe's). This blank corresponds to *Hex.* XII.378 and PG 89, 1072B16.

In one notable case, a blank does *not* exist. At f. 271r21, with no hint of a correction or hesitation, we read πώρων (which should, we believe, be corrected to πόρων). PG 89, 1076C48 has ἄπων. See the discussion of this blank below.

As we have already mentioned, N is the only complete manuscript we have examined so far that contains the ending of the *Hexaemeron*. The ending is written in the same hand as that which copied out the rest of the *Hexaemeron*. Two slanted lines //, inserted in pencil at f. 271v2, separate the last word of the incomplete texts, ἐνεργείας (*Hex.* XII.489; PG 89, 1077A12), from the ending of N.

The first possessor of whom we have knowledge is "W. B. 1648." The next possessor was apparently New College at Oxford. The manuscript is currently deposited in the Bodleian Library. The following persons have made use of the manuscript: Johann Ernst Grabe, John Potter, Wilhelm Dindorf, Otto Stählin, and Percy Mordaunt Barnard.

n *Codex Oxoniensis Grabe* 16 (S.C. 9726). Very probably copied between 1697 and 1711, the dates when J. E. Grabe was in England. Paper; in folio; 330 x 210 mm.; 164 folios.

Catalogues: Henricus O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum, Bibliothecae Bodleianae. Pars Prima recensioem codicum Graecorum continens* (Oxford, 1853), columns 863-864.

Falconer Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*. Volume III (Oxford, 1895), 63.

Henricus O. Coxe, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues*. Volume I,

²² In *Untersuchungen über die Scholien zu Clemens Alexandrinus* (Nürnberg, 1897), 7.

²³ In "Zur Catalogisirung der kleinen Bestände griechischer Handschriften in Italien," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 10 (Leipzig, 1893): 205.

Greek Manuscripts. Reprinted with corrections from the edition of 1853 (Oxford, 1969), columns 863-864.

The contents of this manuscript consist only of the portion of the Anastasian *Hexaemeron* from Book I.81 (τὰ καὶ φωτίζεται; PG 89, 854A14) to the end of Book XI (PG 89, 1052A2). That is, the index, the beginning of Book I (the beginning of the Praefatio), and Book XII, which are found in N, are not present here. Each gathering of the manuscript consists of two folios (i.e., a single sheet of paper was folded). The absence of the beginning of Book I probably resulted from the loss of the first gathering. The scribe had marked some of the gatherings at the recto bottom of the first folio, and folio 1r is marked b. Folio 3r is marked c, f. 5r is marked d, etc. Another gathering could have dropped out between f. 146v and 147r, for the text of Book XI between line 8 (αὐτῆς; PG 89, 1023B21) and line 112 (τῆς; 1026A7) is absent. This deficiency could be due to *homoeoteleuton*, but it seems more likely that a gathering has been lost, since the number of missing words is almost exactly equivalent to that required to fill four pages.

The last line of the manuscript, on f. 164v3, reads Τέλος τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐνδέκατος. This is the only instance in which the ending of one of the chapters or λόγοι of the *Hexaemeron* has been so noted. It is practically certain that the last chapter of the *Hexaemeron* never formed part of this manuscript. It would have been unnecessary to copy it, since it had been published in London in 1682 (see g and the discussion of printed editions below).

According to Barbour, the watermark is vaguely like Heawood 361 or 366, but it has a BB countermark.²⁴ The manuscript is in an ordinary modern binding (red and green cardboard), perhaps from the XVIIIth century; the Bodleian acquired the manuscript with the rest of Grabe's archive in 1720.²⁵ On the inside front cover, there is written: *Anastasijs Siaitae Sermones undecim de Hexaemero Graeci*.

The script is large and clear; the lines are widely spaced. The iota subscript is almost always present. The ink is brown; there are frequent corrections in the scribe's own hand and other corrections in a darker ink and another hand. Practically the only abbreviation present is that for καὶ. The codex is not an artistic product, but seems to have been executed as a "working copy". With respect to the scribe, Barbour wrote: "Comparing MS. Grabe 16 with some of the volumes of notes made by Grabe and his numerous collaborators, it seems more likely that it was copied by one of them rather than by Grabe himself." Johann Ernst Grabe was born in 1666 at Königsberg in Prussia, and was brought up a Lutheran. He received his D.D. degree on 27 April 1706 and then received the Margaret Professorship of Divinity at Oxford.²⁶

Beginning on f. 78r and continuing to f. 162r, the scribe has noted in the left margin in Greek the sources that are named in the text, including Olympiodorus (Alexandrinus), Cyrillus (Alexandrinus), Clemens (Alexandrinus), the Gregorii (Nazianzenus and Nyssenens),

²⁴ Personal letter of 20 December 1966.

²⁵ Falconer Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*. Volume III (Oxford, 1895), 62.

²⁶ Madan, *Summary Catalogue*, Vol. III, 62.

Dionysius (Areopagita), Philo (Judaeus), and Irenaeus.²⁷ It is interesting that on f. 95r, the names Clemens, Irenaeus, and Philo were written in the margin and then subsequently crossed out, although their names appear in the text.

From the collations we have made, it appears that *Grabe* 16 is a direct, uncontaminated copy of N. The codex affords further proof of this statement. For example, where the blank at N f. 170v5 exists (*Hex.* V.126), we find that n f. 59r13 indicates an omission by five dashes (40 mm.). Again, the beginning of the word *κακοιμη*, cancelled by eight dots at N f. 177v19 (*Hex.* VI.161), is cancelled by nine dots at n f. 68r25. Cancellation in *Grabe* 16 is not normally effected by placing dots under words. Finally, at N f. 255v13 we find the uncorrected word *γυναις* and at N 255v15 the uncorrected *οαρ* (*Hex.* XI.717, 718; PG 89, 1039D46, 48). The two words appear in the same form (with the exception of the dieresis mark over the upsilon and with the addition of a stroke underneath) at n f. 158r25 and 27. However, the corrections ...αικος and οαρξ are inserted in the margin in the same hand as that of the text.

The first possessor was Johann Ernst Grabe. He left the manuscript as a legacy to the Bodleian Library, which currently has possession of it. Grabe may have worked directly with this manuscript in preparing his *Spicilegium SS. Patrum* (see the discussion of printed editions below.)

g *Codex Oxoniensis Grabe* 21 (S.C. 9731). Very probably copied between 1697 and 1711, the dates when J. E. Grabe was in England. Paper; in folio; ff. 1-2: 135 x 195 mm.; ff. 3-4: 200 x 325 mm.; 4 folios.

Catalogues: Henricus O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae. Pars Prima recensionem codicum Graecorum continens* (Oxford, 1853), columns 865-866.

Falconer Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*. Volume III (Oxford, 1895), 63.

H. O. Coxe, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues*. Volume I, *Greek Manuscripts. Reprinted with corrections from the edition of 1853* (Oxford, 1969), column 866.

Grabe 21 is an assemblage of assorted papers once belonging to Johann Ernst Grabe, including 4 folios that contain notes and a collation of Book XII of the *Hexaameron*. It seems that after Grabe had a copy of N made for himself without Book XII (n), he made for his use a collation of the recently published edition of XII and N. It does not contain a continuous text, but simply a list of variants.

Folio 1 recto is labeled *Emendationes Anastasii Sinaitae Anagogicarum Contemplationum in Hexaameron*. It explains that this is a collation between the *New College* 139 codex and the Greek edition of Book XII published in London in 1682. It then gives brief notes in Latin to accompany pages 1 and 2 of the collation; the notes for pages 3 and 4 of the collation are found on folio 1 verso. Folio 2 recto holds only a slip of paper pasted to the page, which briefly identifies in Latin the following collation. Folio 2 verso is blank. The script of these notes is small and not very clear. They seem intended for the author's own use, and may have been written by Grabe himself.

²⁷ Cf. the list of sources made by Casaubon in *Codex Oxoniensis Casaubon* I.67 (K).

Folios 3 and 4 are larger in size. The script is small and neat, and perhaps from the same hand as the notes above. Each page contains two columns of collation, and each line is labeled. The collation begins:

Pag.1 l.1 ἐποίησατο ms. ἐποίησε
l. 9 συναγόμενοι ms. σκεπόμενοι

The readings of the printed edition are on the left. The collation ends on folio 3 verso with: p. 27 l. 17 οἱ αὖτε ἰσασιν ms ἀνύσασιν. There follows a note: *Sequentia in loco ms^o superadduntur post ἐνεργείας ἢ θελήσει κερατίσαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι* And the note continues with the full ending of Book XII, which was not included in the printed edition. Folio 4 recto is blank, and folio 4 verso contains a label, in another hand: *Emendationes Anastasij Sinaitae* 8.

The binding of the codex is modern and similar to the binding of *Grabe* 16 (n). An index pasted to the inside back cover lists the collation and the accompanying notes as part 10 of this volume of Grabe's papers. It appears, from the horizontal creases, that the four folios originally had been folded over and stored together.

From the current evidence, it appears that these notes were written between 1697 and 1711, the dates when Grabe was in England. His papers were acquired by the Bodleian Library in 1720. The manuscript is currently in the possession of the Bodleian Library.

k *Adversarium Cantabrigiense* c. 50.4 (olim Nn.vi.14). This is a printed copy of Pierre Alix's edition of Book XII (London, 1682), with handwritten notes dating from between 1682 and 1714.

Catalogue: *A Catalogue of Adversaria and Printed Books Containing MS. Notes, Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1854), 38.

The notice in the catalogue reads: "Nn.vi.14. A copy of the Twelfth Homily of St Anastasius Sinaita on the *Hexaameron* (Lond. 1682), collated with a MS. in New College, Oxford. From Bishop Moore's Library."

R. V. Kerr, the Under-Librarian of the University Library at Cambridge, examined the volume for us in 1971, and it was again examined by Baggarly on October 7, 1976. Variations are noted directly on the printed page beside the text. Kerr pointed out the manuscript note by the collator, *Collatus cum MS. Codice Collegii Novi Oxon*, and stated that there was little doubt that the collator used N and the *Hexaameron* XII published in 1682 by P. Alix at London.²⁸ It is particularly noteworthy that the collator added the ending of the *Hexaameron*, which has been found so far only at N and g. The relationship between Moore's collation and Grabe's g has not been established.

The Bishop Moore in the notice was John Moore (1646-1714), who was Bishop of Norwich, then of Ely. The volume of *Adversaria* entered the University Library at Cambridge in 1715 along with the rest of Bishop Moore's library.

²⁸ Personal letter of 29 May 1971.

Cr. This book contains readings of the text as made by the Göttingen theologian Magnus Crusius (1697-1751) in his dissertation: *Dissertatio epistolica ad ... Dn. Christianum Wormium, ... de scriptis quibusdam ... ineditis, Quae in Itinere Gallico, Anglico atque Germanico reperire contigit, & nunc in lucem publicam edenda parat, Virosque eruditos in simul ad conferendas symbolas humanissime invitat* MAGNUS CRUSIUS (Leipzig, 1728), 20. The readings begin at μη παύση (Hex. XII.481) and continue to the end of Book XII.²⁹

It seems that the manuscripts of the remaining families all descended from a common hyparchetype that was mutilated in Book XII and ended on the word ἐνεργείαις (Hex. XII.489; PG 89, 1077A12). This hyparchetype may possibly also have been the exemplar of N before this exemplar lost the folio containing the end of the *Hexaemeron*. The loss of a final folio in the hyparchetype seems to best explain why the codices with the mutilated *Hexaemeron* XII all end on the same word. In the hyparchetype there was a blank or an illegible portion between σὼν and πῶν where we find σὼν ἄρρων printed at PG 89, 1076D48 (Hex. XII.478). In fact, in the codex that Pierre Allix (1641-1717) used in publishing the Greek text of Book XII, *Codex Parisinus Graecus Bibliothecae Nationalis* 861 (F), on f. 177r12, the αρ is written in a different hand above the πῶν and there is a space of less than a single letter between σὼν and πῶν.

Family II

One of the peculiar readings characteristic of this family is the absence of κατεσκεύασε καθὼς αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος (Hex. VIIa.102; PG 89, 940C30-32). The family divides into two sub-families, IIa and IIb.

Family IIa

P *Codex Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus* 372. First half of the XVth century. Paper; in 8 vo.; 143 x 208 mm. (measurements of a central leaf, f. 204); binder's leaf, II, 399 folios, I, binder's leaf.³⁰

Catalogue: Henricus Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti Palatini Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae descripti praeside I. B. Cardinali Pitra* (Rome, 1885), 240.

²⁹ For further biographical details on Magnus Crusius, cf. Georg Schalkhauser, "Zu den Schriften des Makarios von Magnesia," *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 31/4 (Leipzig, 1907): 115-118. Crusius does not mention the manuscript he used.

³⁰ Through the courtesy of the Rev. Alfons Raes, S. J., Prefect Emeritus of the Vatican Library, we were able to consult *Vat. Pal. Gr.* 372, as well as *Vat. Gr.* 726 and *Vat. Pii II* 12, and obtain microfilm copies of them. We would like to express our special appreciation to both Fr. Raes and Mgr. Paul Canart for their kindness whenever we turned to them for help.

This manuscript contains only the Anastasian *Hexaemeron*, which is complete almost to the end of Book XII, stopping at the word ἐνεργείαις (Hex. XII.489; PG 89, 1077A12). The absence of the ending of Book XII is not due to physical damage to the manuscript; probably the exemplar of P did not contain the ending.

The back of the present binding of the manuscript carries the stemma of Pope Pius IX (Pope 1846-1878) and of Angelo Cardinal Mai (Prefect of the Vatican Library 1819-1854; Cardinal 1838-1854; Cardinal Librarian 1853-1854). The manuscript most probably received its present binding in 1853-1854. Leo Allatius removed the bindings of the vast majority of the manuscripts of the libraries at Heidelberg before he sent them to Rome on February 14, 1623.³¹

The text of the *Hexaemeron* begins on f. 1r. The quires each comprise eight folios. There are 50 gatherings; the last leaf of the last gathering is missing. The numeration of the folios is slightly irregular. The numbers proceed in sequence up to f. 264. The 265th folio carries no numeral. The 266th folio is numbered 265. The numeration then proceeds in the normal fashion to f. 376, which is actually the 377th folio. There is no folio that carries the number 377, although none of the text is missing at this point (PG 89, 1056C34). The 378th folio carries the number 378, and the numeration proceeds in the usual manner to f. 399. The last two folios, ff. 398 and 399, carry these numerals on their respective *recto* sides, but are otherwise blank.

Paul Canart, Scriptor of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, carefully examined P for us (1965), whose findings were later verified by Baggarly (1969-70). Although the greater number of the watermarks had been clipped off at the edges of the manuscript, Canart succeeded in recognizing a watermark at ff. 296 and 300. It was a ring with a cross at its bottom, close to Briquet n° 695, which was attested in Catania in 1526 in a document from the Convento di Benedictini; the paper was produced in the Piedmont.³²

We do not know who the scribe was. Canart wrote³³ that the Papas Nathaniel, whose name appears at the top of f. 1r, was known as a possessor and copyist of manuscripts, and was a Cretan. Canart also stated that the script strongly resembles that of the Μονὴ τῶν Ὁδηγῶν at Constantinople, and he referred to the article by L. Politis on the scriptorium there.³⁴ Canart remarked that the script had an archaizing aspect, and was in use from the XIVth to the XVIth centuries—a fact that would render the dating difficult if one did not have recourse to the watermarks.

We owe to Canart the dating of the manuscript to the first half of the XVIth century. H. Stevenson, on the basis of an examination made together with Charles Graux, judged that the manuscript was copied in the XVth century.³⁵

³¹ Cf. H. Stevenson, *Cod. mss. Pal. Gr.*, XXIX-XXX, and C. Mazzi, *Leone Allacci e la Palatina di Heidelberg* (Bologna, 1893), 19-20.

³² Briquet 1968, Vol. 1, pg. 48.

³³ Personal letter of 26 September 1965.

³⁴ In "Eine Schreiberschule im Kloster ΤΩΝ ΟΔΗΓΩΝ," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 51 (1958): 17-36 with plates I-III, and 261-287 with plates XIII-XIX.

³⁵ *Cod. mss. Pal. Gr.*, XXXIV-XXXV.

Outside of the absence of the ending of Book XII, the only other blank in the text occurs at the point corresponding to $\sigma\omega\nu \pi\acute{o}\rho\omega\nu$ Hex. XII.478 ($\sigma\omega\nu \acute{\alpha}\rho\rho\omega\nu$ PG 89, 1076D48). After $\sigma\omega\nu$ a blank of about 5 letters (16 mm.) intervenes before the final letters $\rho\omega\nu$ of the following word are written. In this blank a second hand has filled in the letters $\delta\acute{\omega}$. These letters were probably not written earlier than Don Diego de Covarrubias (died 1577) acquired *Codex graecus Universitatis Salamantinae* 2.710, the other manuscript belonging to this family (see below).

The Papas Nathanael whose name is written on the top of f. 1r is the first possessor of the manuscript of whom we have knowledge. He was the priest Ioannes Nathanael, who came from Gortyne in Crete to Venice, and who was active as a copyist from 1541 on.³⁶ On March 1, 1559, a lot of nineteen Greek manuscripts (not fifteen)³⁷ was purchased from Papas Nathanael for Ulrich Fugger. We still possess the catalogue of this lot, written in the hand of M. Gerstmann,³⁸ in *Codex Vaticanus Palatinus Latinus* 1951. The catalogue is written on a single sheet of paper, which now forms ff. 104 and 105. The watermark is rather dim, but it is definitely an anchor within a circle, with the shank of the anchor surmounted by a star that lies outside of the circle.³⁹ The watermark, which according to Briquet is Venetian,⁴⁰ differs markedly from the preceding folio (103) in *Vat. Pal. Lat.* 1951: a double-headed eagle bearing an escutcheon with two stars. It is also different from the following folio (106): an escutcheon that has an animal within, maybe a lion. Thus, the catalogue of manuscripts purchased from Papas Nathanael was originally quite separate from the other catalogues that we find in *Vat. Pal. Lat.* 1951. Since the paper is Venetian and is written in M. Gerstmann's hand, the possibility arises that he himself was in Venice as one of the agents who bought the lot of manuscripts for Ulrich Fugger.⁴¹ The paper shows creases, as if it had been folded and put either in a portfolio or in one of the cases in which the manuscripts were shipped. Folio 105r8-10 has the words: "Libri empti Calendis Martijs Anno Domini M.D.LIX. à Papa Nathaniele, sacerdote greco. pretio 53. Coronatorum." Folio 105v1-3 reads: "1559. Catalogus quindecim voluminum graecorum manuscriptorum." Folio 104r35 reads: "6. Athanasij Monachi montis sacri Sinai in Genesin. in 4^o char." There does not seem to be much doubt that this entry refers to *Cod. Vat. Pal. Gr.* 372. Two folios formed from a single sheet of paper precede the folio on which the *Hexaameron* begins in *Vat. Pal. Gr.* 372. On the verso of the first of these preceding folios is written: "Athanasij Monachi montis sacri Sinai in Genesin," which is exactly the wording of the entry in the

³⁶ P. Lehmann, *Eine Geschichte der alten Fuggerbibliotheken*. I. Teil (Tübingen, 1956), 139. For Papas Nathanael, cf. 138-140, 142, and 279.

³⁷ Lehmann, *Eine Geschichte*, 139, citing K. Christ against H. Stevenson in *Cod. mss. Pal. Gr.*, XXVI.

³⁸ Lehmann, *Eine Geschichte*, 139.

³⁹ The overall dimensions of the watermark are length: 50 mm.; width (diameter of the circle): 36.5 mm.; separation of the wiremarks on the paper: 31.5 mm.

⁴⁰ Briquet 1968, Vol. 1, pg. 40.

⁴¹ Other agents may have been Niccolo Stoppio and Bernhard Pflanzner. Cf. Lehmann, *Eine Geschichte*, 140.

catalogue in *Vat. Pal. Lat.* 1951.⁴²

In 1559, *Vat. Pal. Gr.* 372 traveled up to Augsburg.⁴³ Ulrich Fugger then bequeathed it to the Elector Frederick IV of the Palatinate, and it entered the Palatine Library in 1584.⁴⁴ After the capture of Heidelberg, Maximilian I, Duke of Bavaria, gave the entire library to Pope Gregory XV in 1622. The codices and books of the Palatine Library actually entered the Vatican Library in 1623. *Vat. Pal. Gr.* 372 was not among the codices taken to Paris in 1797.

σ *Codex Graecus Universitatis Salamantinae* 2.710 (olim *Codex Matritensis Palatii Regii* 14 [prius 13]). XVIth century. Paper; in folio; 283 numbered folios (according to the catalogue of A. Martin).⁴⁵

Catalogue: Albert Martin, "Rapport sur une mission en Espagne et en Portugal," *Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires, Choix de rapports et instructions*. Tome II (Paris, 1892), 76-77.

The manuscript contains Gregory of Nyssa's *De opificio hominis* and the *Hexaameron* almost to the end of Book XII (up to the word $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\pi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$ at Hex. XII.489; PG 89, 1077A12). There is no sign of physical damage at this point in the manuscript. The Anastasian *Hexaameron* begins on the recto of the folio numbered 81 and ends on the recto of the folio numbered 274. F. 274r also carries the number 324. In point of fact, contrary to what the numeration of the first and last folios would lead one to expect, the Anastasian *Hexaameron* occupies both sides of 195 folios and the recto side of an 196th folio. There are two successive folios each carrying the number 182. It seems that there has also been a jump either from f. 84 to 86 or from f. 85 to 87 (the numbers are not clearly visible). There may be other irregularities in the numbering of the folios. These numerals were put in by a later hand.

The quaternions (eight folios each) were numbered more carefully, apparently by the first hand. There are 25 quaternions. Each quaternion is marked by a Roman letter or letters in the lower right corner of the recto of the first folio. The first letter, an "A", occurs on f. 81r. The last quaternion is marked by "bb" on the lower right corner of f. 271r. The letters "j", "v" and "w" were not used in the numbering.⁴⁶

According to Martin's catalogue (pg. 77), the scribe who copied out the first part of the manuscript (Gregory of Nyssa's work) was a student of Andreas Darmarios. Martin says that beginning with f. 81, the script

⁴² For further discussion of these identical entries, see Baggarly, *Conjugates*, 34-5. Also, a notation in the left margin of f. 1r of P reads: "is titulus rectius in Athanasium competit." The hand of this marginal note does not appear to be the same as that which wrote out the entry on *Vat. Pal. Gr.* 372, f. Iv and the catalogue in *Vat. Pal. Lat.* 1951, ff. 104-5; cf. Baggarly, *Conjugates*, plate I.

⁴³ Lehmann, *Eine Geschichte*, 138.

⁴⁴ On the legacy of Fugger, cf. H. Stevenson, "Introduction," in Briquet 1968, Vol. I, pp. XXV-XXVII.

⁴⁵ We would like to thank the Director General of the Dirección General de Archivos y Bibliotecas in Madrid, who gave permission to microfilm this manuscript, and Fr. Fabian R. Rodríguez, S.J., who made exploratory visits to the library on our behalf in 1967, before Baggarly's visit in 1976.

⁴⁶ For a discussion of quires in Greek manuscripts, see Caspar René Gregory, "The Quires in Greek Manuscripts," *American Journal of Philology* 7/1 (1886): 27-32.

changes: precisely where the *Hexaemeron* commences. So far, we have been unable to identify the scribe who copied the *Hexaemeron*. A second hand has added some corrections in Greek in the margins. It is difficult to tell whether or not a third hand was responsible for the marginal notations in Latin.

A possibility exists that the Salamanca manuscript (σ) and *Codex Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus* 372 (P) are copies of the same exemplar. Of the manuscripts we have seen, these two alone have μέγας instead of θαῖος at *Hex.* I.68 (PG 89, 853D51). A number of cases of omission due to homoeoteleuton in the Salamanca manuscript, which are not found in P, make it impossible that P is a copy of σ . Also, in the Salamanca manuscript, at the point corresponding to σὼν πρόρων *Hex.* XII.478 (σὼν ἄρρων PG 89, 1076D48), we find σὼν ρων: no blank is present in the manuscript. P^a.corr., as mentioned above, has σὼν[+5]ρων; P^p.corr. has σὼν δῶρων.

There is a small possibility that a long dittography covering the entire verso side of f. 83 and the first (incomplete) and second words of the recto side of f. 84 in the Salamanca manuscript was occasioned by the appearance of f. 5r and f. 6r in P. The dittography begins with καὶ at the beginning of f. 83v1 of the Salamanca manuscript (*Hex.* I.95; the second *et* in PG 89, 854C31) and goes to τὸν on f. 84r1 (*Hex.* I.122; PG 89, 855A14). The same καὶ stands at the beginning of the line in P 5r11. A very similar καὶ stands at the beginning of the line in P 6r9 (*Hex.* I.119 καὶ²; PG 89, 855A10, the second *et*). The scribe perhaps stopped his work for a while when he reached the end of the bottom line (l. 30) on f. 83r of the Salamanca manuscript (= τὸν at *Hex.* I.122; PG 89, 855A14). If he was copying from P, then perhaps he mistakenly resumed his work at the καὶ at the beginning of P 5r11, instead of resuming it at the Πατέρα in the middle of P 6r13 (four lines below the καὶ that begins P 6r9).

A better explanation of the dittography is that the scribe of the Salamanca manuscript was copying from the exemplar of P. It would be more natural for him to break off his work when he had reached a natural division point in the exemplar, e.g., the end of a side. Also, the fact that the καὶ that begins the dittography begins the line at both f. 83v1 and f. 83r1 of the Salamanca manuscript, indicates that it must have been marked as a starting point in some way in the exemplar of the Salamanca manuscript. Either the scribe could have made a note of this point on a separate sheet of paper, or he could have marked it in the exemplar, or he could have trusted his memory, or—finally—it could have stood at the beginning of a side in the exemplar.

A more extensive collation of the Salamanca manuscript with P is necessary before a definitive decision can be made on the question of whether or not P was the exemplar of σ .

In an article, Baggary maintained that the reading ὑπάρχη found in P at *Hex.* I.205 (PG 89, 857C31) was the correct one, and he pointed out that a scribe would naturally think of changing it to ὑπάρχει.⁴⁷ Confirmation of the ease with which such a change could be made came

when he received the microfilm of the Salamanca manuscript.⁴⁸ The scribe first wrote ὑπάρχη and then changed it to ὑπάρχει.

With respect to the possessors, we obtain the following information from Martin's notice (pg. 76). The first numbered folio (therefore f. 1) carries the notation "D. epis. Civitatensis," and f. 274v (not shown on the microfilm we used) has "Jose Civi scudi 14." Martin writes: "Moi, José Civi, je l'ai acheté 14 écus ou je l'ai copié pour 14 écus?" We find out who the "D. epi. Civitatensis" was from Martin's notice on Codex 1 of the MSS. of the Biblioteca del Palacio de Madrid (pg. 55). He was Don Diego de Covarrubias. Don Diego was born in 1512, and was elected Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo in 1560.⁴⁹ It is probable that the manuscript came into his possession after his election to the See of Ciudad Rodrigo, although we cannot exclude the possibility that he acquired it before his election, and placed his mark of ownership in it only after his election. Martin informs us (pg. 55) that the notation "D. epis. Civitatensis" is from the hand of Covarrubias himself. Don Diego de Covarrubias was at the Council of Trent. As far as we can gather from the Acta, his title "Civitatensis" appears for the first time in a general congregation on June 3, 1562, and his full name in the Fourth Session under Pius IV (the Twentieth Session in the total series) on June 4, 1562—although he had arrived already on May 19, 1562.⁵⁰ Apparently he was not at the Council before this date. He would have had an opportunity to acquire the manuscript at Trent, where a number of copyists (Andreas Darmarios among them) carried on a brisk business in the production and sale of Greek manuscripts.⁵¹ In any case, the manuscript would have received the notation "D. epis. Civitatensis" before Don Diego de Covarrubias became Bishop of Segovia in 1564. He was translated to the See of Cuenca in 1577, and died in the same year.⁵²

A complication arises, however, in our attempts to trace the possessors of the Anastasian *Hexaemeron*. Although it is certain from Martin's account that Don Diego de Covarrubias owned the part of the Salamanca codex which contains Gregory of Nyssa's *De opificio hominis* and that this work was copied by one of Andreas Darmarios's students or subordinates,⁵³ Gregory of Nyssa's work ends on the verso of f. 49,

⁴⁸ The article was ready for publication on May 15, 1967. He received the microfilm of *Cod. Gr. Salamant. Univer.* 2.710 in June 1969 and did not personally examine the manuscript until 1976.

⁴⁹ Cf. Alberto Scola, "Covarrubias, Didaco," in *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, Volume IV (Vatican, 1950), column 794.

⁵⁰ *Concilium Tridentinum. Diarium, actorum, epistolarum, tractatum nova collectio*, ed. Societas Goerresiana. Volume 8, part 5 (Freiburg-Breisgavia, 1919), pg. 527, l. 20; pg. 529, l. 24 and note 7. Cf. the index of the volume, pg. 994b, s.v. *Civitatensis*, where the arrival date is listed as May 19, 1562.

⁵¹ Cf. Charles Graux, *Essai sur les origines du fonds grec de l'Escorial* (Paris, 1880), 287-298 (esp. 290-292).

⁵² Martin, "Rapport sur une mission en Espagne," 55, informs us that in Codices 29 and 37 of the Biblioteca del Palacio de Madrid, Don Diego took the title of Bishop of Segovia. For the different bishoprics he occupied, cf. *Concilium Tridentinum*, Vol. 8, pg. 994 (s. v. *Civitatensis*).

⁵³ Martin, "Rapport sur une mission en Espagne," 76. Otto Kresten of the Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna has written an unpublished doctoral dissertation on Andreas Darmarios. Cf. Jean Irigoin, "Les manuscrits grecs," *Revue des Études Grecques* 83 (1970):

⁴⁷ "A parallel between Michael Psellus and the *Hexaemeron* of Anastasius of Sinai," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 36 (1970): 340 (line 46 with lemma) and 344, n. 1.

immediately preceding the *Hexaameron*. So far as we know, no one has yet identified the scribe who copied out the Anastasian *Hexaameron*, nor has it been determined when the two works were bound together. It is entirely possible that Don Diego bought the copy of the *Hexaameron* at some time between the end of the Council of Trent (December 4, 1563) and his death in 1577; or it is possible that the Biblioteca del Palacio de Madrid acquired the Anastasian *Hexaameron* from another source and had it bound together with Gregory of Nyssa's work.⁵⁴

Upon the death of Don Diego de Covarrubias in 1577, King Philip II had his library examined to see if any volumes were worth taking for the Escorial. The answer was negative, and so the library passed to the College of Oviedo at Salamanca, to which Don Diego had willed it. At a later date, it passed to the Biblioteca del Palacio in Madrid.⁵⁵ In 1954, all the Greek manuscripts of this latter library, as well as others, passed to the Biblioteca de la Universidad de Salamanca.⁵⁶

Family IIb

W *Codex Vindobonensis theologicus Graecus* 250 (olim 185). XVIth century. Paper; in quarto; 201/202 x 144/154 mm.; I binder's leaf, II guard leaves, 347 folios, I guard leaf, I binder's leaf.

Catalogues: Daniel de Nessel, *CATALOGUS, Sive Recensio Specialis omnium Codicum Manuscriptorum GRAECORUM, necnon Linguarum ORIENTALIUM, Augustissimae BIBLIOTHECAE CAESAREAE Vindobonensis*. Pars Prima (Vienna, 1690), 353.

Herbert Hunger and Wolfgang Lackner, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*. Teil 3/3, *Codices theologici* 201-337 (Vienna, 1992), 173-5.

This manuscript contains only the Anastasian *Hexaameron*. It is complete almost to the end of Book XII, up to the word ἐπερυσίαις (*Hex.* XII.489; PG 89, 1077A12), which falls at the end of f. 346v19, the last line of the page. Folio 347r contains an ending that is in another hand and is manifestly discontinuous in sense with what precedes. The same hand wrote f. 1r-v, and according to Hunger (pg. 174), the hand belongs to Andreas Darmarios. Outside of the false ending, three other hands copied out the manuscript. The hand that did ff. 2r - 82v is the same as the first hand in P (*Codex Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus* 372).⁵⁷ Some marginal corrections, e.g. on f. 1r6 and 9r5, may have come from a fifth hand. Other corrections, such as the τὸ γράμμα in the right margin

⁵²⁰ For more information on Andreas Darmarios, see Gamillscheg, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten* (full citation below), T. 1/A, pp. 29-32, n° 13.

⁵⁴ In 1974, the Biblioteca de la Universidad de Salamanca was in the process of publishing catalogues of its Greek manuscripts in the series *Acta Salmanticensia iussu Senatus Universitatis edita. Filosofia y Letras*. (The Universidad Literaria de Salamanca should be distinguished from the Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca.) The first part of the catalogue had already appeared in Tomo XV, N° 4 (Salamanca, 1963). These new catalogues have not yet been consulted by the editors.

⁵⁵ Graux, *Essai sur les origines*, 276-277.

⁵⁶ Marcel Richard, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs. Supplément I* (1958-1963) (Paris, 1964), pg. 206.

⁵⁷ Hunger also saw three other hands: 2r - 108v, 109r - 180v, and 181r - 346v.

opposite f. 87r15, seem to have come from a textual tradition independent of Family II (in this case, probably from *Cod. Vindob. theol. Gr.* 72 of Family IV).

The watermark of an angel surmounted by a star (found on the front guard leaves) is similar to Briquet n° 651, an Italian paper that has been attested at Salò in 1576. For a full listing of the various watermarks, see Hunger (pg. 175). None have been attested earlier than 1536.

Johannes S. Sambucus (1531-1584) was the first possessor of whom we have knowledge. He was certainly responsible for the Latin notations on folio 1r. Another later hand made observations on his notations and other marginal annotations in Latin throughout the text. It was probably Sebastian Tengenagel (Hunger, pg. 175).

Y *Codex Scorialensis* 327 or y.III.4 (olim III.Θ.4 et V.E.9; 64^{us} ex MSS. Graecis Antonii Augustini). Middle of the XVIth century. Paper; 217 x 163 mm. (measurements of f. 6); III, 187 folios, III.

Catalogues: E. Miller, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque de l'Escorial* (Paris, 1848), 289.

Gregorio de Andrés, *Catálogo de los Códices Griegos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*. II, *Códices* 179-420 (Madrid, 1965), 220-221.

This manuscript contains no other work besides the Anastasian *Hexaameron* (on ff. 1r-187r), which is complete almost to the end of Book XII, stopping at the word ἐπερυσίαις (*Hex.* XII.489; PG 89, 1077A12). The tan leather cover has been blind tooled, with an escutcheon stamp on the front and back covers. The gatherings are quires consisting of eight leaves. One hand copied and corrected the whole *Hexaameron*, but the scribe is not known. The only watermark between f. 1 and 187 is a pair of crossed arrows with a star. It is similar to Briquet n° 6299, attested at Augsburg in 1554. The watermark on guard leaf II (front) is a man walking with a staff. It is similar to Briquet n° 7590, an Italian paper attested at Provenza in 1569. The manuscript comes from the library of Antonio Augustin, who died as Archbishop of Tarragona in 1586.⁵⁸ It is uncertain when he acquired it.

B *Codex Bononiensis Bibliothecae Communalis Archigymnasii* A.5 (olim A.I.3). Middle of the XVIth century. Paper; 306 x 207 mm. (measurement of f. 1); I binder's leaf, 177 folios, III guard leaves (called ff. 178-180 by C. Lucchessi), I binder's leaf.

Catalogues: A. Olivieri and N. Festa, "Indice dei codici greci delle biblioteche Universitaria e Comunale di Bologna," *Studi Italiani di filologia classica* 3 (1895): 470.

Carlo Lucchessi, *Inventario dei Manoscritti della Biblioteca Comunale della Archiginnasio di Bologna* (Serie A). Volume 1 (Florence, 1924), 12-13.

This manuscript contains only the Anastasian *Hexaameron* (on ff. 1r-177v), which is complete almost to the end of Book XII, stopping at the word ἐπερυσίαις (*Hex.* XII.489; PG 89, 1077A12).

The codex has a white leather cover, 316 x 211 mm.; the coat of arms

⁵⁸ On Don Antonio Augustin's life, cf. Graux, *Essai sur les origines*, 280-287. On his library, see., pp. 299-306 and 458-462. *Scor.* y.III.4 is mentioned on pp. 458 and 487.

on the inside cover probably belonged to the Cornaro family of Venice. One of several watermarks consists of a bull's head (f. 81) surmounted by a cross (f. 11). It is similar to Briquet n° 14525, which has been attested at Brescia in 1543, with variants at Bergamo in 1544 and Rispach in 1545. Another watermark is a (cardinal's) hat surmounted by a cross (f. 180) or a star (f. 179). The former is similar to Briquet n° 3486, attested at Udine in 1553; the latter is similar to n° 3454, attested at Salo in 1534. The paper is Venetian.

Olivieri dates the manuscript to the XVIth century (pg. 470). Lucchessi dates it to the XVth century (pg. 13). Both scholars have noted that a second hand copied out ff. 9, 16, and 177. Since the script on f. 9 very strongly resembles that in Y, we are inclined to agree with Olivieri. Certain marginal corrections, e.g. on f. 2r, seem to come from a hand different from either the first or the second hand.

The Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio di Bologna acquired the manuscript after the death in 1811 of its last possessor, Antonio Magnani, S. J. Previously it had belonged to the Cornaro family of Venice, one of whose members, Catherine Cornaro (1454-1510), had been the wife of James II, King of Cyprus. It is possible that the exemplar of the manuscript was on Cyprus; but at the moment such a proposal must remain in the realm of hypothesis. We do not know whether the manuscript passed directly or indirectly into the hands of Fr. Magnani, or when he acquired it.

Family III

The members of this family not only share certain characteristic readings, but also contain Books I-XI complete (PG 89, 851A - 1052A2) but not Book XII (but see F below). The family divides into three sub-families. The division into the last two sub-families may not be perfect, since contamination could have occurred (but see pg. LIX below).

Family IIIa

F *Codex Parisinus Graecus Bibliothecae Nationalis* 861 (olim *Codex Colbertinus* 2253). XVIth century. Paper; in folio; 195 x 299 mm.; 176 folios numbered as 177 (there is no f. 23).⁶⁰

Catalogue: Henri Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Première partie, *Ancien fonds grec, Théologie* (Paris, 1886), 162.

This is the only manuscript of Family III that contains Book XII, which is almost complete, ending at ἐπερχομαι (Hex. XII.489; PG 89, 1077A12). Omont mistakenly notes that it was copied by Ioannes

⁶⁰ Photographs together with microfilms of this and the following codex were supplied through the courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The manuscripts themselves were examined by Baggarly in Paris on October 11-13, 1976.

Rhósos, who died in 1498.⁶⁰ Folio 165r carries a watermark like that on Briquet n° 3477, attested in 1547.

f *Codex Parisinus Supplementum Graecum Bibliothecae Nationalis* 587. XVIIth century. Paper; 240 x 170 mm.; 99 folios.

Catalogue: Henri Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Troisième partie, *Ancien fonds grec* (Paris, 1888), 279.

This codex contains the *Hexaameron* Books I to III (PG 89, 877C31) on ff. 2r-15r, and the *Hexaameron* Books VI through XI (PG 89, 921D42 - 1037C46) on ff. 18r-71r. It is a copy of the previous codex, F.

Family IIIb

Most of the codices of Families IIIb and IIIc seem to have been copied within a short space of time, perhaps between 1540 and 1570, which was approximately the period when the Council of Trent was in session. A few later copies exist.

R *Codex Graecus Bibliothecae Angelicae* 88 (olim T.8.6). Finished in May, 1558, according to a colophon on f. 465v16-21 at the end of the *Hexaameron*. Paper; in folio; 298 x 205 mm.; binder's leaf, V, 465 folios, I, binder's leaf.

Catalogue: Georgius Muccio and Pius Franchi de Cavalieri, "Index Codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Angelicae," *Studi Italiani di filologia classica* 4 (1896): 133.

The *Hexaameron*, up to the end of Book XI, covers ff. 280r-465v. The watermark, an anchor within a circle, with a star outside the circle, indicates that the paper had a Venetian provenance.⁶¹

V *Codex Vaticanus Graecus* 726 (olim 849). XVIth century. Paper; in folio; 314 x 220 mm.; IV, 181 folios.

Catalogue: Robert Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*. Tomus III, *Codices* 604-866 (Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1950), 227-8.

This manuscript contains the *Hexaameron* to the end of Book XI. Among other watermarks, we find: 1) an anchor within a circle with the shank surmounted by a star lying outside the circle, and with a countermark PA surmounted by a cross; and 2) a crown with five points surmounted by a star over the central point.

It appears that V entered the Vatican Library before 1559.⁶² It entered after 1533, and under the regime of Marcello Cervini.⁶³

L *Codex Vossianus Graecus* F. 41. XVIth century. Paper; in folio; 305 x 200 mm.; IV, 223 folios.

⁶⁰ Ernst Gamillscheg, Dieter Harlfinger, and Herbert Hunger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600*, T. 2/A (Vienna, 1981), pg. 102.

⁶¹ Briquet 1968, Vol. 1, pg. 40.

⁶² R. Devreesse, *Le Fonds grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane des origines à Paul V* (Vatican, 1965), pp. 468 and 470.

⁶³ Devreesse, *Le Fonds grec*, pp. 431 and 444.

Catalogue: K. A. de Meyier, *Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis, Codices Manuscripti VI, Codices Vossiani Graeci et Miscellanei* (Bibliotheca Universitatis Lugduni Batavorum, 1955), 45-46.

L contains the *Hexaameron* up to the end of Book XI on ff. 1r-219r. The watermarks are the familiar anchor within a circle with the shank surmounted by a star. They are similar to Briquet nn. 548 and 496.

S *Codex Scorialensis 372 vel X.II.12 (olim III.I.16 et III.B.2; 20^{as} e MSS. Graecis Antonii Augustini)*. Middle of XVIth century. Paper; 289 x 201 mm. (measurements of f. 155); II, 330 folios (there are two folios numbered 154).

Catalogues: E. Miller, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque de l'Escorial* (Paris, 1848), 390-1.

Gregorio de Andrés, *Catálogo de los Códices Griegos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial. II, Códices 179-420* (Madrid, 1965), 281-2.

The codex has a light tan leather cover, blind tooled and decorated with the escutcheon of the Escorial. The *Hexaameron* is the last work in the codex, and covers Books I through XI; it begins on the recto of the second folio numbered 154 and ends on folio 329r. At the beginning of f. 159r the hand changes. Within the manuscript, the anchor occurs as a watermark. There are, however, two kinds of anchors surmounted by a star. The simple line drawing, found on f. 162, is similar to Briquet n° 558, which is a Venetian paper and has been attested at Verona in 1573. De Andrés says (pg. 282) that the codex seems to have come from the scriptorium of Andreas Darmarios.

E *Codex Mutinensis Bibliothecae Estensis 155, numerus topographicus a.W.4.22 (olim III E 2)*. Probably XVIth century. Paper; 303 x 205 mm. (measurements of f. 69); binder's leaf, 431 folios, V, binder's leaf.

Catalogue: V. Puntoni, "Indice dei codici greci della Biblioteca Estense di Modena," *Studi Italiani di filologia classica* 4 (1896): 483-4.

The *Hexaameron*, to the end of Book XI, covers ff. 1r-192v. The countermarks found on ff. 60v and 66v are similar to Briquet n° 9616, attested at Udine in 1565. Folios 193 to 196 are blank, but ruled; they apparently belonged to the same manuscript as the *Hexaameron*. Folio 197 is also blank and ruled; but it apparently belonged to the next manuscript. Puntoni dates the hand in the XVth century, but it could just as easily belong to the XVIth century. On f. 431v, in a different hand, George Tryphon put a colophon indicating he had finished this part of the codex on April 1, 1550.

I *Codex Berolinensis Phillippicus 1448 (olim 91 Meermannianus et 147 Claromontanus)*. Begun before November 28, 1615 (cf. f. 29v) and finished on January 1, 1616. Paper; 283 x 200 mm.; II (at least), 146 folios, I (at least).

Catalogue: W. Studemund and L. Cohn, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Koeniglichen Bibliothek zu Berlin. Elfter Band, Verzeichniss der griechischen Handschriften, I* (Berlin, 1890), 14-15. The codex here carries the number 44.

This codex contains the *Hexaameron* to the end of Book XI, the text covering ff. 1r to 146v. It was copied by Claudius Cheraëus, S.J., of Langres.

D *Codex Mutinensis Tabularii Publici II.15*. XVIth century, second half. Paper; 315 x 220 mm.; 16 folios.

Catalogue: Elpidio Mioni, "I Frammenti di manoscritti greci nell'Archivio di Stato di Modena," *Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato* 21 (1961): 224.

This codex contains a fragment of Book XI (the catalogue contains the misprint IX) extending from *Hex.* XI.365 to 1091. The watermark is similar to Briquet n° 485, the anchor within the circle with the shank surmounted by a six-pointed star. Mioni thinks (pg. 217) that at least a part of these fragments in all probability came from the library of Alfonso II d'Este and of Cardinal Rodolfo Pio. The scribe may have been Andreas Darmarios.⁶⁴

Family IIIc

A *Codex Athoniticus Monasterii Sancti Panteleimonis 181* (Lambros n° 5688). XVIth century. Paper; 290 x 200 mm.; 158 folios.

Catalogue: Spyr. P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos. Volume II* (Cambridge, 1900), 313.

According to Lambros's description (pg. 313), the codex contains only the *Hexaameron*, up to the end of Book XI. The codex once belonged to the Oikonomos of Monembasia, Ioannes Likinios, the priest who seems to have held the office of Protopapas of Monembasia between 1626 and 1633 (Volume I, page 299, n° 10; Volume II, page 313).

G *Codex Musaei Britannici Additionalis 21061 (467 E. 8)*. Second half of the XVIth century. Paper; in folio; 312 x 211 mm.; VI, 167 folios, II.

Catalogues: *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts of the British Museum in the Years MDCCCLIV-MDCCCLX* (London, 1875), 316.

Index of Manuscripts in the British Library. Volume I (Cambridge, 1984), 103.

This manuscript is problematic. One must first note the two numbering systems. The first folio of the text is numbered 1 in the upper right hand corner of the recto side. A more recent hand, however, wrote in pencil the number 3. This dual system continues throughout the text. There is also a problem with the λόγοι numbering. The *Catalogue of Additions* notes: "S. Anastasii Sinaitae, anagogicarum contemplationum in Hexaëmeron libri undecim; with a prooemium addressed to Theophilus. Graece. The 10th book is wanting. f.1." The last sentence has been crossed out and the following note has been appended in ink: "❖ Books I-XI. Books VI-VIII are all headed as parts of Book VI, and Books IX and X are headed VIII and IX respectively." Upon examination, one finds that the original scribe titled Book VI as λογος 5'; then Book VII as εις τα μετὰ την έκτην; then Book VIII as λογος ζ' και

⁶⁴ See Gamillscheg, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten*, T. 1/A, pg. 31, n° 13.

τέλος τῆς σωματικῆς ἐξαήμερου κτίσεως. The scribe then labeled Books IX and X as eight and nine; and he finally corrected himself in Book XI, which is labeled as eleven. We have not noticed this problem with chapter numbering in any other manuscript.

The codex contains the complete Anastasian *Hexaemeron* up to the end of Book XI on f. 1r to f. 167r (earlier numbering) or f. 3r to 169r (later numbering). There is, however, a large empty space in the text. Folio 31 recto ends at line 6 in the middle of a sentence: ὅτι ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείραι τὸν σπόρον (*Hex.* III.497; PG 89, 888D8). The sentence continues 1 3/4 sides later, on folio 32 recto: κατὰ γένος καὶ κατ' ἐθνός. In-between, only two words have dropped out: τοῦ λόγου. The *Hexaemeron* is followed in the codex by 4 dialogues of Basiliius Caesariensis, apparently in a different hand.

The catalogues date the codex to the XVth century. But the watermark on f. 31 (earlier numbering) is similar to Briquet n° 6097: an oval (40 x 35 mm.) containing a cartouche (four incurved lines) that in turn encloses a six-pointed star. A similar watermark found at Lucca can be dated to 1566-1567; at Rome to 1567 and 1574; and at Fabriano to 1572. The paper is Italian. The watermarks in the portion containing Basil's works are different. The binding of the codex is modern.

With respect to the front leaves, after the front cover there is a binder's leaf labeled "467E". This is followed by six folios containing various notices. On folio III recto, a recent hand has written in ink: "Scribe identified as Κωνσταντῖνος 'Ρεσινός, see E. Gamillscheg and D. Harlfinger, 'Specimen eines Repertoriums der griechischen Kopisten,' *Jahrbuch der österlichischen Byzantinistik* 27, 294-322 (p. 315)".⁶⁵ On folio IV recto a notice written in 1841 says that an edition of the full *Hexaemeron* in Greek has not yet appeared. On the bottom of the same folio side, there appears to be a purchase note, which gives another date: 5 July 1655. Folio V is a partial, irregular-shaped sheet. Folio VI is obviously older paper; a wormhole penetrates this sheet and continues through to folio 105 (earlier numbering) of the *Hexaemeron*. The British Museum acquired the codex in 1855.

K *Codex Oxoniensis Casaubon* I.67 (S.C. 3947). Probably copied between 1580-1614. Paper; in folio; 302 x 195 mm.; 4 folios.

Catalogues: Falconer Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*. Volume II, part II (Oxford, 1937), 794.

H. O. Coxe, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues*. Volume I, *Greek Manuscripts*. Reprinted with corrections from the edition of 1853 (Oxford, 1969), column 823.

This manuscript contains the heading and Praefatio of Book I (up to PG 89, 857A8) along with commentaries on the *Hexaemeron*. It was bound with other papers written by Isaac Casaubon, a classical scholar, who was a professor of Greek at Geneva from 1580 to 1596. He moved to Paris in 1600 and was appointed keeper of the Bibliothèque Royale in 1604. He then settled in England, where he died in 1614. His papers

⁶⁵ For more information on this scribe and this codex, see Gamillscheg, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten*, T. 1/A, pp. 127-8, n° 227.

were given to the Bodleian Library in 1673 by his son.⁶⁶

Each side of each of the 4 Anastasian folios has been numbered. Presumably the numbering occurred before the assembled papers were bound, because page 72 precedes section 67 pages 1-8 (which are the *Hexaemeron* section) and page 73 follows. Before they were sorted and bound in 1708, they had been stored in a tin box.

In the upper left hand margin of folio 1 recto, Casaubon wrote a short biography of Anastasius. The dates (561, 572, 593, and 599) suggest that Casaubon was thinking of Anastasius I, patriarch of Antioch.⁶⁷

The first two folios hold a commentary in Latin about Anastasius and the text in Greek of the beginning of Book I (Praefatio). They were written in Casaubon's own hand. In the commentary, Casaubon says that his manuscript belonged to Louis Servin (1555-1626), a celebrated French lawyer and author. Concerning the author of the *Hexaemeron*, Casaubon makes the comment: *Non est auctor valde antiquus et ut puto sex centos vix excedit annos*. He then gives his reasons: the vocabulary, which is recent and at times *barbara*; the subject matter; the praise of Olympiodorus of Alexandria; and the *testimonia*. Casaubon gives the theme: that the narration by Moses ought to be referred to Christ and the Church. Casaubon names the heresies that are discussed, and that the author does not adhere to Origen.

The Greek text begins on the bottom of folio 1 recto. At the bottom of folio 4 recto (pg. 7), following the text excerpt, is a select list of Anastasius's sources, with quotations from the *Hexaemeron* text and a reference number from his exemplar. The sources named by Casaubon include: Ammonius, Basiliius, Aquila, Symmachus, duo Gregorii, Adamantius (Origen), Papias, Clemens (Alexandrinus), Olympiodorus, Eustathius (Antiochenus), Justinus Martyr, Dionysius Areopagita, Philo (Judaesus), and Methodius. This detailed list, which continues to the bottom of folio 4 verso (pg. 8), is reminiscent of the marginal notations found in n (*Codex Oxoniensis Grabe* 16).

Q *Codex Vaticanus Graecus Reginae Pii* II 12. XVIth century. Paper; 315 x 311 mm.; binder's leaf, I, 169 folios, III, binder's leaf.

Catalogue: Henricus Stevenson, *Codices Manuscripti Graeci Reginae Suecorum et Pii PP. II Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Rome, 1888), 139-40.

This codex contains only the *Hexaemeron*, up to the end of Book XI. Stevenson dated the codex in the XVth century (pg. 139). Otto Kreston, however, viewed the manuscript and informed us that the title and first two lines of the text on f. 1r come from the hand of the unknown teacher of Andreas Darmarios.⁶⁸ We also found that the watermarks on ff. 161-172 are almost identical with the anchor in the circle and the star, together with the countermark, as set out in Briquet n° 518, which is attested at Verona in 1545.

⁶⁶ For more information about Casaubon, see Falconer Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, vol. II, part II, pg. 793. For a study and some translations of the assorted essays by Casaubon, see Jo. Christophorus Wolfius, *Casaubonia sive Isaaci Casauboni Varia de Scriptoribus* (Hamburg, 1711).

⁶⁷ For Anastasius I, patriarch of Antioch, see Alexander Kazhdan, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Vol. 1 (Oxford, 1991), 87; and Weiss, *Studia Anastasiana* I, 1-48.

⁶⁸ For more on Andreas Darmarios, see footnote 53 above.

The codex entered the Vatican Library under Clement XI (Pope 1700-1721) from the Monastery of San Silvestro in Quirinale (cf. Stevenson, pg. X, and the seals on f. 1r).

q *Codex Berolinensis Phillipicus* 1449 (olim 92 Meermannianus). Copied in 1636. Paper; 264 x 197 mm.; III (at least), 217 folios, II (at least).

Catalogue: W. Studemund and L. Cohn, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Koeniglichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*. Elfter Band, *Verzeichniss der griechischen Handschriften*, I (Berlin, 1890), 15. The codex here carries the number 45.

The codex contains only the *Hexaameron*, up to the end of Book XI. It was transcribed for Lucas Holstenius from **Q** when the codex was in San Silvestro in Quirinale.

The following codices, only briefly noted, also contain the text of *Family* IIIc of the *Hexaameron*. All except **Z** contain the text up to the end of Book XI; none of them contain Book XII. **Z** has the text through to *Hex.* III.86 (PG 89, 879D56). All of these codices belong to the XVIth century.

It may be best to classify **μ** and **J** as *Family* IIId, because, in spite of their readings in common with *Family* IIIc, they form a distinguishable sub-group.

m *Codex Matritensis Bibliothecae Nationalis* 4773. 1566. Paper; 317 x 216 mm. (measurements of f. 50); II, 469 folios, I.

The *Hexaameron* begins on f. 278r and continues to 466v. It is preceded by Nicephorus on the Psalms. F. 467 is blank; ff. 468 and 469 contain two fragments of the *Hexaameron* by the same hand. The watermark on the front and rear guard leaves and f. 2 is a hand with a star. It is similar to Briquet n° 11209, which has been attested at Madrid in 1547. It seems that the part of the codex containing the *Hexaameron* was executed for Martín Pérez de Ayala, Archbishop of Valencia (see f. 1r and the colophon on f. 466v18). Martín was installed as Archbishop on 23 April 1565 and died on 5 August 1566. His library, including this manuscript and 4775 (see **μ** below), was then given to the Real Casa de Santiago de Uclés. The notice on f. 1r calls attention to the Anastasian works in 4775, which was already in the same library, and adds: *hoc volui te lector admovere, ut si opus foret, comparatione exemplarium veriore lectionem posses comprobare*. It is possible that Hervet's Latin translation came from this manuscript.

T *Codex Augustanus Taurinorum Bibliothecae Nationalis* C IV 26. Paper; II, 322 folios, II.

Catalogue: Giuseppe Mazzatinti, *Inventari dei Manoscritti delle Biblioteche D'Italia*. Volume XXVIII: Torino (Florence, 1922), 40.

The codex contains only the *Hexameron*, which Mazzatinti dates to the XVIth century (pg. 40).

C *Codex Cantabrigiensis* Ff.iv.2. Paper; 319 x 220 mm. (measurements of f. n° 111); III, 296 folios, II.

Catalogue: *Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press*. Volume II (Cambridge, 1857), 432-3.

Folios 110 and 111 are both numbered 110. Folio 112, numbered 111, has the beginning of the *Hexaameron*, which continues to folio n° 292v. There are at least two hands that copied the *Hexaameron* portion. The catalogue has placed this first portion of the codex, which also contains Procopius, in the XVth century, and the rest of the codex in the XVIth.⁶⁹

Z *Codex Vallicellanus* 99 (F 58). Paper; 221 x 163 mm.; III, ff. 308.

Catalogue: E. Martini, *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane*. Volume II, *Catalogus codicum graecorum qui in Bibliotheca Vallicellana Romae adservantur* (Milano, 1902), 169.

This codex contains several manuscripts from the XVth and XVIth centuries. The pagination is out of order (e.g., 243-247, 256-266, 227-235, 248-255), and there are several blank folios. The Anastasian portion of the codex fills f. 1 - 42v. On the verso of folio 1 we find an image of Anastasius, with the caption: "Anastasius of Sinai, the New Moses" (Ἀναστάσιος σινᾶ μωσοῦς νέος).

μ *Codex Matritensis Bibliothecae Nationalis* 4775. 1566. Paper; 310 x 212 mm. (measurements of f. 55); III, 214 folios, I.

The *Hexaameron* covers ff. 53r - 214r. It is preceded by another Anastasian work: *responsio ad oblatas sibi quaestiones a quibusdam orthodoxis*.⁷⁰ At least three different hands copied the *Hexaameron* portion. A notice on f. IIIr states that the codex was donated to the library by Archbishop Martín Pérez de Ayala in 1566 (see **m** above). There are several watermarks; the cardinal's hat surmounted by the cross on f. 123 is similar to Briquet nn. 3501 and 3505, both of which have been attested at Vicenza in 1545.

J *Codex Scorialensis* Ψ.I.4. Paper; in folio; 233 x 344 mm. (measurements of f. 57); 370 folios.

Catalogue: E. Miller, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque de l'Escurial* (Paris, 1848), 411.

The *Hexaameron* portion of the codex occupies f. 56r - f. 226r. According to a colophon on f. 226r7-9, the manuscript was completed in 1573 by Nicolas de la Torre (cf. Miller, pg. 411).

Hv. Versio latina a Gentiano Herveto facta ut in editione principe (Paris, 1579) prostat.

⁶⁹ The scribe of ff. 294-297, containing portions of the Liturgy of St. James, was Konstantinos Palaikappas. See Gamillscheg, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten*, T. 1/A, pg. 126, n° 225.

⁷⁰ Cf. G. Hervet, *Anastasii Episcopi Niceni [sic] Responsio ad orthodoxorum aliquorum christianorum Interrogationes de diversis capitibus ecclesiasticis*, ed. Margarinus de la Bigne. In *Bibliotheca Sanctorum Patrum*, volume VI, Paris, 1575.

Family IV

M *Codex Graecus Bibliothecae Statalis (olim Regiae) Bavaricae* 145. Possibly early XVIth century. Paper; in folio; 438 folios (f. 438 blank).⁷¹

Catalogue: Io. Christoph. L. Baro de Aretin, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae*. Voluminis Primi, *Codices Graecos ab Ign. Hardt ... recensitos complexi* Tom. II (Munich, 1806), 142.

This codex contains the *Hexaameron* on ff. 246r-437v6. The text is complete almost to the end of Book XII, stopping with the word ἐπερυσίαις (*Hex.* XII.489; PG 89, 1077A12). There is no indication of physical damage to the manuscript at this point. The codex also contains other works in at least one other hand. On f. 200r, there is a colophon indicating that a portion of the codex was completed in April 1445. We believe, however, that the *Hexaameron* might have been copied at a later date, since the watermark on ff. 431, 435, and 438, a tall crown, is very similar to Briquet n° 4906, which is attested in Memmingen in 1506. But it must be noted that Briquet n° 4906 has four circles in the band, while the watermark in our codex has three circles and no M-shaped line on top of the cross.

A number of blank spaces appear in the text of the *Hexaameron*. Some represent letters that have really fallen out of the text, e.g. on f. 437v4 a blank about four letters in length exists, where the letters ἀνὺ should fit into the text (*Hex.* XII.487; PG 89, 1077A9). Other blanks give only the appearance that some of the text has been lost. For example, at f. 437r18 we find a blank of seven letters at the end of the line after χορρυοῦ. The word, however, is completed by a capital Σ just outside of the left margin and an α in the line at f. 437r19 (*Hex.* XII.476; PG 89, 1076D45).

H *Codex Matritensis Bibliothecae Nationalis* 4734 (olim O.57; Iriarte 65). Middle of XVIth century. Paper; 313 x 217 mm. (measurements of f. 424); II, 598 folios, IV.

Catalogue: M. Miller, "Bibliothèque Royale de Madrid. Catalogue des manuscrits grecs (Supplément au catalogue d'Iriarte)," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque National et autres bibliothèques*. Tome trente et unième, Deuxième partie (Paris, 1886), 90-91.

The present codex, which may be in its original leather binding (323 x 214 mm.), was put together from three codices; thus there are three sets of numbering on the quaternions. The first codex comprised ff. 2-119b; the second 119c-422; and the third ff. 423-593. The *Hexaameron*, the seventh work in the codex, covers folios 423 recto to 593 verso. It continues almost to the end of Book XII, ending with the word ἐπερυσίαις (*Hex.* XII.489; PG 89, 1077A12). The paper is worm eaten, and it has been cut down (margin lines have been clipped). The entire codex and the *Hexaameron* text itself reveal different hands at work.

⁷¹ We would like to thank the Staatsbibliothek in Munich for making a microfilm of the portion of the codex that contains the *Hexaameron* available to us, and for giving us permission to use its readings. The manuscript was examined in Munich by Baggarly in August 1967.

The *Hexaameron* portion of the codex reveals a watermark showing an angel surmounting a ladder. That watermark and its countermark are almost exactly like Briquet n° 5934, which is found on Venetian paper and has been attested at Verona in 1536. The manuscript also contains an angel surmounted by a star. It is similar to Briquet n° 617, found on paper from Venice and attested at Verona in 1545.⁷²

Blank spaces occur in the text on f. 593v1 and 14, at points equivalent to *Hex.* XII.476 (PG 89, 1076D45) and *Hex.* XII.487 (PG 89, 1077A9), just as they did in the preceding codex, M.

The first possessor of the codex, as far as we know, was Don Francisco de Mendoza Bobadilla (1508-1566), the Cardinal of Burgos.

O *Codex Vallicellanus* 29 (olim C 2). XVIth century. Paper; in folio; 310 x 211 mm.; IV, 340 folios, II.

Catalogue: E. Martini, *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane*. Volume II *Catalogus codicum graecorum qui in Bibliotheca Vallicellana Romae adservantur* (Milano, 1902), 46-48.

This codex contains the *Hexaameron* up to Book IV.114 (PG 89, 893B16), covering ff. 280r - 314v (there are two folios numbered 296). There is some disorder. At f. 310v28 the text breaks off in *Hexaameron* III. Some text from Book IV covers both sides of f. 311, and Book III resumes on f. 312. Obviously f. 311 formerly followed 314, but it got into the wrong position when rebinding took place. It is impossible to tell whether this copy ever contained the complete text. The hand that copied the *Hexaameron* is different from the hand that copied the preceding work and the hand that copied the following.

On f. 290 we find the cardinal's hat of Briquet n° 3481, and on f. 283 the countermark belonging to the same. Briquet n° 3481 is attested in Padua in 1541, and the paper is Venetian.

w *Codex Vindobonensis theologicus Graecus* 72 (olim 186). Copy completed in 1563. Paper; in folio; 292 x 210 mm. (dimensions of f. 6); III, 169 folios (with two additional unnumbered leaves inserted between ff. 151 and 152), I.

Catalogues: Daniel de Nessel, *CATALOGUS, Sive Recensio Specialis omnium Codicum Manuscriptorum GRAECORUM, necnon Linguarum ORIENTALIUM, Augustissimae BIBLIOTHECAE CAESAREAE Vindobonensis*. Pars Prima (Vienna, 1690), 154-5.

Herbert Hunger and Otto Kresten, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*. Teil 3/1, *Codices Theologici* 1-100 (Vienna, 1976), 131-2.

This codex contains the *Hexaameron* (on ff. 1r-151r) almost to the end of Book XII, stopping with the word ἐπερυσίαις (*Hex.* XII.489; PG 89, 1077A12). The blank spaces that one finds in M and H at *Hex.* XII.476 and 487 (PG 89, 1076D45 and 1077A9) do not occur in w. At the first of

⁷² The angel and star watermark was first brought to our attention by Señor José M^a Fernández Pomar (in a personal letter of May 13, 1966). Both watermarks were seen by Baggarly when he visited the manuscript on October 19, 1976. See also the discussion at C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*. Deuxième édition, volume II (Leipzig, 1923), pg. 345.

these blank spaces, the scribe has simply closed together the letters of χωρηγοῦσα (sic); and at the second he has inserted the conjecture τοῖς ἐλπίσασιν. In general, the Vienna codex does not show the blank spaces exhibited by the Munich and Madrid codices of this family. The scribe has also attempted some original work in the title: on f. 1r he has κυρίλλου πατριάρχου ἀλεξανδρείας in place of the name of the author. Sambucus inserted the correct name in the right margin.

The scribe was the priest Zacharias, as we find from a colophon on f. 151v2, and he copied the *Hexaemeron* in Venice in 1563 (f. 151v4).⁷³ The scribe may possibly be identical with the Zacharias mentioned by Marie Vogel and Victor Gardthausen.⁷⁴ The remaining part of the codex was copied perhaps by Andreas Darmarios, and was completed in Venice on 8 March 1565 (see f. 169v8; and Hunger pg. 132). It may have been copied from M.

After Zacharias, the first possessor was apparently Andreas Darmarios (see f. IIIr; Hunger, pg. 131). It was then purchased by Johannes Sambucus in Vienna in 1565/6, whose signature appears on the bottom of f. 1r (cf. f. IIv). After his death, Sebastian Tengnagel acquired the codex (see f. 1r). From him, it passed as a legacy to the Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea in Vienna.⁷⁵

Family V

U *Codex Vaticanus Graecus* 2225, Pars I. Binder's leaf, II guard leaves, 219 folios, binder's leaf. We have only begun to investigate this manuscript, which contains short fragments of Books I, II, and VIIb. Our preliminary collations do not allow us to make a match with the preceding families. It is listed in Salvator Lilla, *Codices Vaticani Graeci, Codices* 2162-2254 (*Codices Columnenses*) (Vatican, 1985). This codex contains the works of several authors, including Gregory of Nyssa and Basil the Great. Anastasius is not mentioned in the list of authors on folio 1 recto, yet fragments of the *Hexaemeron* are found on ff. 1r, 8r-v, and 9r.

⁷³ For more on Zacharias and this manuscript, see *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten*, T. 2/A, pg. 198, n° 157; T. 2/B, pg. 59; T. 2/C, Tafel 84.

⁷⁴ In *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1909), 126. Cf. the cautions given by L. Politis, "Eine Schreiberschule ...," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 51 (1958): 17-18. See also Otto Kresten, "Die Handschriftenproduktion des Andreas Darmarios im Jahre 1564," in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 24. Band, ed. by Herbert Hunger (Vienna, 1975), 149 n. 4, 151, 153-4; Josef Bick, *Die Schreiber der Wiener Griechischen Handschriften* (Vienna, 1920), 93-94.

⁷⁵ Nessel, *Catalogus*, 154. For Tengnagel's activities, cf. Herbert Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*. Teil 1 (Vienna, 1961), XIII.

Lost Codex

— *Codex Scorialensis* 441 vel Θ.II.7. XVth or XVIth century? Paper?

Catalogue: Gregorio de Andrés, *Catálogo de los Códices Griegos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial* (El Escorial, 1968), 191.

The numeral 441 is that of de Andrés; the numeral Θ.II.7 is that of P. José de Sigüenza in the series of numerals he assigned up to 1593 (cf. *ibid.*, pg. 10).

The notice on the manuscript is of interest: "Anastasii Sinaitae orationes 12 in anagogiam spiritualem Hexaemeri et lapsus Adae, licet quaedam sint transpositae." The fact that transposition of parts had taken place makes it probable that this codex belonged with *Cod. Matrit. Bibl. Nat.* 4775 and *Cox. Scorial.* Ψ.I.4. De Andrés has suggested the possibility that the lost codex is identical with Y (*Cod. Scorial.* γ.III.4).⁷⁶ Perhaps he did so because the notice says there are "12 orationes". However, a certain amount of disruption in the numbering of the λόγοι has taken place in the textual tradition, and consequently it is uncertain whether or not the lost codex ever actually contained *Hex.* XII.

⁷⁶ "Una venta desconocida de códices griegos hecha por Andrés Darmario en España en 1587," *La Ciudad de Dios* 178 (1965): 126.

B. Textual Basis for Establishing the Families

Since the codices that contain *Hexaemeron* XII obviously could not have been copied from those that do not contain it, we begin the classification of the codices into families with the former.

It will be convenient and useful to reproduce the text of the final paragraph of the *Hexaemeron*, which begins at *Hex.* XII.480 (PG 89, 1076D49),¹ as it stands in the codices that contain it. We also give the readings of the text as given by the Göttingen theologian Magnus Crusius in his 1728 dissertation,² which begins at μη παύση.

The sigla are the following:

N	Codex Oxoniensis Collegii Novi 139
P	Codex Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 372
σ	Codex Graecus Universitatis Salamantinae 2.710
W	Codex Vindobonensis Theologicus Graecus 250
Y	Codex Scorialensis 327 <i>vel</i> y.III.4
B	Codex Bononiensis Bibliothecae Communalis Archigymnasii A.5
F	Codex Parisinus Graecus Bibliothecae Nationalis 861
M	Codex Graecus Bibliothecae Statalis Bavaricae 145
H	Codex Matritensis Bibliothecae Nationalis 4734
w	Codex Vindobonensis Theologicus Graecus 72
Cr.	Magnus Crusius

The sigla for the remaining codices will be given below. The abbreviations and signs used in editing the Greek excerpts are as follows:³

M ^a .corr.	lectionem in M (exempli gratia) ante correctionem prima manu factam significat.
M ^p .corr.	lectionem in M (e.g.) post correctionem ab eadem prima manu significat. ⁴
M ¹	correctionem factam in M (e.g.) a primo correctore post primam manum indicat.
M ²	correctionem factam in M (e.g.) a secundo correctore post primam manum indicat.
om.	omittit, omittunt.
add.	addit, addunt.

¹ Please note that in the Migne edition, Allix misread δε (for the δη that stands in F, his exemplar) at line 480.

² *Dissertatio epistolica ad ... Dn. Christianum Wormium ...* (Leipzig, 1728), 20. For further biographical details on Magnus Crusius (1697-1751), see Georg Schalkhauser, *Zu den Schriften des Makarios von Magnesia* (TU 31/4) (Leipzig 1907), pages 115-8.

³ Cf. Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, trans. B. Flower (Oxford 1958), page 22.

⁴ Please note that in the apparatus of the complete text of the *Hexaemeron*, this abbreviation is used to indicate all corrections on the manuscript, whether by the first hand or later hands. It is often impossible to distinguish, especially on microfilm copies, the different hands that made corrections, and attempts to do so could lead to confusion.

καὶ τὸ - κενούσι (e.g.) indicat vocabula καὶ τὸ et κενούσι et vocabula omnia quae inter haec intercedunt.

[]	uncis quadratis in textu includuntur interpolationes vel loci dubie authentici, qui quidem in tota traditione manuscriptorum comparent sed spurii censentur.
< >	uncis acutis in textu includuntur reconstructiones litterae, syllabae, vel verborum falso a librario omissorum, quae faciendae videntur.
[+12]	indicat spatium in codice vacuum duodecim litterarum plus minusve.

The apparatus is positive. Variants with respect to accents, breathings, iota subscript, and punctuation are generally omitted.

480 Μετὰ δὴ ταῦτα πάντα καὶ πρὸ τούτων, ὡς βοηθὸς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ
γενομένη ὑπὸ Θεοῦ καὶ γνωριζομένη, μὴ παύση προϊσταμένη καὶ
βοηθοῦσα ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ τόπῳ καὶ πράγματι τοῖς ὑπὲρ σοῦ
πρεσβεύουσι, καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σάρκα τὴν ἑαυτῶν διὰ σοῦ ἐτοιμῶς τιθεῖσι,
καί, ὅση δύναμις ἦ, τῇ βοηθῶ ἀόκνως βοηθοῦσι, καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ὑπὲρ σοῦ
485 ἀποθνήσκουσι, καὶ τὸν ἴδιον τράχηλον ξίφει τείνουσι, καὶ τὸ αἷμα ὑπὲρ
σοῦ εὐψύχως κενούσι, καὶ τόνδε πῆ ἅπαντα τὸν τοῦ ἀγῶνος δρόμον καὶ
πόνον κατὰ τῶν σῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς ἀπολογίας ἀνύσασιν εἰς τὸ
τὸ σὸν κέρασ ἀνυψῶσαι, τοὺς δὲ σοὺς ἀντιδίκους τοῖς δυσὶ κέρασι τοῦ σοῦ
ἀμνοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ, ταῖς φύσεσιν ἢ ἐνεργείαις | ἢ θελήσει, κερατίσαι καὶ
490 ἀπολέσαι, ὅτι αὐτὸς διὰ σοῦ μόνος Θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ἡ
πνοὴ καὶ ἡ σύστασις τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων, καὶ αὐτῷ
πρέπει πᾶσα τιμὴ καὶ δόξα σὺν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ
πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

N Cr. P σ W Y B F M H w

480 ὡς βοηθὸς τῷ] *scripsi* ὡς βοηθῶ τῷ N P σ W Y B w ὡς βοηθῶ ζῶ F [+7] ηθω τῷ M
[+10] ηθω τῷ H 482 παντὶ] N Cr. P σ W Y B F w [+5] M [+6] H 483 πρεσβεύουσι] P
σ W Y B F M H w πρὸς σὲ τείνουσι] N Cr. | | σοῦ ἐτοιμῶς] P σ W Y B F w σὲ προθύμως N
σε προθύμως Cr. σ [+8] μως M σ [+21] μως H 484 δύναμις ἦ] N Cr. P σ W Y B F^p.corr. M H
δύναμις ἦ F^a.corr. δύναμις σοὶ w | | ἀόκνως] N Cr. P σ W Y B M H w ἀσκνῶς F 485 ἀπο-
θνήσκουσι] N Cr. P σ W Y B F θνήσκουσι M H w | | ξίφει τείνουσι] N Cr. P σ W Y B F^p.corr. M
H w ξίφει ξί τείνουσι F^a.corr. ξίφει τέμνουσι M H w 485/6 καὶ τὸ αἷμα - κενούσι] N Cr. P σ
W Y B F M w om. H^a.corr. sed add. in margine prima manus (fortasse) 486 τόνδε πῆ] *scripsi*
τόνδε πῆ N τόνδε (om. πῆ) Cr. P σ W Y B F ἰδοὺ M H w 486/7 δρόμον καὶ πόνον] N Cr.
B H^p.corr. δρόμον καὶ πόνου P σ W Y δρόμον καὶ τόν οὐ F δρόμον καὶ πόνων M^p.corr. w
H^a.corr. δρόμων καὶ πόνων M^a.corr. 487 κατὰ] N Cr. P σ W Y B F w [+2] τα M τὰ H | |

ἀνύσασιν εἰς τὸ τὸ] N ἀνύσασιν εἰς τὸ Cr. οἷαις ἴσασιν εἰ τὸ P σ οἷαις ἴσασιν εἰς τὸ W Y B F [+5] ἴσασιν εἰς τὸ τὸ M H ἐλπίσασιν εἰς τὸ w 488 ἀνυψῶσαι] N Cr. P σ W Y B F M H add. καὶ w | | δὲ] N om. Cr. P σ W Y B F M H w | | ἀντιδίκους] N Cr. P σ W Y B F M H add. κατακροῦσαι w | | σοῦ] N Cr. P σ W Y B F H w om. M H w 489 ἐνεργείαις] hac voce desinunt P σ W^acorr. Y B F M H w post ἐνεργείαις add. ὥ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ αὐτοῦ π(α)τρί καὶ υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πν(εύματι)· νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων ἀμήν : ~ W¹ ἢ θελήσει - ἀμήν.] N Cr.

N and Cr. are distinguished from the other mss. by the presence of an ending in lines 489 to 493 that makes sense, and also by the variants in line 483 (πρὸς σὲ τείνουσι and σὲ προθύμως) and the reading ἀνύσασιν εἰς τὸ in line 487. The differences between N and Cr. in lines 486 (τόν δέ πη N and τόνδε Cr.) and 488 (τὸ om. Cr. and δὲ om. Cr.) could have arisen from any of several possible causes, including: 1) Crusius copied from a manuscript independent of N; 2) he made use of the collation found in g (*Codex Oxoniensis Grabe* 21); or 3) he made his own collation between N and the printed edition of *Hex.* XII by Allix.

The presence in M and H of so many blanks at identical points in the text (lines 480, 482, 483, 487) and similar variants (line 485 θνήσκουσι M H w; ξίφει τέμνουσι M H w; line 486 ἰδοῦ M H w; line 487 [+2] τα M and τὰ H; line 488 σοῦ om. M H w) suggest that these two codices are closely related. The frequent agreement of w with these two manuscripts shows its affinity with them. But the readings of w at lines 480, 482, 483, and 487 (κατὰ) also lead us to believe that the priest Zacharias must have had available a ms. from the tradition presented by P σ W Y and B. The variants at line 483 (σοῦ ἐτοίμως) suggest that he did not use N or a copy of it. Perhaps, when Zacharias was dissatisfied with a reading in his codices, he resorted to conjecture (cf. the lemmata at lines 487 and 488: ἐλπίσασιν, καὶ, and κατακροῦσαι).

The following lemma establishes a relationship between w and P¹; it is found at *Hex.* XII.478:

τραπέζαις τῶν σῶν πόρων] *conjectimus* τραπέζαις τῶν σῶν πώρων N τραπέζαις τῶν σῶν [+5] ρων P^acorr. WB τραπέζαις τῶν σῶν δώρων P¹ w τραπέζαις τῶν σῶν ρων σ τραπέζαις τῶν σῶν [+7] ρων Y τραπέζες τῶν σῶν ρων P^acorr. τραπέζαις τῶν σῶν ρων P^pcorr. τραπέζαις τῶν σῶν αρρων F¹ τραπέζαις [+5] ρων M τραπέζαις [+8] ρων H

It is more probable that P¹ inserted δῶ from w, than w copied δώρων from P¹, since w was copied in 1563 and σ (very probably copied from P before 1564) does not show the δῶ before ρων, and since P¹ has a certain chance of being the hand of J. Sambacus, who died in 1584.

The introduction of w's κατακροῦσαι makes the abbreviated ending of *Hex.* XII sound complete. The apparatus shows, however, that it is probably a conjecture. The same cannot be said for the ending found in N, which displays a certain degree of independence from the other manuscripts. Two cases of homoeoteleuton in the *Hex.* XII provide evidence of its independence. The first occurs at lines 209-210:

ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ χωρίῳ καὶ κήπῳ μεμένηκεν, ὁ δὲ θεογενής] N M H^acorr. w om. P σ W Y B F ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ χωρίῳ καὶ κήπῳ μεμένηκεν, ὁ δὲ θεογενής H^pcorr.

We find the second at *Hex.* XII.447-448:

τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα σκέπωσιν· οἱ θρόνοι διαναπαύωσιν] P σ W Y B F om. N τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα σκέπωσιν· οἱ οὐρανοὶ διαναπαύωσι M H w

Thus N cannot have derived from P σ W Y B F or vice versa. The blanks in M and H (above at line 478) provide a certain guarantee that N and the group P σ W Y B F are not dependent on them: the scribes of N and P σ W Y B F would hardly have made so many identical conjectures to fill in the blanks in M and H.

An omission at *Hex.* XII.5 tends to support the mutual independence of M and H from the rest of the codices:

σκεπόμενοι καὶ] N P σ W Y B συναγόμενοι καὶ F om. M w [+11] καὶ H

At first sight, the omission in M appears to be due to homoeoteleuton (ἐνδυόμενοι καὶ σκεπόμενοι καὶ κοσμούμενοι καὶ). However, it is more likely that the scribe closed a gap in his exemplar (ε). The ms. w probably depends on M.

To continue the exploration of the relations among M, H, and w, we go to the variants at *Hex.* I.70. At this point, we can introduce the readings from the other codices, which are designated as follows:

n	Codex Oxoniensis Grabe 16
f	Codex Parisinus Supplementum Graecum Bibliothecae Nationalis 587
R	Codex Graecus Bibliothecae Angelicae 88
V	Codex Vaticanus Graecus 726
L	Codex Vossianus Graecus F. 41
S	Codex Scorialensis 372 vel X.II.12
E	Codex Mutinensis Bibliothecae Estensis 155
I	Codex Berolinensis Phillippicus 1448
Q	Codex Vaticanus Graecus Reginae Pii II 12
q	Codex Berolinensis Phillippicus 1449
G	Codex Musaei Britannici Additionalis 21061
m	Codex Matritensis Bibliothecae Nationalis 4773
T	Codex Augustanus Taurinorum Bibliothecae Nationalis C IV 26
μ	Codex Matritensis Bibliothecae Nationalis 4775
J	Codex Scorialensis Ψ.I.4
C	Codex Cantabrigiensis Ff.iv.2
Z	Codex Vallicellanus 99 (F 58)
K	Codex Oxoniensis Casaubon 1
O	Codex Vallicellanus 29 (C 2)

Hv. Versio latina a Gentiano Herveto facta ut in editione principe prostat.

The readings we are interested in at line *Hex.* I.70 are the following:

αὐτῇ τῇ γραφῇ ἐγκατέθηκεν καὶ τὴν διὰ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὸ εὖ εἶναι

N n P σ W Y B M w O H F f R V L S E I Q q G m T μ J C Z K Hv.

ἐγκατέθηκεν] P σ W Y B [+11] N *deest* n ἐγκατέστησε F f V L S E I Q q G m T μ J C Z K
om. R ἐγκα[+7] M w O ἐγκατέλειπται H *inseruit* Hv.

There is no reason why M w O should not have copied the ἐγκατέλειπται in H if this latter codex had been their exemplar. Nor would it be at all obvious to the scribe of H, if he had used M, w, or O as his exemplar, that σκεπόμενοι had fallen out of the text (cf. the lemma on *Hex.* XII.5 above). We conclude, then, that H is independent of M w O and vice versa.

The omission of ἐγκατέστησε in R, as shown in the lemma above, is part of a longer omission due to homoeoteleuton, which we have found so far only in R. Consequently, none of the other codices can depend on R.

We find an indication of the dependence of n on N in the following lemma (in which I retain slight changes in accentuation) on *Hex.* II.199:

ἴν' ὑπεισδύς] P σ W Y B M H w ἴν' ὑπείσ δις O ἴν' εἰσπεισδύς N^{a,corr.} ἴν' εἰπείσδύς N^{p,corr.} n ἴν' ὑποδύς F S E T μ J ἴν' ὑποδύς V ἴνυποδύς Q G C ἴνα ὑποδύς f R L I m ἴν' ὑποδός Z ἴν' ἀποδούς q *vacat* K ut ... *subiens* Hv.

We now turn our attention to the group P σ W Y B. The fact that these manuscripts and N n are independent of each other, and the improbability that the scribes of these manuscripts and of N would have independently conjectured that σκεπόμενοι καὶ should fit into *Hex.* XII.5, show the independence of these manuscripts and of N from the group M w O H.

We must still show the independence of F from P σ W Y B and vice versa. A lemma on *Hex.* I.199 shows that F cannot be the exemplar of any other manuscript (with the exception of f and K) because of an omission due to homoeoteleuton.

αἰσθήσει δὲ μὴ ὑποκεῖμενον] N n P σ W Y B R V L S E I Q q G m μ J C Z M O H om. μὴ w T^{a,corr.} add. καὶ post δὲ w *fortasse* add. καὶ *supra lineam* T^{p,corr.} om. F f *vacat* K non cadit aute(m) sub sensum Hv.

We note that these readings also create the possibility of a link between T and w.

Going in the other direction, we find an omission due to homoeoteleuton that eliminates the possibility that F or any other member of Family III depends on the family P σ W Y B. It occurs at *Hex.* VIIa.481-482:

τῶν αἰσθήσεων χαλινοῖς, ὥς ἂν μὴ εἰς τὴν ἀμαρτίαν σκιρτῶσι, καὶ γὰρ τὰ ζῶα] N n M H om. P σ W B [+16] Y *vacant* Z K O

χαλινοῖς] χαληνης F f χαλινης R V L S E I Q q G m T μ J C

ἂν] ἐνὸν w frenes ... sensuum ... ne ad peccatum exilia(n)t. ... enim ... animalia. Hv.

Apparently Y has the blank because the scribe perceived the break in sense and not because there was a blank in the exemplar.

The following two sets of readings show that P σ are independent of W Y B and vice versa. The first involves an omission due to homoeoteleuton at *Hex.* XII.45-46:

ἀλλ' οὐ προστακτικῶς] N P σ M w H F om. W Y B *vacant codices reliqui*

The second reading involves a scribal error at *Hex.* I.224:

θεόπτου] N n W Y B M w O H F f V L I Q q G m T μ J C θεοπνεύ-
στου P σ θεοσέπτου R S θεόπτου E θέρπτου Z *vacat* K *divini* Hv.

The correct reading here is certainly θεόπτου, not only because of the agreement among groups of codices we have already shown to be independent, but also because it has a parallel in Michael Psellus's *De omnifaria doctrina* § 18, 1.1 (Westerink) or § 17 (Fabricius; PG 122, 700B20). For a scribe not familiar with the parallel with Psellus, a change from θεόπτου to θεοπνεύστου is far more likely than a change in the opposite direction.

The following omission due to homoeoteleuton at *Hex.* XII.70-71 shows that P could not have been copied from σ:

ἐν τῷ ἐπιτιμίῳ τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν] N P W Y B F M w H om. σ *vacant codices reliqui*

Another omission due to homoeoteleuton at *Hex.* XII.384 shows that W B are not copies of Y:

καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος αὐτοῦ] P σ W B F M w H
καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ - αὐτοῦ N om. Y *vacant codices reliqui*

An inversion at *Hex.* XII.398 renders it improbable that W Y were copied from B:

ἔσται ἡ ἀποστροφή σου] N P σ W Y F M w H ἡ ἀποστροφή σου ἔσται B
vacant codices reliqui

Further investigation will be required to determine whether or not Y was copied from W.

We now address ourselves to the following manuscripts: F f R V L S E I Q q G m T μ J C Z K together with the edition of Gentian Hervet. We have already shown (see the lemma on *Hex.* I.199 above) that F and f are not the exemplars of any other manuscript that we have examined. N and F are independent of each other in *Hex.* XII (see the lemmata on *Hex.* XII.209-210 and 447-448 above). We have argued above that F in *Hex.* XII is independent of M and H (and very probably w). The readings ἐγκατέστησε at *Hex.* I.70 and ὑποδύς at *Hex.* II.199 are characteristic of the group of manuscripts that we are considering. The absence of *Hex.* XII in all of these except F, and the fact that the bulk of them end at the end of *Hex.* XI, confirm their character as a distinct family, and show that at least in *Hex.* XII the rest of the codices are not copied from them. An omission due to homoeoteleuton at *Hex.* I.82-83 is also characteristic of the group and shows that the rest of the codices were not copied from them at the beginning of the *Hexaemeron* either.

οικοδομεῖται καὶ στηρίζεται, κραταιοῦται κατὰ τῶν ἀπίστων, πλέον ὀπλίζεται] N n P σ W Y B M w O H *om.* οικοδομεῖται καὶ στηρίζεται F R V L S E I Q q G m μ J C K *om.* οικοδομεῖται καὶ στηρίζεται *et litterae* στῶν T *om.* οικοδομεῖται - ἀπίστων Z *om.* f & aduersus infideles valens ac robusta redditur, vel potius armatur Hv.

This lemma, taken in conjunction with that on *Hex.* VIIa.481-482 above, shows that the group of manuscripts we are now considering is independent of P σ W Y B and vice versa. That the codices under consideration were not copied from N, with the omission of *Hex.* XII, is shown by an omission in N due to homoeoteleuton at *Hex.* XI.46-47:

πεντακισχιλιοστὸν καὶ πεντακοσιοστὸν] P σ W Y B^{p.corr.} F f R V L S E I Q G m T μ J^{p.corr.} (κισ supra lineam) C M H πεντκισχιλιοστὸν καὶ πεντακοσιοστὸν B^{a.corr.} πεντακισχιλιοστὸν καὶ πεντακοσιοστὸν w *om.* καὶ πεντακοσιοστὸν N q *folium cum his vocibus deest* n *vacant* O Z K quinquies millesimum quingentesimum Hv.

The last two lemmata, taken together, show that N is independent of the codices under consideration, and vice versa.

That the group Q q G m T μ J C Z K form a distinct sub-family is shown by an omission due to homoeoteleuton found at *Hex.* I.87-88.

εἰς δόξαν ἡμῶν, τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, μυστήριον τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων] N n P σ W Y B M w O H f^{p.corr.} R V L S E I *pro* ἡμῶν *habuit* αὐτοῦ f^{a.corr.} εἰς δόξαν - τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν κεκρυμμένον - αἰώνων F *om.* Q q G m T μ J C Z K Hv.

This lemma also shows that Gentian Hervet's translation was made from one of this sub-family of manuscripts.

The last group of manuscripts that we treat is formed by M w O H. An omission due to homoeoarchy occurs in three at *Hex.* XI.1194:

προελόμεναι, ᾧ καὶ τὸ σέβας ἀνάπτειν δι' εἰδώλων προέκριναν] N n P σ W Y F V L E I Q G m μ J C *om.* ελόμεναι - προ M w H ᾧ *pro* ᾧ *habent*

B R S σέβας *pro* σέβας *habet* T εἰδώλου *pro* εἰδώλων *habet* R εἰδόλου *pro* εἰδώλων *habet* q *vacant* O f Z K elegerunt, cui etiam cultum per idola exhibere praetulerunt Hv.

The way in which the omission occurred is suggested by the fact that προ ends the line in H at f. 582v6 and ἐκριναν begins the next line. A scribe's eye could easily have jumped over the intervening letters in his exemplar. The lemma just presented, when taken together with the lemmata on *Hex.* I.82-83 and XI.46-47, shows that M and H—and almost certainly O—are independent of the other codices (except w) and vice versa.

We leave a presentation of further investigations of the relationship among the codices, especially those of Family III, to our more comprehensive edition of the *Hexaemeron*, currently in preparation. The stemma we present here, therefore, must be considered provisional.

Our method in presenting evidence for the construction of a stemma has depended to a large extent on omissions that are probably due to homoeoteleuton or homoeoarchy, since this type of omission minimizes the possibility that we are faced with a willful alteration of the text by the scribe. This method presumes that the textual tradition has suffered little or no contamination. In point of fact, the only codex we have seen that presents evidence of contamination or of additions through scribal conjecture is w. In all likelihood, we have a pure textual tradition.

C. Summary and Concordance

Signum Used in This Edition	Signum Used in <i>Conjugates</i>	Name of Manuscript
Family I:		
N	N	Codex Oxoniensis Collegii Novi 139
n	Gr.	Codex Oxoniensis Grabe 16
g	—	Codex Oxoniensis Grabe 21
k	—	Adversium Cantabrigiense c.50.4 (olim Nn.vi.14)
Cr.	Cr.	Textus ultimi paragraphi libri <i>Hexaeme- ronis</i> prout stat in <i>Dissertatio ... Magnus Crusius</i>
Family II:		
Family IIa:		
P	P	Codex Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 372
σ	Salm.	Codex Graecus Universitatis Salamantinae 2.710 (olim Codex Matritensis Palatii Regii 14 [prius 13])
Family IIb:		
B	Bon.	Codex Bononiensis Bibliothecae Communalis Archigymnasii A.5 (olim A.I.3)
W	Vind. 250	Codex Vindobonensis Theologicus Graecus 250 (olim 185)
Y	Scor.y.III.4	Codex Scorialensis 327 vel y.III.4 (olim III.Θ.4 et V.E.9; 64us e mss. A. Augustini)
Family III:		
Family IIIa:		
F	F	Codex Parisinus Graecus Bibliothecae Nationalis 861 (olim Colbert. 2253)
f	Par.	Codex Parisinus Supplementum Graecum Bibliothecae Nationalis 587

Family IIIb:

D	—	Codex Mutinensis Tabularii Publici II.15
E	Mut. 155	Codex Mutinensis Bibliothecae Estensis 155 num. topogr. α.W.4.22 (olim III.E 2)
I	Phil. 1448	Codex Berolinensis Phillippicus 1448 (olim 91 Meermannianus et 147 Claromontanus)
L	Voss.	Codex Vossianus Graecus F.41
R	Ang.	Codex Graecus Bibliothecae Angelicae 88 (olim T.8.6)
S	Scor.X.II.12	Codex Scorialensis 372 vel X.II.12 (olim III.I.16; 20us e mss. A. Augustini)
V	V	Codex Vaticanus Graecus 726 (olim 849)

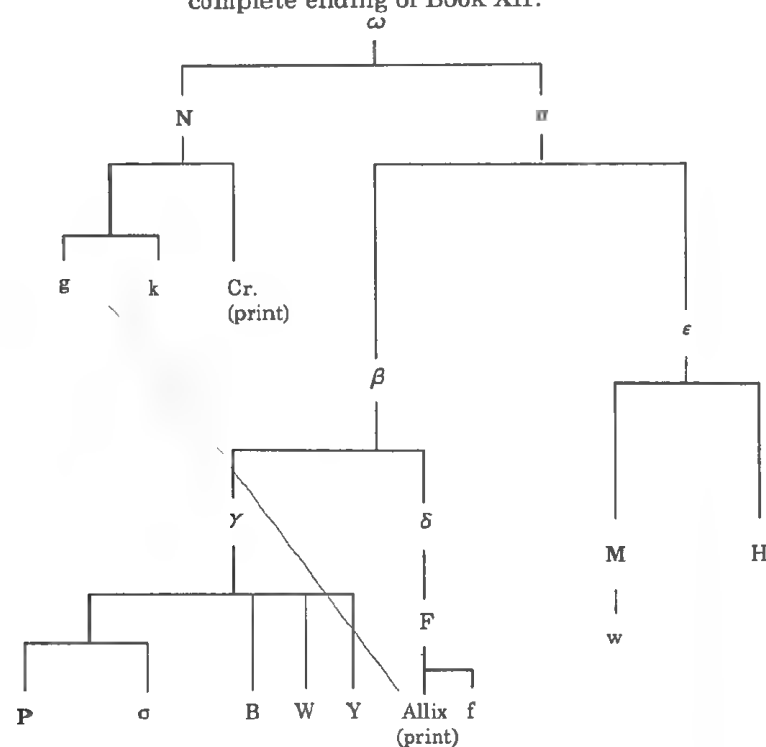
Family IIIc:

A	—	Codex Athoniticus Monasterii Sancti Panteleimonis 181 (Lambros n° 5688)
C	Cant.	Codex Cantabrigiensis Ff.iv.2
G	Brit.	Codex Musaei Britannici Additionalis 21061
J	Scor.Ψ.I.4	Codex Scorialensis Ψ.I.4
K	Cas.	Codex Oxoniensis Casaubon 1
m	Mat. 4773	Codex Matritensis Bibliothecae Nationalis 4773
μ	Mat. 4775	Codex Matritensis Bibliothecae Nationalis 4775
Q	Quir.	Codex Vaticanus Graecus Reginae Pii II 12
q	Phil. 1449	Codex Berolinensis Phillippicus 1449 (olim 92 Meermannianus)
T	Taur.	Codex Augustanus Taurinorum Bibliothecae Nationalis C IV 26
Z	Val. 99	Codex Vallicellanus 99 (F 58)

Hv.	Hv.	Versio latina a Gentiano Herveto facta ut in editione principe (Paris 1579) prostat.
Family IV:		
M	M	Codex Graecus Bibliothecae Statalis (<i>olim</i> Regiae) Bavaricae 145
w	Vind. 72	Codex Vindobonensis Theologicus Graecus 72
H	Mat. 4734	Codex Matritensis Bibliothecae Nationalis 4734
O	Val. 29	Codex Vallicellanus 29 (C 2)
Family V:		
U	—	Codex Vaticanus Graecus 2225, Pars I

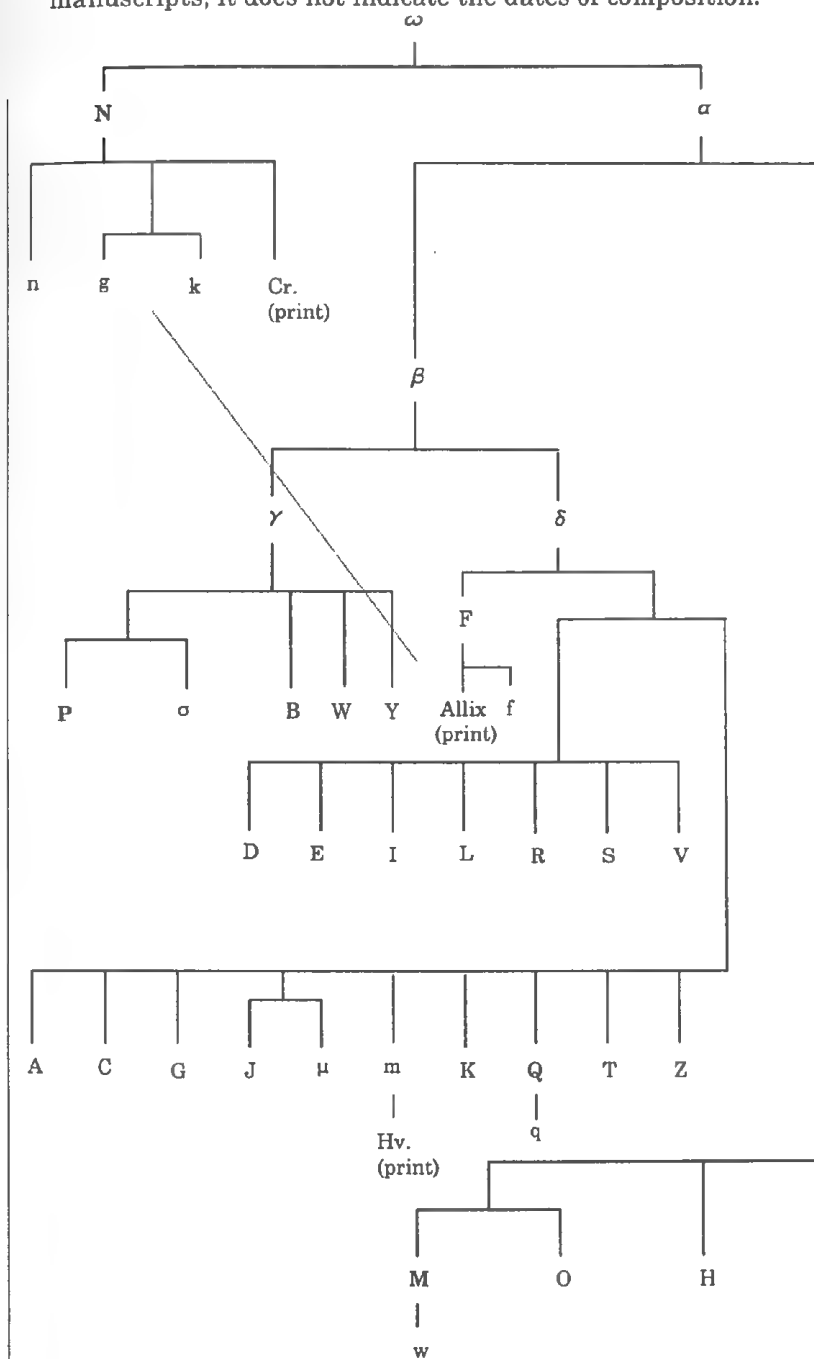
SHORT STEMMA

This diagram shows the conjectural relationship between known manuscripts that contain Book XII. Only N, g, k, and Cr have the complete ending of Book XII.



STEMMA

This diagram shows the conjectural relationship between known manuscripts; it does not indicate the dates of composition.



All known manuscripts date no earlier than the late fifteenth century and no later than the early eighteenth.

III. FIRST PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE HEXAEMERON

As far as we know, the Anastasian *Hexaemeron* first appeared in printed form in 1579, in Gentian Hervet's Latin translation of Books I - XI. The volume in which it was published appears to be quite scarce.⁵ Its title page reads:

APPENDIX BIBLIOTHECAE SANCTORUM PATRUM, VARIA DE DEO ET REBUS DIVINIS COMPLECTENS OPUSCULA ET Fragmenta ; omnia nunc primum vel ex M. S. exscripta Codicibus, vel meliori forma, edita ; & multis quam hactenus unquam partibus auctiora ... PER MARGUARINUM DE LA BIGNE, SACRAE THEOLOGIAE DOCTOREM. PARISIIS, APUD MICHAЕLEM SONNIUM, VIA IACOBЕA, SUB SCUTO BASILIENSI. M. D. LXXIX. CUM PRIVILEGIO REGIS.

Running across cc. 1367-1368 B (lines 21-24) is the following title:

ANASTASII SINAITAE MONACHI ET PRESBYTERI, IN SPIRITUALEM ANAGOGEN SEX DIERUM CREATIONIS, GENTIANO HERVETO, RHEMENSEI CANONICAE, INTERPRETE.

The text then begins immediately at c. 1367 C (25) with the words "SACRA Dei vox". No title of a division is prefixed, such as "Liber Primus" or "Praefatio". The text continues to the end of *Hex.* XI at c. 1538 C (29).

We find a clue to the exemplar Hervet used in the fact that in his edition, the title of *Hex.* VIIb⁶ occurs at its end rather than at its beginning. Of all the codices we have seen, only *Codex Matritensis Bibliothecae Nationalis* 4773 (m) shows this phenomenon. And in the lemma on *Hex.* I.87-88, Hervet has the same reading as m and the manuscripts of Family IIIc. His translation, however, reveals variants independent of m (and μ, which was located in the same library) and the manuscripts used in this edition.

We have not seen an exemplar of the second or third reprint (or edition) of Hervet's translation. The fourth reprint appeared in the following volume:

BIBLIOTHECA VETERUM PATRUM ... PRIMO QUIDEM A MARGARINO DE LA BIGNE ... collecta, et tertio in lucem edita Nunc verò ... locupletata, ... in XIV. Tomos distributa : ... TOMUS SEXTUS, ... COLONIAE AGRIPPINAE, Sumptibus Antonij Hierati, ... Anno M. DC. XVIII.

⁵ We would like to thank the British Museum for furnishing us with a microfilm of the text.

⁶ Πλήρωμα, λόγος ἑβδομος, καὶ τέλος τῆς σωματικῆς ἑξαήμερου κτίσεως, μεθ' ἣν λοιπὸν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς καινῆς ἐν Χριστῷ κτίσεως κρείττονα παρὰ τὰ ἤδη εἰρημένα ἔχουσα τὰ νοήματα. (*Hex.* VIIa epilogus = Migne 89, 972B)

In this edition, the *Hexaemeron* covers pages 628b G (46) to 691a D (60). The title of the *Hexaemeron* at 628b G (46-52) now reads:

S. P. N. ANASTASII SINAYTAE, PATRIARCHAE ANTIOCHENI, ANAgogicarum contemplationum in diuini Opificii Hexaemeron, ad Theophilum, Liber primus.

This title is followed by the notice reprinted in PG 89, cc. 851-852: "Titulus horum sancti Patris Anastasii Commentariorum ... *et lex est umbra veritatis rerum Christi et Ecclesiae*, etc." Since on page 580a C (39-42) we find "Iacobus Gretserus ad Lectorem. DE ANASTASIO SINAITA," the notice and the change in title of the *Hexaemeron* were probably due to Gretser. The notice speaks of the wording in Hervet's title as: "in editione priore sic habebat," and then says of the current title: "sic vero in hac posteriore commutavimus."

We deduce from the index of authors of this fourth reprint that the *Hexaemeron* stood in Tomus Primus of the second Paris edition and probably in Tomus Primus of the third edition. The notice on Anastasius of Sinai in the index of the fourth edition,⁷ after listing the works of Anastasius (including the *Hexaemeron*) gives the following information on their location in the Paris editions: "edit. I. t. 6. & 8. & in Append. edit. 2. t. I & edit. 3. t. I. & Auctar, p. 2 habentur multa ex his & fere omnia, sed diuersae interpretationis."

The Cologne edition of the Latin translation was then reprinted in 1677 at Lyons:

MAXIMA BIBLIOTHECA VETERUM PATRUM ... HAC TANDEM EDITIONE LUGDUNENSI, ad eandem Colonensem exacta, ... TOMUS NONUS, ... LUGDUNI, Apud ANISSONIOS. M. DC. LXXVII.

The *Hexaemeron* covers pages 857b F (32) to 922b F (21). The title still has "LIBER PRIMUS" after "Theophilum", but now "PRAEFATIO" appears above the opening words: "Sacra Dei vox" on page 858a A (1-2).

Jacques-Paul Migne (1800-1875) reprinted the Lyons edition:

PATROLOGIAE CURSUS COMPLETUS, ... SERIES GRAECA PRIOR, ... ACCURANTE J.-P. MIGNE, ... PATROLOGIAE GRAECAE TOMUS LXXXIX. ... PROPE PORTAM LUTETIAE PARISIORUM VULGO D'ENFER NOMINATAM, ... 1865.

In this edition, Hervet's translation occupies cc. 851-1052 A (2)

At Turnhout, Belgium, the Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii made a photostatic reprint of Migne's edition. It bears no date, but was probably done in the 1960's.

Hex. XII did not get into print until 1682. Pierre Allix published it,

⁷ On the second page of the Index Alphabeticus Authorum. The indices are bound with Tomus Decimusquintus. The first page of the index of authors has the words: "trium editionum priorum Parisiensium."

but did not put his name into the edition.⁸ Its title reads:

S. ANASTASII SINAITAE Anagogicarum Contemplationum IN HEXAEMERON LIBER XII. hactenus desideratus. ... LONDINI: Typis M. Clark, Impensis verò Roberti Littlebury ad insignia Regia in vico vulgo dicto Little=Britain. 1682.

The text was printed from *Codex Parisinus Graecus Bibliothecae Nationalis* 861 (F).⁹ Allix made the accusation that the Catholics had deliberately suppressed *Hex.* XII because it was unfavorable to the doctrine of transubstantiation:¹⁰

Haud magis improbabilis est Conjectura similem admodum cujuspiam sedulitatem in eodem Pontificiorum dogmate tutando, in causa fuisse ut hactenus sui parte eximia caruerit opus Anastasii Antiocheni in Hexaemeron. Scilicet cum ea ibi habeat Anastasius, quae Transubstantiationi tam adversantur, quam quae maxime, non alia, commodiori ratione, suae causae consultum arbitratus est editor, quam si hanc partem integram supprimeret suaeque causae ferale telum nullo pene negotio averteret.

And indeed, at *Hex.* XII.262-345, the author argues that receiving the Eucharist alone is not a guarantee of eternal life, especially for an evil person.

... ἵνα γὰρ μὴ νομίσης ὅτι περὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ λέγει καὶ δόξης ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὅτι πᾶς ὁ μετέχων αὐτοῦ, οἷος δ' ἂν καὶ ἔσται πονηρός, ἔχει διὰ τῆς μεταλήψεως ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον, ... (*Hex.* XII.312-314)

Since Hervet almost certainly had an exemplar before him that contained only *Hex.* I-XI, we must ask when *Hex.* XII disappeared from one branch of the manuscript tradition. The facts that F contains *Hex.* XII and is not the exemplar of the rest of Family III lead us to believe that the hyparchetype δ of this family did contain Book XII. Perhaps the decision to omit it from copies of this hyparchetype was made around 1545, the probable date of *Codex Vaticanus Graecus Pii II* 12 (Q).

On the third page of his foreword, Allix informs us that André Dacier (1651-1722) made the Latin translation of *Hex.* XII and the conjectural emendations of the text. The Migne (and Brepols) reprint of the Allix-Dacier text occupies PG 89, 1051 A (4) - 1078 A (13).

From time to time short excerpts from the Greek text of *Hex.* I-XI have been published. We have not attempted to compile a complete list of them; consequently we can give no more than a sampling.

Pierre Halloix (1571-1656) published *Hex.* I.321-324 on page 851a of the following volume:

ILLUSTRUM ECCLESIAE ORIENTALIS SCRIPTORUM, QUI SANCTITATE IUXTA ET ERUDITIONE, SECUNDO CHRISTI SAECULO FLORUERUNT, VITAE ET DOCUMENTA, AUCTORE R. P. PETRO HALLOIX ... Ex Officina Typographica Petri Bogardi, ... Anno M. DC. XXXV. I.

We have not been able to identify the manuscript Halloix used, but it seems to have been in the possession of Cardinal François de la Rochefoucauld (1558-1645). The fragment was republished by Martin J. Routh on page 15 of his *Reliquiae sacrae* ... Editio altera. Vol. I (Oxford, 1846).

Fragments from *Hex.* VIIa and b were copied and edited by Grabe from *Codex Oxoniensis Collegii Novi* 139 (N) and were published in the following volume:

SPICILEGIUM SS. PATRUM, UT ET HAERETICORUM, ... Quorum vel integra monumenta, vel fragmenta, ... collegit ... JOANNES ERNESTUS GRABIUS. SECULI II. TOMUS I. OXONIAE E THEATRO SHELDONIANO, M. DC. XCIX.

They appeared on pages 195-196 and pages 243-244 of the first edition. Apparently a fragment of *Hex.* VI first appeared in the 1714 edition, on page 246. They were reprinted in PG 89, 937A1 - 938A4; 942A2 - 942D50; and 966B21 - 967A13. Several fragments from the *Hexaemeron* were published by Michael LeQuien in *Sancti patris nostri Joannis Damasceni, monachi, et presbyteri Hierosolymitani, Opera omnia quae exstant, et ejus nomine circumferuntur* (Paris, 1712). They were reprinted in PG 89, 961D49 - 962B18; 963B23 - 963D51; 966A15 - 966D46; and 968B26 - 968C43.

Others that have published excerpts from the *Hexaemeron* include René Massuet, Frederick Field, Franz Cumont, and Stergios Sakkos, which brings us back to the beginning of this Introduction.

⁸ Fabricius, in 1737, gave the name of the editor in his BG IX, pg. 328.

⁹ This codex belonged to Jean Dailé [Dallaes] (1594-1670) before Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683) acquired it.

¹⁰ Page 2 of the foreword.

IV. SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

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CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

The signs and abbreviations used in the Greek text are as follows:

[]	indicates a reading which appears in the manuscripts, but which is considered spurious
< >	indicates the reconstruction of letters or words which were omitted by the manuscripts, but which ought to be present
[±12]	indicates a space in the manuscript of plus or minus 12 letters (exempli gratia)
()	indicates the resolution of an abbreviation
καὶ τὸ - κενοῦσι (exempli gratia)	indicates the words καὶ τὸ and κενοῦσι and all the words in between
M ^{a.corr.}	the reading in M (exempli gratia) before a correction by any hand
M ^{p.corr.}	the reading in M (exempli gratia) after a correction by any hand
om.	omittit, omittunt
add.	addit, addunt
Hv.	the Latin translation by Hervet as found in Migne 89
Allix	the Greek text for Book XII as found in Migne 89
Dacier	emendations to the Greek text of Book XII in Migne 89
Grabe	Greek fragments of Books VI and VII found in Migne 89

ANASTASII SINAITAE

IN HEXAEMERON

ANAGOGICARVM CONTEMPLATIONVM

LIBROS DVODECIM

EDIDERVNT ET TRANSTVLERVNT

CLEMENT KUEHN

ET

JOHN BAGGARLY, S.J.

Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀναστασίου πρεσβυτέρου καὶ μοναχοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους Σινᾶ
καὶ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀντιοχείας εἰς τὴν πνευματικὴν ἀναγωγὴν
τῆς ἑξαήμερου κτίσεως λόγος πρῶτος |

I 1. Φωνὴ Θεοῦ ἱερά, ἀρύεσθαι ὕδωρ ζῶν ἐκ σωτηρίων πηγῶν, διὰ
τοῦ προφήτου Ἡσαΐου πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαμπρῶς τε καὶ
διαπρυσίως διακελεύεται φύσιν. Ἀένναος γὰρ ἡ τῆς θεωρρύτου σοφίας
πηγὴ καὶ ἄμικτος πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ καὶ πᾶν δῶρημα τέλειον κατα-
5 βαῖνόν ἐστι παρὰ τοῦ μεγαλοδώρου Πατρὸς τῶν παναδύτων φώτων,
τοῦ λέγοντος· Εἴ τις λείπεται σοφίας, αἰτείτω παρὰ Θεοῦ τοῦ πᾶσιν
ἀπλῶς διδόντος καὶ μηδένα ὀνειδίζοντος. Ἴσον γὰρ τὸ τῆς ὄντως σοφίας
καὶ τοῦ ταύτης σοφοδότου ἔρᾶν.

2. Ἀγάμενός σε τοίνυν, ὦ ἐμοῦ πολυποθήτου γόνου καὶ πάντων μοι
10 ἔρασμιωτέρα κορυφή, τῆς φιλεμμελοῦς περὶ τὰ θεῖα σπουδῆς καὶ
φιλενσόφου περὶ τὸν Λόγον διανοίας, ὡς σεαυτὸν τὸν ἔμψυχον χαρακ-
τῆρα τοῦ σώματος δέδεγμαί σου τὸν ἄψυχον χάρτην τοῦ γράμματος
αἰτοῦντα περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἑξαμέρῳ πολλοῖς ἀπορουμένων τὴν λύσιν
ποιήσασθαι. Ὅθεν θαρρήσας τῷ λέγοντι· Αἰτέιτε καὶ λήψεσθε, διότι πᾶς
15 ὁ αἰτῶν λαμβάνει, καὶ ὁ ζητῶν εὕρισκει ὡς χρή, καὶ τῷ κρούοντι
ἀνοιγήσεται, αὐτῷ ἀναθεῖς τὰς ἐλπίδας τοῦ λόγου, μετὰ τοὺς |
προκεκμηκότας κατ' ἴσα βαίνων τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἐνδεκάτην ἐπίσης τοῖς ἐν
ἀμῆτῳ ἢ καὶ πάλιν τρυγῆτῳ ὀξέως διάττουσιν, πτωχοπρεπεῖ ὁμματι καὶ
20 καὶ ἐπικαλαμώμενος μυρμηκοφυῶς τοὺς διαλαθόντας στάχυν ἀνα-
καλέσομαι. Ἡ καὶ ὡς ψυχολόγος κύων τῆς παντοδαποῦς καὶ ἀνελλιποῦς
καὶ ἀνυστερήτου τῶν Πατέρων τραπεζοποιῶν πανδαισίας τὰ ἀπο-
πίπτοντα ἀφαιροῦμαι, καὶ ὡς μελισσοουργὸς μέλιττα τοῦ λειμῶνος
ἐκείνων εἰ που εὐῶδες ἀποσυλήσας ἄνθος ἐν τῷδε τῷ σκεύει ἐναποθεῖς
25 τοῖς οἷς θέμις ἢ τῶν καλῶν ὄρεξις τε καὶ μετάληψις προσάγω διὰ σοῦ εἰς
ἀπόλαυσιν. Εἰ γὰρ δὴ, καὶ ποιητικῶς καιροῦ καλοῦντος εἰπεῖν, αἰίδω
ξυνητοῖσι, θύρας δ' ὡσὶν ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι. Λίαν γάρ μοι ἐνηχεῖ τοῖς ὡσὶν
ὁ ἀποκληρῶν τοῦ συλλόγου λόγους τοὺς πινυρώδεις καὶ τοὺς περιγίους
30 που καὶ χαμερπεῖς φέροντας ἐννοίας.

3. Ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ τὰ σεπτὰ καὶ τῶν ψυχικῶν μῶμων ῥυπτικὰ ποιοῦμενοι
ὄργια, ὅταν εἰς προὔπτον ἐξ ἐχεμύθων ὥσπερ θαλάμων | ὑπ'

titulus ὄρου M^{a.corr.} P ὁ λόγος M^{a.corr.} 1 ἀρύεσθαι] scripsi ἀρρύεσθαι M^{p.corr.} NP ἀμρύεσθαι
M^{a.corr.} 4 ἄμικτος πᾶσα] M^{a.corr.} ἄμικτος, πᾶσα M^{p.corr.} NP 10 κορυφή] add. καὶ P
12 δέδεγμαί] NP^{p.corr.} δέδειγμαί M^{p.corr.} δέδεγμαί P^{a.corr.} χάρτην P 17 κατ' ἴσα] M^{p.corr.}
κατ' ἴ προκεκοπιασ(έν)η σα M^{a.corr.} κατῖσα N κατῖσα P τοῖς] τῆς M ἐπίσις M^{a.corr.}
τοῖς] τῆς MN 19 ἀπειρία P ἐξανεπιρρωγολλογούμενος] scripsi ἐξανεπιρρωγολλογούμενος
M^{p.corr.} P ἐξανεπιρρωγολλογούμενος M^{a.corr.} ἐξανεπιρρωγολλογούμενος N 20 διαλθόντας P
21 ψυχολόγος MN ἀνελλιποῦς NP^{a.corr.} ἀλελιποῦς N^{a.corr.} 25 τοῖς] τῆς M καλλῶν P
27 ξυνητοῖσι P τοῖς] τῆς M 28 πινυρώδεις] scripsi πινυρώδεις M^{p.corr.} NP^{a.corr.} N^{p.corr.} P
πινυρώδεις M^{a.corr.} καὶ] om. M 31 ἐξ ἐχεμύθων] ἐξεμύθων M^{a.corr.} ἐξεχεμύθων N

This is the first book on the spiritual anagogy
of the six-day creation. It was composed by Saint Anastasius,
presbyter and monk at holy Mount Sinai and patriarch at Antioch.

I 1. The sacred voice of God commands both clearly and sharply
through the prophet Isaiah,¹ that *living water*² be drawn from the
springs of salvation for all humanity. The spring of wisdom that streams
from God flows eternally and every pure portion is good. Indeed, every
gift coming down from the generous Father of the lights that never set is
perfect. The Father says: "If someone is lacking wisdom, let him seek it
from God, who gives to all without distinction and begrudges no one."³
For these are equal: truly to love wisdom and to love the wise one that
grants it.

2. Therefore, I admire you. I cherish you above all others. You are the
pinnacle of my offspring, which were greatly desired. In your love of
music, you are eager for divine things. In your love of wisdom, you think
about the Word. I received your letter—a sheet without a soul—as
though I had received you yourself, a body stamped with a soul. You ask
about things in the six-day creation that are a puzzle to many. You want
me to offer a solution.

In answering you, I am made bold by the one that said: "Ask and you
will receive."⁴ Because everyone that asks, receives; and the one that seeks,
finds what is necessary. And for the one that knocks, it will be opened."⁵
To him that said this, I raise my hopes in this endeavor.

Behind those that began the work long ago, I go. I am like those who,
at the end of the day, dart about quickly in the harvesting of the grain
and then in the gathering of the grapes.⁶ My gaze is befitting a poor
man. My intellectual curiosity has been humbled. I am inadequate. I'm
like an ant picking grapes from the vine after the reapers.⁷ I will recall
ears of corn that were forgotten. Like the scavenger dog of the slave that
waits at the table, I pick up the crumbs that fell from the banquet of the
Fathers⁸—an abundant spread where nothing was missing and nothing
ran out. Like a bee gathering honey in their meadow, if I carry off the
nectar of a fragrant flower, I will place it in this vessel here and present
it—through you—for the pleasure of those that rightfully desire and
partake in good things.

The occasion demands that I speak poetically. And if I sing to those
that understand, then you that are profane, shut the doors on your
ears!⁹ It resonates too much in my ears when one selects, from a
collection, phrases that are dirty, completely mundane, and bearing
thoughts that slither along the ground.

3. There are those who perform sacred and secret rituals that cleanse
blemishes from the soul. When these celebrants have all joined together
in full assembly and are about to bring forth into open view, as from the

¹ Cf Is 12:3. ² Zech 14:8; Jn 4:10, 11; 7:38; cf Ps 35(36):9. ³ Jas 1:5. ⁴ Cf Mt 7:7;
Lk 11:9; Jn 16:24; Jas 4:3. ⁵ Lk 11:10; Mt 7:8. ⁶ Cf Mt 20:6, 9. ⁷ Cf Pr 6:6-8.
⁸ Cf Mt 15:27; Mk 7:28; Lk 16:21. ⁹ This line was borrowed (directly or indirectly) from
an Orphic verse (cf. line 838 below): αἰίσω ξυνητοῖσι· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι. See
Fragment 334 (42) in O. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta* (1922, 1963), 334. Cf Mt 13:10-17;
34-35; Mk 4:10-12; 33-34; Lk 8:9-10.

ὄψιν πανδημεὶ ἀλληλούχως μέλλωσι τιθέναι αὐτὰ κατὰ τὰς θείας καὶ
 ἱεροτελεστικωτάτας τῆς θαρραλικῆς κρυφιομυστίας τελετάς, οὐ ποτε τὴν
 ἐκφαντορικὴν τήνδε δρῶσιν ἐμφάνειαν τῇ παμμιγῇ νεολαίᾳ, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ
 35 πρόκριτος τῆς λειτουργικῆς μετὰ τὴν ἀνωτέραν καὶ ἄμεσον Θεοῦ
 χορευταξίαν, ὡς εὐωδηφόρος τις πυλῶν ἱερῶν ἐκτὸς τῶν παναγεσ-
 τάτων ἐστῶς, μεγίστη διαταγῇ ἀποκρίνη τῶν ἀνεφίκτων τοὺς οἷς θέμις
 τῶν τοιούτων κατατρυφᾶν, ὁρῶδων ἐν ᾧ τὸν ῥυπώδη ἐκείνον
 ἀμφιεφόρον ἐκβληθέντα τῆς ἐπιθαλαμίου εὐωχίας ὡς ἀπωτάτω, ἐπεὶ μὴ
 40 προσφυῇ τῇ πανδαισίᾳ τῇ θείᾳ τὴν ἀμπεχόνην προδιεσκεύασεν, ἤκομεν δ'
 ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν συνταγὴν οὐκ εὐεπαίαις τισὶ καὶ γλυκυμύθοις καὶ
 φληνάφοις Ἑλληνικῶν λόγων καὶ ῥητορείαις τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἡρτηκότες
 ἐλπίδας, οὐδὲ μὴν ἰάμβοις τοῖς κνωδάλοις καὶ ἀνονήτοις καθοπλισμένοι.
 Συνοδοιπόρον γὰρ ἔχομεν μετὰ Χριστοῦ τὸν λέγοντα μωρίαν εἶναι καὶ
 45 κένωσιν τοῦ σταυροῦ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν σοφίαν. Ὑπὲρ γραφῆς γὰρ θείας
 λαλοῦμεν, ἐκτεθειμένης μὲν δι' ἰσχυροφώνου τινὸς καὶ βραδυγλώσσου,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀφ' ὧν κυρωθείσης καὶ κομηθείσης καὶ ἀγροτῶν καὶ
 ἀροτῆρων καὶ ἀλιέων καὶ σκυτοτόμων καὶ ἀγραμμάτων, καταισχυνάσης
 τοὺς σοφοὺς καὶ μωροὺς τούτους καὶ ἀνωφελεῖς ἀποδειξάσης.

50 4. Διὸ οὐθείς ἡμῖν λόγος ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος περὶ σχημάτων τε καὶ
 διαστημάτων καὶ δινήσεων καὶ κινήσεων καὶ ἀποκαταστάσεων καὶ
 θέσεων καὶ ἀλλοιώσεων καὶ κυκλοφοριῶν καὶ ἀντιπόδων καὶ ψηφη-
 φοριῶν οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ Κρόνου καὶ πόλου καὶ ζῳδιακοῦ λόγου καὶ ἡλίου
 φορᾶς καὶ μοίρας καὶ σεληνιακῶν γενέσεων τε καὶ κινήσεων καὶ ἐκ-
 55 λείψεως, οὐδ' αὖ πάλιν πολυάστρων καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς μερικῶν
 ἐπιθεωρουμένων ἀστέρων, οὐ περὶ ὑδάτων γενέσεως καὶ πλημυρῶν, ἐξ
 ὧν καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τόπον ἐπιτελεῖσθαι σεισμούς ἐφαντάσθησαν οἱ τὴν
 μαθηματικὴν καὶ εἰκαίαν ταύτην ἐξησκημένοι τέχνην, ἐξ ἧς ὥσπερ τινος
 πανωλεθρίου λύμης ἐρρύσατο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁ ἀληθὴς ἐπιδημήσας
 60 Λόγος. Τί γὰρ ἀπώνατο κέρδους ἢ ἐκκλησία, εἰ μάθη τὴν ἡλίου καὶ
 σελήνης καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ ἀστέρων κίνησιν πᾶσαν, εἰ
 μὴ μόνον ἀπολλυμένην τε καὶ ψευδῇ δόξαν;

65 II 1. Μανθάνουσα δὲ καὶ ἀκούουσα ὅτι παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πανουργοῦ
 Θεοῦ ἐγεγόνεισαν δημιουργίαι διτταί, ἡ μὲν ἡ τοῦ εἶναι παραγωγὴ τοῦ
 ἀνθρώπου ἀπλῶς καὶ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως, ἡ δὲ ἡ τοῦ εἶναι ἥτις τῷ
 ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει ἐγένετο σαρκωθέντος αὐτοῦ, πάντων
 ἀπαλλαγέντων τῆς φθορᾶς καὶ ἀπολαβόντων τὸ εἶναι εὖ, καὶ ὅτι καθὰ

32 πανδημῇ P 33 ἱεροτελεστικωτάτας N πωτε N 34 παμμιγῇ P 38 ὁρῶδων P
 40 πανδαισίᾳ P προσδιεσκεύασεν M πρὸς διεσκεύασεν P ἤμεν M 41 γλυκυμύθοις]
 scripsi γλυκομύθοις MNP 42 ῥητορείαις P ἡρτηκότες MP 45 γὰρ] om. N
 49 ἀποδειξάσης M 52 κυκλοφοριῶν] MN^{a. corr.} P κλοφοριῶν N^{a. corr.} 52/3 ψηφηφοριῶν] P
 ψηφιφοριῶν MN^{a. corr.} ψηφεφοριῶν N^{a. corr.} 53 πόλου καὶ] πώλου M λόγιου P
 54 σεληνιακῶν P 56 ἐπιθεωρουμένων P ἐπὶ θεωρουμένων N πλημυρῶν] scripsi
 πλημυρῶν MNP 57 τόπων P 61 οὐρανοῦ] NP οὐ οὐ(ρα)νοῦ M 63 ἀκούσα P
 65 τῆς] τε N 67 ἀπολαβόντων N

silent innermost shrines, the objects of the divine and most sanctifying
 rites—secret, mystical, belonging to the Godhead—they would never
 perform such a revelation in front of the general crowd, where the
 uninitiated are mingling about. There would be the chosen one of the
 ministry—who is just beneath God's higher and intimate choir—
 standing like an incense-bearer outside the sacred gates of the most
 sacrosanct. And with a great command he separates from the chaste
 objects those for whom it is the custom to mock such things. He himself
 is in fear of him by whom the dirty attendant was cast away as far as
 possible from the joy of the wedding reception, because he had not put
 on clothes appropriate for the divine banquet.¹

Since this is so, when we come responding to his invitation, we do not
 hang our hopes on eloquence, sweet stories, the idle chatter of philo-
 sophical discussions, or rhetorical devices.² And we do not come arrayed
 in wild iambic verses, which do no one any good. For along with Christ,
 we have a fellow traveler who says that the wisdom of the Greeks makes
 nonsense of the cross, but is itself stupidity.³ We are discussing divine
 Scripture, which was presented by a man with a weak voice and
 sluggish tongue⁴ yet which has been universally confirmed and che-
 rished by country folk, farmers, fishermen, cobblers, and the illiterate. It
 has embarrassed the clever.⁵ It has shown them to be morons and
 useless.⁶

4. So for the present, there will be no discussion from us about forms,
 intervals, rotations, motions, cycles, stasis and change, orbits, the
 Antipodes, the calculations of heaven and Kronos, the axis of the stars,
 astrology, the speed of the sun, Fate, or the moon's phases and motions
 and eclipse; nor about the constellations and the individual stars
 observed in them; nor about tides and floods, from which also
 earthquakes are brought against a place—or so they fantasize, they who
 are trained in this mathematical and random science. The Church has
 been rescued from these endeavors, as from a thoroughly devastating
 disaster, by the Word, which dwells in all and is true. For if the Church
 discovered every movement of the sun and moon and heaven and earth
 and winds and stars—what gain would it enjoy,⁷ except only a transient
 and deceptive glory?

II 1. Instead, the Church listens. And it learns that two creations
 arose from God, the maker of all. In the one, he brought forth simply the
 existence of human kind and all creation. In the other, he brought forth
 the good existence. The latter happened for human beings and all
 creation when God became incarnate. Then all were freed from
 corruption and received the good existence.⁸

And accordingly the Church also learns that the divine prophet
 Moses not only saw the making of creation, but also foresaw it being led
 into the good existence. And while writing about creation's emergence
 into existence, he also put down in the very same text its renovation

¹ Cf Mt 22:11-14. ² Cf 1 Cor 2:1, 4, 5. ³ Cf 1 Cor 1:17; 2:13-14; 3:18-23. ⁴ Cf Ex 4:10.
⁵ Cf 1 Cor 1:27. ⁶ Cf 1 Cor 1:19-21; 3:20; Tit 3:9. ⁷ Cf Phil 3:7-8. ⁸ Cf Rev 21:1-4;
 Is 65:17-25.

προφήτης ὁ θεῖος Μωσῆς προεῖδε καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸ εὖ εἶναι παραγωγὴν καὶ
 70 δημιουργίαν τῆς κτίσεως, καὶ γράφων τὴν εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτῆς ὑπαρξιν ἐν
 αὐτῇ τῇ γραφῇ ἐγκατέθηκεν καὶ τὴν διὰ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὸ εὖ εἶναι
 ἀνάπλασιν αὐτῆς, προφητικῶς δέ τινι χαρακτῆρι καὶ σκοτεινῶ καὶ
 75 ἀλληγορικῶ, ἡ καὶ γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς ὁ Θεὸς εἰς
 τύπον καὶ προγραμμόν αὐτῆς ἐν σοφίᾳ προκατεσκεύασε, καὶ ὅτι εὐθέως
 ἐκ πρώτης φωνῆς καὶ ποιήσεως τοὺς θεμελίους αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν
 καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ τὸν φωτισμόν προεμελέτα καὶ προδιέγραφε, διὰ
 80 τε τοῦ πρώτου οὐρανοῦ διὰ τε τοῦ δευτέρου διὰ τε τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς
 φωστήρων, οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης
 καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ τῶν φυτῶν καὶ τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ πτηνῶν
 καὶ ἰχθύων, καὶ συντόμως εἰπεῖν, διὰ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ
 85 τῆς γῆς τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ δι' αὐτῆς λαλοῦντα μεγαλύνει Χριστόν. Ταῦτα ἡ
 ἐκκλησία μανθάνουσα ἀγάλλεται καὶ εὐφραίνεται, σκιρτᾷ καὶ φωτίζεται,
 οἰκοδομεῖται καὶ στηρίζεται, κραταιοῦται κατὰ τῶν ἀπίστων, πλέον
 ὀπλίζεται ἐλέγχουσα τούτους, καταισχύνουσα, νικῶσα, γαυριδῶσα τε καὶ
 90 χορεύουσα, εἰ γε πᾶσα ἡ ὀρωμένη τε καὶ νοουμένη κτίσις κατ' εἰκόνα
 ταύτης καὶ τοῦ νυμφίου αὐτῆς Χριστοῦ προκατεσκευάσθη τε καὶ
 προδιετυπώθη. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ μυστήριον ὃ προώρισεν ὁ Θεὸς πρὸ
 τῶν αἰώνων εἰς δόξαν ἡμῶν, τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, μυστήριον τὸ
 ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν γενεῶν. "Ὅθεν καὶ
 95 ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι λέγεται τὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ
 Πατὴρ. Τί ἐστὶ τὸ ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ λόγοις εἰς αὐτὸν
 προτυπωθέντα ἢ καὶ προσκιαγραφηθέντα εἰς ἔργον πληρωθῆναι διὰ
 πραγμάτων ἐν αὐτῷ; Πάντα γὰρ φησι δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν Χριστὸν
 ἐγένετο, τὰ τε ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς, τὰ τε ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα,
 100 εἴτε θρόνοι, εἴτε κυριότητες, εἴτε ἀρχαὶ, εἴτε ἐξουσίαι, τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ
 καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται. Λέγων δὲ ὁ θεορρήμων Ἀπόστολος ὅτι Πάντα τὰ
 τε ὁρατὰ καὶ ἀόρατα εἰς Χριστὸν ἔκτισται σαφῶς δεικνύει καὶ διδάσκει
 ὅτι ἡ ὁρατὴ καὶ ἀόρατος κτίσις εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
 προδιετυπώθη καὶ ἐγένετο.

2. Ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων πῶς τε τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν
 100 ἐκκλησίαν προδιαγράφουσιν οὐχ οἷοί τέ ἐσμεν εἰπεῖν σαφῶς· πῶς μὲν
 νοηθεῖν ἄγγελος ὁ τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος πῶς τε πάλιν
 ἀρχάγγελος ὁ τῶν ἀγγέλων κατάρχων καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀποστέλλων ὡς
 λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα αὐτῷ παριστάμενα· πῶς τε ὀνομάζεται ἀρχὴ ὁ ἐν
 ἀρχῇ Θεὸς Λόγος ὁ ἀρχὼν τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος
 105 αἰῶνος, μεγάλη γὰρ ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ὄριον·
 ἢ πῶς νοήσωμεν αὐτὸν ἐξουσίαν τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ἐξουσιαστὴν τὸν ἰσχυρόν,

68 θεῖος] μέγας P 70 ἐγκατέθηκεν] P ἐγκα vacat ± 9 M vacat ± 10 N εὖ] om. NP
 73 ὑπογραμμόν P 77 δι' om. NP 79 ἰσχύων N 83/84 νικῶσα - χορεύουσα] om. per
 homoeoteleuton N 86 προδιετυπώθη] Paris. Graec. 861 διετυπώθη MP ἐτυπώθη N
 8] MN^{corr.} P 89 αὐτὸν] τὸν add. N 93 τε] om. N

through Christ into the good existence, which he did in a style that was
 prophetic, recondite, and allegorical. Indeed, God in his wisdom
 prepared all things¹ in the heavens and on earth as a type and sketch of
 the new existence. From the moment of his first creative command, God
 was already contemplating and designing in advance the foundations,
 construction, appearance, and illumination of his recreation. And so by
 means of the creation of the first and second heavens and the lights in
 them, and also by means of the sun itself and the moon, and the earth,
 the waters, the plants, the herds, birds, and fish²—to summarize: by
 means of all the creation of heaven and earth, God glorifies Christ, who
 speaks in it and through it.

Learning these things, the Church rejoices and exalts.³ It is enlight-
 ened and leaps for joy. It is edified and strengthened. It gains power
 against the unbelievers. It is better armed to confound, embarrass, and
 conquer them, and then to prance and dance, since indeed all creation—
 both visible and intelligible—was prepared according to and prefigured
 the image⁴ of the Church and her bridegroom Christ.⁵

This is the mystery that God determined before the ages for our
 glory: his Son.⁶ He is the mystery that was concealed from the ages and
 from the generations.⁷ Therefore God the Father is said to have summed
 up all things in Christ.⁸ To have summed up? What else does this mean
 than that the recorded prototypes concerning him and the preliminary
 sketches concerning his work were brought to fulfillment through
 actions by him? It is said: All things came into being through him⁹ and
 for him, Christ: both the things in heaven and the things on earth, the
 things visible and the things invisible, whether the Thrones or the
 Dominions, whether the Principalities or the Powers—all things were
 created through him and for him.¹⁰ When the divinely speaking apostle
 says that all things, both visible and invisible, were created for Christ,
 he wisely teaches and emphasizes that the visible and invisible creations
 prefigured and came into existence for Christ and for the Church.¹¹

2. How did the heavenly angels prefigure Christ and the Church? I
 am not able to speak clearly about that. For how might the Angel of the
 Great Counsel¹² be considered an angel? Or how might the angels'
 archon, who dispatches them as his attendant¹³ and ministering
 spirits,¹⁴ be thought of as an Archangel? Or how might God the Word in
 the beginning,¹⁵ the Prince of Peace¹⁶ and Father of the coming age, be
 called a Principality, although his sovereignty is great and there is no
 boundary to his peace?¹⁷ And how should we think of him—God, the
 most powerful, the strong—as an angelic Power, although his power,
 says Daniel, is an eternal power, which will not pass away,¹⁸ and power
 was given to him in heaven and on earth.¹⁹

You will notice that he also shares a name with the angelic order of
 Thrones.²⁰ This is because the Father finds rest in him as his only true-

¹ Cf Ps 103(104):24. ² Cf Gen 1:1-25. ³ Cf Ps 9:3; Is 12:6; 35:1; 49:13. ⁴ Cf Gen 1:26-
 27; Sir 17:3; Col 3:10. ⁵ Cf Mt 22:1-2; 3:14; Lk 14:16-24; Eph 5:22-32; Rev 19:7-9; 21:9;
 22:17. ⁶ Cf Eph 5:32; 1 Cor 2:7. ⁷ Cf 1 Cor 2:7; Rom 16:25; Col 1:26. ⁸ Eph 1:10.

⁹ Jn 1:3. ¹⁰ Col 1:16. ¹¹ Cf Col 1:18. ¹² Cf Is 9:5. ¹³ Cf Dan 7:10. ¹⁴ Cf Heb 1:14.
¹⁵ Cf Jn 1:1. ¹⁶ Cf Is 9:5; Rom 15:33; 16:20. ¹⁷ Is 9:6; cf Col 1:17-18. ¹⁸ Dan 7:14.

¹⁹ Mt 28:18. ²⁰ Cf Origenes, *De oratione* 23:4 (Migne 11, 489D).

ἡ γὰρ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ, ὡς φησι Δανιήλ, ἐξουσία αἰώνιος, ἣτις οὐ
 παρελεύσεται, ἐδόθη γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς. Ὁμώ-
 110 νυμον δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν θρόνον νοήσεις ὡς τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐπαναπαυομένου
 ἐν αὐτῷ ὡς μονογενεῖ καὶ γνησίῳ Υἱῷ, ὁμοῦ τε καὶ ἡμᾶς διαναπαύονται
 κατὰ τό· Δεῦτε πρὸς με πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτισμένοι, κἀγὼ
 ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς. Εἰ δὲ ἰ καὶ ἐξαπτέρυγον αὐτὸν γινῶναι θέλεις, ἄκουε
 115 τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγοντος· Ἐν σκέπη τῶν πτερυγῶν σου σκεπάσεις με
 διείς τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ ἐδέξατο αὐτοῦς. Ὡς δὲ φῶς ἀληθινὸν καὶ
 πολυειδῶς φωτίζων πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, εἰκότως
 ἅπαντα καθορῶν, ἄρα καὶ πολυόμματος κέκληται. Ὁμωνύμως δὲ καὶ
 Κύριος καὶ Κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων καὶ τῶν κυριοτήτων ἄρχων προ-
 120 αγορεύεται. Κύριος γὰρ κραταιὸς οὗτος καὶ δυνατός, κύριος δυνατός ἐν
 πολέμῳ, καὶ κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων, καὶ κύριος ὑψιστος. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ
 Χερουβὶμ ἐρμηνεύεται πλήθος γνώσεως, Θεὸς δὲ ἐστὶ γνώσεων κύριος,
 αὐτὸς γὰρ γινώσκει τὰ πάντα πρὶν γενέσεως αὐτῶν καὶ οὐδεὶς
 ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν Πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ Υἱός, εἰκότως λοιπὸν καὶ Χερουβὶμ ὁ
 125 ποιητὴς τῶν Χερουβὶμ ἐρμηνεύεται· καθὰ πάλιν καὶ Σεραφίμ, ὅπερ
 ἐρμηνεύεται πρηστήριον πῦρ, ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν πῦρ καταναλίσκον ὁ
 Χριστός. Διὸ καὶ πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.

3. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μέν, ὡς ἐν ἐπιτομῇ, πῶς εἰς Χριστὸν ἀναφέρονται καὶ
 τοῦτον προδιαγράφοντα γεγόνασιν εἴρηται νῦν. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ τῆς
 ἐκκλησίας ἀντίτυπα καὶ αὐτὴν προμηνύοντα τυγχάνει, ἀπαλλάττει σε
 ταύτης τῆς ἀμφιβολίας πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς θεὸς ἀπόστολος ἐν τῇ πρὸς
 130 Ἑβραίους φάσκων περὶ τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ
 κατασκευασθέντων πάντων, εἰς τύπον τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτὰ γενέσθαι, Οὐ
 γὰρ εἰς χειροποίητα λέγων ἅγια εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Χριστός, ἀντίτυπα τῶν
 ἀληθινῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν. Εἰπὼν δὲ ἀντίτυπα ἔδειξεν
 ἀναμφιβόλως πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν οὐρανίων ταγμάτων εἶναι
 135 μιμήματα. Εἰ οὖν τὰ ἀόρατα καὶ τιμιώτερα εἰς εἰκόνα καὶ τύπον τῆς
 ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ παρεσκευάσθησαν, μηκέτι λοιπὸν ἀμφιβάλλης μήτε
 ἀπιστήσης ὅτι καὶ ὅλα τὰ ἐπίγεια, ἃ ἐν τῷ Μωσαϊκῷ ἀναγράφονται
 νόμῳ, σκιὰν εἶχον καὶ τύπον τῶν μελλόντων εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀγαθῶν, ὡς καὶ
 Παύλῳ δοκεῖ. Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγον νοητέον τὸν
 140 φάσκοντα ὅτι Ἰῶτα ἐν ἡ μία κεφαία, δι' ὧν δηλοῦται τὸ σταυρικόν
 σημεῖον, οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται. Δῆλον δὲ
 ὅτι εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἴρηται. Τίνος γὰρ ἦν εἰκὼν, εἰπέ μοι, ἡ
 σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου καὶ ὁ ἄμνος τοῦ πάσχα καὶ τὸ αἷμα καὶ ὁ ῥαντισμὸς
 καὶ αἱ θυσίαι καὶ τὸ πῦρ καὶ πάντα τὰ τῆς νομικῆς λατρείας, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ
 145 Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας;

109 ἐπαναπαυομένου) N 111 πάντες πρὸς με P 113 τοῦ] τοὺς M σκεπάσης N
 115 φωτίζον M 116 ὁμωνύμως] N^{p.corr.} ὁμουνύμως MN^{a.corr.} P 121 πρὶν] om. N^{p.corr.}
 124 καταναλίσκων P 133 ἀντίτυπα M 136 μηκέτι] M^{p.corr.} N μήκ' ἐτι P μηκέτι add.
 τι M^{a.corr.} 137 ὅλλα P 138 νόμῳ ἀναγράφεται M^{a.corr.} ἀναγράφεται νόμῳ M^{p.corr.}
 143 πάσχοντος M 144 πάντα τὰ] πάντα τα τὰ M

born Son.¹ And the Son also gives rest to us, according to the statement:
Come to me all you who are weary and heavily burdened, and I will give
*you rest.*²

And if you want to know him as with six wings, then listen to the one
 that says to him: *In the shelter of your wings, you will shelter me.*³ And:
*Spreading his wings, he received them.*⁴ His light, which is true and
 diverse, shines on every person entering the world.⁵ He gazes fairly on
 all.⁶ Therefore he is also called many-eyed.

Homonymous with another angelic rank [κυριότητες "Dominions"], he
 is addressed as "Lord" [Κύριος] and "Lord of Lords"⁷ and "Archon of the
 Dominions."⁸ He is a strong and powerful lord, he is a lord powerful in
 war,⁹ Lord of the angelic forces,¹⁰ and Lord Most High.¹¹

While the word *Cherubim* means "full of knowledge," God is the lord
 of knowledges.¹² He knows all things before they happen.¹³ And no one
 knows the Father except the Son.¹⁴ Aptly, then, the creator of the
 Cherubim is himself interpreted as a Cherub.¹⁵ And in the same logic,
 also a Seraph. The name of this heavenly order means "spouting fire."
 Our God is an all-consuming fire,¹⁶ Christ; and on account of this, he
 said: *"I came to throw fire upon the world."*¹⁷

3. How do the angels correspond to Christ and how did they
 represent him beforehand? These things have now been explained in
 summary. But were the visible and invisible creations also types of the
 Church? Did they prefigure her?

Once again the same divine apostle frees you from doubt. In his letter
 to the Hebrews, he says that the Tabernacle of the Testimony and all
 the things prepared in it were a type of the Church.¹⁸ He then says:
Christ did not enter into the Holy Place built by hand, which was an
*antitype of the true things, but he entered into heaven itself.*¹⁹ When he
 uses the word *antitype*, he points out definitively that all things in the
 Church are modeled on heavenly arrangements. If, therefore, the
 invisible and rather precious things of heaven were prepared as a model
 and type of God's Church, you should no longer be doubtful or resist
 believing that all things on earth that have been described in the Mosaic
 Law also contain a shadow and a type of the good things about to exist
 for us.²⁰ So it seemed to Paul.

In this way one must consider the statement of Christ: *"Not one line*
nor one stroke (through which he reveals the sign of the cross) *will pass*
*away from the Law, until all has happened."*²¹ It is clear that he was
 referring to himself and the Church.

Or tell me this. What did they represent: the Tabernacle of the Testi-
 mony, the paschal lamb, the blood, the sprinkling, the sacrifices, the fire,
 and everything having to do with worship according to the Law? What—
 if not Christ and his Church?

¹ Cf Is 11:2; Mt 3:16-17; Mk 1:10-11; Lk 3:22; Jn 1:18, 32-34; 1 Pet 4:14. ² Mt 11:28.

³ Ps 16(17):8. ⁴ Dt 32:11. ⁵ Cf Jn 1:9. ⁶ Cf Ps 10(11):4; 32(33):18; 33(34):16; Sir 23:19.

⁷ 1 Tim 6:15; cf Rev 17:14; 19:16; etc. ⁸ Cf Eph 1:21; Col 1:16. ⁹ Ps 23(24):8.

¹⁰ Ps 23(24):10. ¹¹ Ps 46(47):3. ¹² 1 Sam 2:3. ¹³ Cf Sus 42; Sir 23:20. ¹⁴ Cf Mt 11:27;

Jn 10:15. ¹⁵ Cf Ec 1:18. ¹⁶ Heb 12:29; Dt 4:24; 9:3. ¹⁷ Lk 12:49. ¹⁸ Cf Heb 9:2-10:25.

¹⁹ Heb 9:24; cf 8:2-5; Wis 9:8. ²⁰ Cf Heb 10:1. ²¹ Mt 5:18; cf Lk 16:17.

4. "Ὅθεν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς | νοήμασι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κοσμήσας Κύριλλος ὁ
πάνυ ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν ὑπομνήμασι τῆς ἑξαήμερου διὰ πάσης ταύτης
ἔφησε τῆς Μωσαϊκῆς γραφῆς τὸ μυστήριον Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
καταγγέλλεσθαι. Ἐξ οὗ ποδηγούμενος καὶ τὰς ἀφορμὰς λαβὼν
150 Ἀμμώνιος ὁ δοκιμώτατος τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐξηγητῆς σύνταγμα
πατρικῶν δοξῶν <τῆς> ἑξαήμερου συστησάμενος πλείστους βιασαμένους
ἔφησε τὴν νόησιν τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς τοὺς μὴ ταύτην εἰς τύπον τῆς
ἐκκλησίας νενοηκότας, μὴ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ γράμματι
155 δεδουλευκότας. Ταύτην γὰρ εἶναι τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τινῶν ἐξηγητῶν πρὸς
τοὺς ἄλλους ἀσυμφωνίας ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀμμώνιος ἔφησεν. Εἰ γὰρ πᾶσα ἡ
κτίσις διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον γέγονε, τὸν δὲ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τὴν Εὐάν εἰς Χριστὸν
καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁ Παῦλος ἀναφέρει λέγων ὅτι *Τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο*
μέγα ἐστίν, ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀναντιρρήτως
ὅτι καὶ πᾶσα ἡ διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ σύζυγον γεγεννημένη
160 κτίσις εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀναφέρεται.

III 1. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἡ παροῦσα ὑπόθεσις οὔτε ἡμεῖς ἀρνούμεθα
οὔτε τῶν εὖ φρονούντων τις. Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μέγα τὸ καύχημα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τίκτεται, ἐντεῦθεν καὶ μείζω πᾶς τις τῆς οἰασοῦν γραφῆς κομίζεται ὅπλα
κατὰ τῶν νῦν κυκλωσάντων αὐτὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐχθρῶν, τούτου χάριν
165 τὸν φωτοδότην Χριστὸν διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ συζύγου ἐκκλησίας
ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸ στόμα τῆς βαλααμίτιδος ὄνου καιροῦ καλοῦντος
ἀνοίξαντα καὶ πολλοῖς ἀναξίοις, ἵνα μὴ εἴπω πᾶσι, τὰ λαμπρὰ τῶν
ἑαυτοῦ δωρεῶν χαριζόμενον, εἰς τόδε τὸ πολλοῖς ἄπειρον κατετόλμησα
πέλαγος, βοηθοῖς μετὰ Χριστὸν χρώμενος τοῖς προεξηγησαμένοις ἀγίοις
170 πατράσιν ἡμῶν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὴν Μωσαϊκὴν τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς γραφῆς προ-
εθέμεθα εἰς ἐξήγησιν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν τύπον τῆς ἀληθείας οὐδὲ τὴν σκιάν τῶν
πραγμάτων οὐδὲ τὸ παρὸν τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος προκεκρίκαμεν εἰς διδασκα-
λίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀκριβῶς παραστήσωμεν ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἀρχαιότερά τε
καὶ παλαιὰ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς μυστικῶν καὶ νεοφανῶν εἰσὶ προχαράγματα
175 καὶ προσκιάζουσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἕως ἤλθεν αὐτὴ καὶ τὸ πᾶν σῶμα τῆς
ἀγίας γραφῆς ἀπετέλεσεν ἄσκιον.

2. Εἰ δ' ὅ τι καὶ νέον ὅσον κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν ὁ λόγος ἐρεῖ, δεόμεθα
καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν τοὺς τε παρόντας τοὺς τε μεθ' ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀγίας
ἐκκλησίας υἱοὺς μὴ ἐχθρωδῶς καὶ φθονερῶς καὶ κακοθελῶς τῶν
180 λεγομένων ἀκοῦσαι, ἀλλ' ἀδελφικῶς. Εἰ γὰρ ἄπταιστος καὶ τελεία
γνώσις τῶν πραγμάτων μόνου Θεοῦ ἐστίν, εἴτε καὶ ὁ πνευματοφόρος ἐκ
μέρους γινώσκει καὶ ἐκ μέρους λαλεῖ, καὶ ὁ κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ
ὑπάρχων Δαυὶδ εὐχεται λέγων· *Ἀποκάλυψον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου, ἵνα*
κατανοήσω τὰ θαυμάσια ἐκ τοῦ νόμου σου. |

151 τῆς] *supplevi* om. MNP 155 ἀσυμφωνίας P 158/9 ἀναντιρρήτως. Ὅτι πᾶσα P
162 ἀλλὰ M 164 αὐτῆς M 166 βαλααμίτιδος] M^{p.corr.} N^{p.corr.} βαάλα μίτιδος P
167 ἀναξίοις] M^{a.corr.} ἀναξίως M^{p.corr.} NP 168 αὐτοῦ P 169 πρὸ ἐξηγησαμένων P
180 Εἰ] ἡ MP

4. For this reason Cyril the Great, who adorned the Church with his
divine reflections, said in his commentaries to Genesis that throughout
all of the Mosaic passage about the six-day creation, the mystery of
Christ and the Church was proclaimed. And Ammonius, the most highly
approved exegete of Alexandria, took this as his inspiration. Guided by
Cyril, he put together a collection of patristic comments on the six-day
creation and said that most commentators had limited the meaning of
the divinely inspired Scripture, since they had not perceived it as a type
of the Church. Thus they had not been serving God, but had been slaves
to the literal meaning alone. And this was the reason why—the same
Ammonius said—there was a lack of harmony between some exegetes
and others.

Indeed, if all creation arose for man,¹ and Paul raises Adam and Eve
to Christ and the Church when he says: *This mystery is great, but I am*
*speaking about Christ and the Church,*² then he is saying, undeniably,
that all creation, having arisen for man and his mate, refers to Christ
and his Church.³

III 1. We—and anyone who thinks clearly—cannot deny that the
present subject is beyond our powers.⁴ Yet it gives birth to great pride in
the Church.⁵ And each one receives weapons greater than the Scripture
alone against the enemies of piety, who are now besieging the Church.⁶
Therefore, for his spouse the Church I make my appeal to Christ the
light-giver, who graciously elucidates his gifts. When the occasion called
for it, he opened the mouth of the ass of the prophet Balaam—even for
many who were unworthy.⁷ (Heaven forbid that I speak to all!) And as I
boldly enter this sea here, which has been impassable for many, I will
consult Christ first and then our holy Fathers as helpers, who sought to
explain these things before.

And if, in fact, we have displayed for exegesis the Mosaic portion of
the evangelical Scripture, that does not mean we prefer to teach a type
rather than the truth, or the shadow rather than the event, or the near
rather than the present. No, we want to show exactly that the more
ancient and venerable things were sketches of the mysteries recently
revealed to us and that they foreshadowed the Truth. Then the Truth
itself arrived, and the whole corpus of the holy Scripture was perfected
without a shadow.

2. And if my discussion says something new with respect to the
traditional understanding, we make this request to you our contem-
poraries and to you our descendants in the holy Church: please do not
listen to our words with a quarrelsome heart, or jealousy, or spite, but
like affectionate brothers and sisters. Infallible and perfect
understanding of things belongs to God alone. Even the one that is
spiritually inspired knows only a part and speaks only a part.⁸ Indeed
David, who lived according to the heart of God,⁹ prayed with these
words: *Uncover my eyes so that I might understand the wonders of your*
*Law.*¹⁰

¹ Cf Gen 1:26-30. ² Eph 5:32. ³ Cf Rev 19:6-8. ⁴ Cf 1 Cor 1:26-27. ⁵ Cf 1 Cor 1:31.
⁶ Cf Eph 6:11-19. ⁷ Cf Num 22:21-35; 2 Pet 2:15-16. ⁸ Cf 1 Cor 13:9, 12. ⁹ Cf 1 Sam
13:14; Act 13:22. ¹⁰ Ps 118 (119):18.

185 IV 1. Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. Ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν
ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος, καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ
Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος.

190 "Ὅσαι μὲν καὶ οἶαι πρὸς τὰ προκείμενα τοῖς ἀνέκαθεν ἐξηγησαμένοις
εὐσεβῶς αἱ γινώμει γεγόνασιν οὔτε ἡμῖν εὐχερὲς τοῦ λέγειν οὔτε τῷ
ἀκροατῇ εὐμαρὲς τοῦ ἀκούειν. Εἰς μὲν γὰρ τό· Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν
ἡπόρησάν τινες πότερον αὐτὴ ἢ ἀρχὴ ἔχει τινὰ πρεσβυτέραν ἀρχὴν ἐξ ἧς
ῥητῆται ἢ ἀναρχὸς ἐστὶ. Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἔχει, οὐ δύναται καλεῖσθαι ἀρχή· εἰ δὲ
οὐκ ἔχει, δηλὸν ὅτι ἀναρχὸς καὶ ἀχρονὸς ἐστὶ. Καὶ ποῖος τῷ ἀνάρχῳ
λοιπὸν χρόνος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀρχή; Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴ οὐκ ἔχει τι πρότερον
195 ἑαυτῆς, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τοῦ εἶδους γίνεται· προτέρα γὰρ ἢ ὕλη
τοῦ εἶδους. Ὅμοιως καὶ τὸ στοιχεῖον σύνθετον ὄν καὶ συγκείμενον ἐξ ὕλης
καὶ εἶδους ἀρχὴν ἔχει τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὸ εἶδος. Ἔστι δ' ὕλη πάντων ἀρχή,
φασί, πρᾶγμα οὐσα ἀσώματον ἅποιον λόγῳ μόνῳ ἐρμηνευόμενον,
αἰσθήσει δὲ μὴ ὑποκείμενον. Αὕτη οὖν, φασίν, ὑπὸ μορφῆς τινος καὶ
200 σχήματος τυπουμένη, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ εἶδος, σωματοῦται. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν
γίνεται στοιχεῖον, ἢ αἰθὴρ ἢ πῦρ ἢ ἀήρ ἢ ὕδωρ ἢ γῆ· εἴτα τῶν στοιχείων
τούτων συμπλακέντων γίνεται σῶμα σύνθετον ἢ ἐμψυχον ἢ ἄψυχον. Καὶ
ἢ μὲν ὕλη καὶ τὸ εἶδος, φασίν, ἀρχοειδέστερα τῶν στοιχείων εἰσὶ, τὰ δὲ
στοιχεῖα τῶν ἄλλων σωμάτων στοιχειωδέστερα. Ἡμεῖς δὲ φάμεν ἀρχὴ
205 τῶν πάντων ὑπεράρχιος πρῶτη μὲν ὑπάρχει Θεός, μετὰ δὲ Θεὸν ἀρχαὶ
τῶν φυσικῶν σωμάτων τὰ στοιχεῖα εἰσίν.

2. Ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐξω φιλοσόφων τινὲς διηρέθησαν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἔδοξεν
ἀρχὴ τὸ πῦρ διὰ τὴν αὐτοκίνητον καὶ εὐκίνητον δύναμιν καὶ τὸ κατ-
αναλίσκειν πάντα ὧν ἐπιδράξεται, τοῖς δὲ ὁ ἀήρ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ζῆν αἰτίαν
210 ἐξ ἀναπνοῆς, τοῖς δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ διὰ τὴν γόνιμον φύσιν, τοῖς δὲ τούτων ἢ γῆ
διὰ τὸ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ζῴων ἀπὸ γῆς γεννᾶσθαι καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν ἀνα-
λύεσθαι. Πλάτων δὲ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὴν ὕλην εἴρηκεν ἀρχάς, τὸν μὲν ὡς
θεὸν καὶ πατέρα, τὴν δὲ ὡς δεχομένην τὴν δημιουργίαν, καὶ τὴν ὡς ἔφησε
ματαίαν ἰδέαν, παρεκκλίνων τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸ πᾶν μὴ διδούς τῷ Θεῷ.

215 3. Καὶ ἄλλοι πάλιν λογικώτερον ἢ φυσικώτερον σκεπτόμενοι τὴν γῆν
ἀρχὴν τοῦ παντός εἰρήκασιν ὡς κέντρον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κύκλου, ἐπεὶ καὶ
τὸν κέντρον τοῦ κύκλου πρεσβύτερον. Ἄλλοι δὲ ἀγέννητον τὸν κόσμον
σαφῶς ἀπεφήναντο, ἢ καὶ ὁμοῦ τὸ πᾶν εἶναι ἀκολουθῶς εἰρήκασιν. Εἰσὶ
220 δ' οἱ καὶ τυχαῖον καὶ αὐτόματον αὐτὸν ἀπεφθέγγαντο, καὶ ὅποτερ' ἔτυχε
πρῶτον τούτου μέρος ἐγένετο. Ἔτεροι δ' εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα καὶ τὸ
πέμπτον σῶμα τὸ αἰθέριον τὸν σύμπαντα διαιροῦντες κόσμον, καὶ τὸ

187 Θεοῦ] add. alterum Θεοῦ per dittographiam P 188 ἐξηγησαμένης P 190 γὰρ] M^pcorr. NP
καὶ M^acorr. 194 τι] om. N 195 ποτέρα PM 197 εἶδους] ὕδους M ἔχοι N ὕλην, τὸ
εἶδος N 200 ὁ πέρ ἐστι P 201 ὕδωρ ἢ] om. N 205 ὑπάρχει] P ὑπάρχει MN 206 τὰ]
om. N 209 ἐπὶ δρᾶζεται P ζῆν N 211 τὰ] om. N ἀπὸ] add. τῆς P γενᾶσθαι N 212
εἰρήκει N 213 δ' MN 214 παρ' ἐκκλίνων P τὸ] M^pcorr. P τῷ M^acorr. N 215
λογικώτερον MP 221 καὶ] add. alterum καὶ per dittographiam P

IV 1. In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth.¹ The
earth, however, was unsightly and unfinished. And darkness was upon
the deep. And the Spirit of God was borne upon the water.²

Oh how many and what kinds of opinions have arisen from those
piously interpreting this passage from its very beginning! It would not
be easy for me to recall them here, and it would be tedious for the
listener to hear them.

For with respect to this—In the beginning God made—some have
been in doubt whether this beginning had some previous beginning from
which it began, or whether it was without a start. If there was a pre-
vious situation, then this cannot be called the beginning. If there was
not, then obviously this beginning was without a starting point and thus
was not in the realm of time. And what sort of beginning and time are
there for something without a start?

In fact, this beginning did not have something before it, like one finds
with respect to matter and form. Matter was earlier than form. Simi-
larly, the most elementary component that was put together from
matter and form and then stayed together—this had a beginning: the
matter and the form. Matter is the beginning of all things, they say: a
thing without shape, without attribute. It can be made intelligible only
by words: it is not palpable to sense perception. This then becomes a
body, they say, when it is molded by some shape and design, which is
the form. First an element arises: ether, fire, air, water, or earth. Then
when these elements are put together, a composite body arises, either
animate or inanimate. In other words: matter and form, they say, are
more primary in nature than the elements; but the elements are more
elementary in nature than the other bodies.

We say, however, that the first beginning beyond beginning of all is
God. Then after God, the elements are the beginnings of the physical
bodies.

2. Here some pagan philosophers were divided in their opinions.
Some thought that the first element was fire. It is able to move itself; it
is able to move rapidly; and it devours everything it grabs. But others
thought air, because the source of life is breathing. Still others thought
water, on account of its fertile nature. And some thought earth, because
most living beings are born from the earth and decompose into it.

Plato said God and matter were the beginnings. The one, since he is
God and Father; and the other, since it receives his creativity. When
Plato expressed this silly notion, however, he missed the truth, because
he did not give the whole to God.

3. And others again, whose observations were more physical or more
logical, said the earth was the beginning of all. It is the center of the
heavenly circle, and the center comes before the circle. Still others
declared that the cosmos was clearly not created; and similarly, they
said that everything was in accordance. And there are those who said
outright that it was by chance and of its own accord; and whatever
happened, the first became a part of it. And others divide the complete
cosmos into four elements and a fifth body, the ethereal. They think

¹ Testimonium ad Hexaëmeron Liber Primus IV.1 – IV.2 : Michael Psellus, *De omnifaria doctrina*, ed. L. G. Westerink (1948), pg. 50. ² Gen 1:1-2.

τετράστοιχον ὑπὸ τοῦ αἰθέρος διακοσμεῖσθαι νομίζοντες, τὸ κάλλιστον δὲ τοῦ αἰθέρος ὁ οὐρανός, πρῶτον τοῦτον γενέσθαι φασίν. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῖς τοῦ θεόπτου Μωσέως θεσμοῖς ἐπόμενοι ἐν ἀρχῇ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν
 225 ἅμα γενέσθαι φαμέν. Καὶ εἴπερ βούλεται τις ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐγκοσμίων ἰδεῖν, ταῦτα οἰέσθω, ὧν ἀπάντων, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ὅλων τῶν νοητῶν, ἀρχὴ ὑπεράρχιος ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα Θεός, οὐκ ἐκ προούσης ὕλης, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ μηδαμῇ τὰ τε νοητὰ καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα παραγαγών. Ὁ δὲ θεόφρων ὑψήγορος Βασίλειος λύων τὴν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰσαγομένην ἀντίθεσιν
 230 ἔφησεν εἶναι πρεσβυτέραν τινὰ πρὸ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ κόσμου, τὴν τῶν νοερῶν δυνάμεων κατάστασιν.

V 1. Αὐθὶς τε εἰς τὸ ἐπαγόμενον ὅτι Ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν διηπόρησάν τινες τῶν ἑτεροδόξων· Τί δὴποτε οὐ συνῆψεν ὁ συγγραφεὺς καὶ τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ τὴν τοῦ σκότους ποίησιν, ἔτι μὴν
 235 καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἐπιφερομένου; Τῶν μὲν ὑδάτων φαινομένων εἶναι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, τοῦ δὲ σκότους ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου ἐπιπολάζοντος, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ σκότους ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐνταῦθα περιγραφέντος, πῶς ἐπάνω τῶν τοιούτων ὑδάτων λέγεται τὸ φωτίζειν πάντα Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπιφέρεισθαι, καὶ πῶς συνῆν τῷ σκότει τὸ
 240 φωτοδοσίας παραίτιον Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ; Πρὸς οὖν ταύτην τὴν ἀντίρρῃσιν ἀπελογήσαντό τινες τῶν ἐξηγητῶν ὅτι εἰπὼν ὁ συγγραφεὺς τὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ποίησιν διὰ τῶν δύο ἄκρων συμπεριέλαβε πάντα τὰ λοιπὰ κτίσματα ἐν μέσῳ.

2. Ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν αὐτοῖς ἑτέρα ἀπορία προῆλθε. Πῶς γάρ, φησί, μετὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν φαίνεται ὁ Θεὸς ποιήσας τὸ φῶς;
 245 Πῶς δὲ καὶ οὐκ ὀνομάζει ὅλως πυρὸς ποίησιν; Ἐν οἷς εἰπόντος τοῦ πανσόφου Γρηγορίου τὸ φῶς εἶναι τὴν αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φύσιν, ἄλλος ἀντηπόρησε φάσκων· Καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐ προσηγόρευσε αὐτὸ πῦρ ἢ γραφή· πόθεν δὲ οὔτε καίει οὔτε θερμαίνει ἢ τοῦ φωτὸς φύσις, εἰ πῦρ
 250 ἐστίν; Εἰ γὰρ διὰ τῶν δύο φωνῶν, λέγω δὴ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, συνέλαβεν ἡ γραφή τὰ τέσσαρα, εὐρεθήσεται τὸ φῶς πέμπτον στοιχεῖον.

3. Ἰδοὺ συνῆψε. Δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς εἴρηται τὸ Ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ὡς περ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ φωτός, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ σκότους οὐκ
 255 εἴρηται ποίησις, οὔτε ἐπὶ τῆς ἀβύσσου, οὔτε ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, οὔτε ἐπὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος. Ἐν ἰ οἷς τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου κατὰ Μανιχαίων ὀπλιζομένου καὶ εἰπόντος ἄκτιστον καὶ ἀνυπόστατον εἶναι ἐκεῖνο τὸ σκότος, οὔτε μετρητὸν ἦν, φασίν, οὐθ' ὀριζόμενον, ἀλλὰ ποιήσαντος τοῦ Θεοῦ

224 θεοπνεύστου P 226 καὶ] om. N 228 θεόφρων] add. καὶ M 234 τὴν] om. P 235 τῶν] τῶ N 241 ἀπελογήσαντό] scripsi ἀπελογήσαντό MNP τῶν] om. P 242 τὰ] om. M 244 ἐντεῦθεν] om. P διῆλθε P 246 καὶ] om. N 248 ἀντηπόρησε] M^pcorr. N^pcorr. ἀντηπόρησε M^acorr. αὐτ' ἠπόρησε N^acorr. αὐτ' ἠπόρησε P 249 καίει οὔτε θερμαίνει] θερμαίνει οὔτε καὶ P φωτὸς] πυρὸς P 251 πέμπτον M 253 καὶ] add. τῆς M 255 οὔτε] add. δὲ M 258 μετρίτον P

that the four elements are arranged below the ether, and the most beautiful part of the ether is heaven, and it was this that arose first.

But following that which was laid down by Moses, who saw God, we say that in the beginning, heaven and earth arose together. And if someone wants to see the beginning of things in the cosmos, one needs to understand this: of all these things and everything spiritual too, the beginning beyond beginning was God, who made all things. Not from some pre-existing material, but out of nothing, he brought forth the spiritual and the elemental things.

Basil had divine thoughts and spoke sublimely. He solved the present argument about the beginning by saying that there was something before the perceptible cosmos: the establishment of the spiritual forces.

V 1. Again some of the unorthodox were puzzled by the statement: *God made the heaven and the earth.*¹ They asked: "Why, do you suppose, did the narrator not include the creation of the darkness and the waters? And also not the creation of the Spirit, which was borne upon them? The waters seem to exist before heaven and earth, and the darkness is floating on the deep. And more importantly, since the darkness was circumscribing the waters at that time, how can it be said that the Holy Spirit, which illuminates all things, was borne above such waters? How did God's Spirit, the giver of light and a co-originator, coexist with the darkness?"

In response to this objection, some of the exegetes offered the following explanation. In speaking about the creation of heaven and earth, by means of these two extremes the narrator incorporated all the remaining things in between.

2. But here another problem presented itself. It goes: "How is it that God seems to have created the light after the heaven and the earth? And why does it not ever mention the creation of fire?"

In this controversy, Gregory, who was very wise, said that light is the essence of fire. So another asked in turn: "For what reason did Scripture not name fire itself? And if fire is the essence of light, then why does the light not burn nor give off heat? And if Scripture combined the four elements in these two words—I mean, heaven and earth—then light must be a fifth element."

3. Look, he abridged it. For this reason, with respect to heaven and earth, it was said that God made them—so also with respect to light. But about the darkness, there was no mention of its creation, nor about the abyss, the water, and the Spirit.

These controversies were addressed by the great Basil in his polemic against the Manicheans. That darkness, he said, was not something created and, indeed, simply did not exist, defying measurements or boundaries of sorts. But after God created the whole wide earth, he leaned down from above and unfolded the heaven over it like a tent.²

¹ Gen 1:1. ² Cf Is 40:22.

τὸ πλάτος τῆς γῆς καὶ κλίναντος ἄνωθεν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐφαπλώσαντος
 260 ὥσπερ σκηνὴν τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑπεχώρησε τὸ φῶς συσκιάσαντος τοῦ
 οὐρανοῦ τὸν ἐπίγειον κόσμον, σκότος γὰρ οὐδὲν ἑτερόν ἐστιν εἰ μὴ σκιὰ
 σώματος. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐζήτησάν τινες πότερον ἐκείνο τὸ
 ὑποχωρήσαν καὶ ἀποδιωχθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς σκιᾶς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φῶς
 265 ὑπόχρονον δεῖ λέγειν ἢ ἄχρονον. Καὶ εἰ μὲν ὑπόχρονον, ποῖός ἐστιν οὗτος
 ὁ πρὸ τοῦ ἐξαήμερου χρόνος; Εἰ δὲ ἄχρονον, εὐδελον ὅτι καὶ ἀναρχον· εἰ
 δὲ ἀναρχον, πάντως καὶ ἀπερίγραπτον· εἰ δὲ ἀπερίγραπτον, πῶς ὑπὸ
 τῆς οὐρανοῦ σκιᾶς διωχθὲν περιεγράφη;

4. Συνάπτουσι δὲ ταῖς προκειμέναις καὶ ἑτέραν ζήτησιν οἱ ἐξηγηταί. Εἰ
 γὰρ ἐπέκειτο, φασίν, ἀβύσσου βάθος ὑδάτων ἐπὶ προσώπου πάσης τῆς
 270 γῆς, οὐκ ἐχρῆν αὐτὴν ὅλως προσαγορεύεσθαι γῆν, ἀλλὰ θάλασσαν. Καὶ
 διὰ τί τὸ ὑποβρύχιον τέρμα τῆς γῆς ἐφ' ὃ ἥδραται καὶ ἐπικείται
 ὀνομάζομεν γῆν, ἀλλ' οὐ θάλασσαν, οὐ πρὸς τὸ ὑποκείμενον ἀφορῶντες,
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἐπικείμενον, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ποταμούς ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰς
 λίμνας καὶ τὰς πηγὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑδάτων
 275 ἰδιαζούσας καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς θείας γραφῆς μεμαθήκα-
 μεν; Οὕτω καὶ γὰρ ἔδει ἐκείνην τὴν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γενομένην ἐν ἀρχαῖς εὐθέως
 ὥσπερ τινα κατὰδικον τῇ ἀβύσσῳ τέως ἄδη παραδοθεῖσαν τῇ τρίτῃ
 ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστῆσαι ἐν τῷ λέγειν· *Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν*
καὶ ὀφθήτω ἡ ξηρά.

5. Ἐπιλείπει με ὁ χρόνος, εἰ πάσας βουλευθεῖν εἰς μέσον προσαγαγεῖν
 τῶν ἱερῶν ὁπαδῶν περὶ τῆς ἐξαήμερου τὰς ἀπορίας τε καὶ ζητήσεις. Καὶ
 γὰρ καὶ περὶ τῆς λεγομένης ἀβύσσου καὶ τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου ὕδατος οἱ μὲν
 μίαν καὶ ὁμοίαν ἐνόησαν τὰ ἀμφοτέρω ὕδατα φύσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ οὐχ ἓν τι
 285 ταῦτα αἰνίττεσθαι ἔφησαν. Ἡ γὰρ διαφορὰ, φησί, τῶν ὀχουμένων τὴν
 παραλλαγὴν τῶν ὀχημάτων δηλοῖ. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ σκοτοφόρον, τὸ δὲ
 πνευματοφόρον ἀναγέγραπται. Καὶ σκότος γὰρ, φησίν, ἐπάνω τῆς
 ἀβύσσου, εἶτα *Καὶ Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος.* Ἄλλως
 τε ὅτι περ μετὰ ταῦτα πολλάκις ποιησάμενος ὁ προφήτης ὑδάτων
 μνήμην ὀνομάζει μὲν αὐτὰ τὰ ὕδατα καὶ θαλάσσας καὶ συναγωγὰς καὶ
 290 πηγὰς καὶ ποταμούς, ἀβύσσου δὲ μνήμην οὐκ ἔτι ποιεῖται.

6. Οὐ παρέδραμε δὲ ἐν τῇ βαθείᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ θεοσδότῳ σοφίᾳ
 φιλοπευστῆσαι πῶς τὸ *Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ* γέγραπται μόνον ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ
 κτίσει, καὶ τί δήποτε τοῦτο μὲν φερόμενον, οὐ καθήμενον λέγεται. Καὶ
 πρὸς τοὺς εἰρηκότας δὲ τὸ ἅγιον εἶναι ἐκείνο τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον ἐπὶ τὰ
 295 ὕδατα Πνεῦμα πρὸς τινων ἡπορήθη τό· Καὶ ποῦ ἢ τοῦ ἀέρος ἐνὸς ὄντος

260 ὑπεχώρησι N 261 σκόσμον N 264 ὑπόχρονον δεῖ| ὑπὸ χρόνον δεῖ N ὑπόχρονον
 δὴ P ὑπόχρονον] MN^{a.corr.} P ὑπὸ χρόνον N^{p.corr.} ποῖός ἐστιν] N^{p.corr.} ποῖος ἐστὶν
 MN^{a.corr.} P 267 περιγράφη N 271 διὰ τί τὸ] N διατί τὸ M διατί P 276 καὶ] om. P
 277 τέως] scripsi τὲ ὡς MN τε ὡς P 279 ὀφθήτω] scripsi ὠφθήτω MNP 280 ἐπιλήψει P
 281 ὁπαδῶν] scripsi ὁπαδῶν MNP 294 ἐπὶ| ὑπὲρ M

And light withdrew, since the heaven cast a shadow over the worldly
 cosmos. For darkness is nothing other than the shadow of a body.

In response to these statements, some inquired further. "That light
 which withdrew or was chased away by the shadow of heaven: does one
 need to say that it was temporal or atemporal? If temporal, then what
 was the nature of this time, the one before the six-day creation? But if it
 had no share in time, then obviously it had no beginning. And if it had
 no beginning, then certainly it could not be circumscribed. And if it could
 not be confined, how could it have been chased away by the darkness of
 heaven and excluded?"

4. The exegetes join yet another inquiry to those above. They say:
 "Since the deep abyss of waters lay upon the face of all the earth, it
 should not have been called 'earth' at all, but 'sea'."

Indeed, the bottom of the earth, upon which the upper earth lies, is
 below water. So why do we call this 'earth' and not 'sea'? We do not look
 toward that which lies below, but toward that which lies above. Just so,
 rivers and pools and springs have been individualized by the ap-
 pearance of the waters in them, and we have learned these names from
 divine Scripture.

In the beginning the earth came into being from God. But it was im-
 mediately handed over like a criminal to the abyss, all the way down to
 Hades. Then, of necessity, it rose again on the third day, when it was
 said: "*Let the water be gathered into one congregation, and let the dry
 land be seen.*"¹

5. If I should want to bring into the middle all the problems and
 questions of the priestly attendants concerning the six-day creation, the
 time will fail me. For even about that which is called "the deep" and that
 which is named "the water": some thought that both liquids had one and
 the same nature, but others said that these words did not suggest one
 thing. "The difference between the things that are carried," one
 comments, "reveals the difference between the carriers. The first is de-
 scribed as carrying the darkness, but the second as carrying the Spirit.
And the darkness, it says, was upon the deep. Then it says: *And the
 Spirit of God was borne above the water.*² And besides, the prophet later
 mentions waters frequently, using the names 'waters', 'seas', 'congre-
 gations', 'springs', and 'rivers'. Yet he never mentions 'the deep' again."

6. And in their deep and inspired wisdom, they did not let pass the
 opportunity to inquire: "Why has the *Spirit of God* been written down
 only among the remaining creation? And why indeed is it said that it is
 borne and not resting?"

And in response to those who had said that the spirit borne upon the
 waters was the Holy Spirit, some were at a loss. "Then where is the
 creation of air, which is one of the four elements? And if we grant,"

¹ Gen 1:9. ² Gen 1:2.

τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων κτίσις; Εἰ γὰρ δῶμεν, φασίν, ἐκεῖνο μὲν εἶναι τὸ πανάγιον Πνεῦμα καὶ ἄκτιστον Θεοῦ, πυρὸς δὲ ὅλως οὐκ ἐμφέρεται οὔτε προσηγορία οὔτε ποίησις, ὥσπερ οὔτε ἀβύσσου εὐρεῖθῇσεται, ἐνὸς καὶ μόνου στοιχείου, λέγω δὴ τῆς γῆς, ποίησιν ἡμᾶς διδάσκουσα ἢ θεία γραφή, οὐ μὴν τῶν τεσσάρων. Τὸ γὰρ φῶς οὐ συναριθμεῖται τούτοις, ὡς οἱ περὶ ταῦτα ἔφασαν δεινοί.

7. Ἐχρῆν δέ, φασὶ πάλιν οἱ αὐτοί, εἰ γε ὁρατῆς κτίσεως ὁ Θεὸς δημιουργίαν εἰσάγει, τὸν ὁρώμενον, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν ἀόρατον, σὺν τῇ γῇ κατασκευάζειν οὐρανόν. Ἀλλὰ δὴ ἄμφω τὴν πρωτότοκον διδυμογενῆ κτίσιν ἀορασίᾳ ἀπέκρυψε, τὰ ἄνω καὶ τὰ κάτω, ὥσπερ τινι κρυσταλλοειδεῖ τῇ ῥυσιδρόμῳ τῶν ὑδάτων ἀπαμφιάσας ἀμπεχόνῃ, ὃ δὴ πάλιν καὶ ἐτέραν ἡμῖν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ὠδίνει ἀπορίαν, τὸ πρὸ τῶν ἄνω συγκαλυφθῆναι τὰ κάτω. Ἡ γὰρ γῆ, φησίν, ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκευάστος, μεταίχιμίου ὥσανεὶ προκαλύμματος διεύγοντος πρὸς τὸ μήτε τὴν κάτω ἀτενίζειν τοῖς ἄνω οὐδ' αὖ πάλιν τοὺς ἄνω ἐπισκοπεῖν τὴν κάτω. Ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ λαμπροτάτου οὐρανοῦ ὥσπερ τινος θείου προκειμένου καὶ ἀπολάμποντος ἐσόπτρου καὶ τὰς θείας μαρμαρυγὰς τοῦ ἐποχουμένου ἀνταυγάζοντος πρὸς τὸ καταλάμπειν καὶ κατα φωτίζειν τὰ κάτω, ὑποβρύχιος οὔσα ἡ γῆ οὐχ οἶά τε ἦν ἀνέδην ὄμμασι τοῖς νοεροῖς πρὸς τὴν ἄνω διεῖσαν μέχρις αὐτῆς ὁρᾶν θεόπεμπτον ἄκτινα.

VI 1. Πάσας μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀοιδίμων ὑποφητῶν ἐκδοχὰς ῥώμῃ πάσῃ καὶ ὕμνοῦμεν καὶ στέργομεν. Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὰς ὑποκειμένας ἀπορίας ἀποροὶ τινες καὶ παντάποροι πέλομεν, τῷ στόματι τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος θαρροῦντες, λέγω δὴ τῇ τοῦ Παύλου γλώσσει φασκούσῃ ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ εἰς τύπον Χριστοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν προεγράφη, λαβόντες τὰς ἀφορμὰς, εἰ δεῖ φιλαλήθως εἰπεῖν, καὶ συλλαλήσαντες ἐκ Παπίου τοῦ πάνυ τοῦ Ἱεραπολίτου τοῦ τῷ ἐπιστηθίῳ φοιτήσαντος, καὶ Κλήμεντος, καὶ Παντανέτου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέως ἱερέως, καὶ Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ σοφωτάτου, τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ πρὸ τῶν συνόδων ἐξηγητῶν εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐξαήμερον νοησάντων, μετὰ τὴν κατὰ τὸ γράμμα ἀληθῆ αἰσθητὴν κτίσιν ταῖς ἐννοίαις τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀποσκοπήσαντες ἀνενδοιάστως ἐκκλησίας, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἡμῖν καὶ πᾶς ὁ τοῦ ἀγῶνος σκοπός, εἰς ταύτην καθήκαμεν ἑαυτοὺς τὴν πραγματείαν.

2. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν γράμμα μηδαμῶς καταλύοντες, ἐπιζητοῦντες δὲ παρὰ τοῦ παναγάθου καὶ φιλανθρώπου Πνεύματος ἁγίου τὴν ἐγκεκρυμμένην μυστικῶς ἐνδοθεν τοῦ γράμματος διάνοιαν, πρῶτον σωματικώτερον εἶτουν φυσικώτερον τοῦτο σκοποῦμεν. Ὅτι μὴ πεμπτέωσαν ἐνταῦθα

303 σὺν] *add.* αὐτῇ P 304 κατασκευάζειν] MN^p ^{corr.} κατασκευάζεις N^a ^{corr.} κατασκευάζει P τὴν] *om.* P 305 κρυσταλλοειδεῖ] N^p ^{corr.} κρυσταλλοειδεῖ MN^a ^{corr.} P 313 κατα φωτίζειν] καταυγάζειν P 314 τοῖς] τῆς M 315 θεόπεμπτον] P θεόπεμπτον M θεόπεμπτον N 319 λόγῳ N 321 συλλαλυσαντες P 323 παντανέτου] MNP *lege fortasse* Πανταίνου 324 σοφωτάτου P 327 ἀνενδοιάστως] M^p ^{corr.} N^p ^{corr.} ἀνενδοιάστως N^a ^{corr.} ἀνενδοιάστως M^a ^{corr.} ἀνενδοιάστως P ἧς] *om.* P 328 πραγματίαν M 331 σωματικώτερον M

they said, "that this spirit is the all holy and uncreated Spirit of God, then divine Scripture teaches us about the creation of only one element, the earth, and not four. Fire's creation and name are not included at all. Likewise, the creation of the deep will not be found. And light is not reckoned along with them."¹ In this manner the experts have spoken about these things.

7. And the same continued: "If God is introducing the making of visible creation, it would have been necessary that he construct the visible heaven—but not the invisible—along with the earth."

But he concealed them both in invisibility—the first-born twin creation, both the things above and the things below—when he revealed the earth in a flowing veil of waters, as if in cut crystal. Which painfully gives birth to yet another problem, and not a common one: the things below were hidden from the things above. For *the earth*, it says, *was invisible and unfinished*.² A frontier separated them like a curtain. It prevented the creation below from contemplating the things above; and likewise, it prevented those above from inspecting the creation below. The first, brilliant heaven of the spiritual forces was like a divine mirror placed before, resplendent with, and reflecting the divine beams of that which was borne, in order to illuminate and brighten the things below. The earth, however, was under water.³ It was not able unencumbered to see with spiritual eyes the God-sent ray driving down to it from above.

VI 1. We love and praise with all our might all the interpretations from the famous commentators. But some of us still become puzzled, indeed very puzzled, when facing the underlying problems. So we take heart from the mouth of the Holy Spirit: I mean the tongue of Paul, which said that everything in the Law was written beforehand as a type of Christ and his Church.⁴ And we receive momentum (since one ought to speak honestly) and we speak in harmony with Papias the Great from Hierapolis, who visited St. John,⁵ Clement, Pantaenus the Alexandrian priest, and the very wise Ammonius. These were the exegetes of old, who wrote before the Councils. They thought that all the six-day creation referred to Christ and the Church. And so, with our thoughts on the Church of Christ, we look without hesitation past the literal, the unconcealed, the perceptible creation. In fact, the whole goal of our efforts is to help this Church: we have set ourselves down to this task for it.

2. We do not seek, however, to annul the literal meaning. Rather, we seek the meaning that the Holy Spirit, in its great goodness and love for humanity, mystically encrypted within the literal. Toward this end we will examine the text first in its bodily or physical sense.

¹ Cf Gen 1:3. ² Gen 1:2. ἀόρατος can be translated as "unsightly", "invisible", or even "unseeing" (see p. 25 below). ³ Cf Gen 1:9. ⁴ Cf Rom 5:14; Eph 5:31-32; Col 1:16; Heb 10:1. ⁵ Cf Jn 13:23.

τὰς γλώσσας τῶν φιλοσόφων οἱ φυσικοὶ τοῦ· *Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός*
 τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀκούοντες ῥήματος, καὶ μὴ λεγέτωσαν
 335 ἄρξασθαι ποιεῖν τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸν Θεὸν ἀπὸ γῆς καθάπερ
 ἀπὸ κέντρου τινός, ὅτι τὸ κέντρον ἀρχή, φασί, πάσης σφαίρας ἐστίν.
 Οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶον ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων συμβαίνει τῶν μὴ δυναμένων κατὰ τὸν
 κύκλον εὐθύν καὶ περιφερῇ κλοιὸν καὶ ἴσον τὰς τοῦ κύκλου συνθεῖναι
 340 στιγμὰς ἢ τὴν γραμμὴν εἰπεῖν κάμψαι καὶ τροχοειδῇ ποιῆσαι, εἰ μὴ τὸ
 κέντρον μέσον προεμπηχθῇ, τοιοῦτον γέγονε καὶ ἐπὶ Θεοῦ. Ἐνταῦθα γάρ,
 ἵνα μάθῃς ὡς οὐ φύσεως ἀκολουθίαις ἔπεται ὁ Θεός, ἀλλ' ὑπερφυῶς
 δημιουργεῖ καὶ οὐ τεχνικῶς, φησὶν ὁ Μωσῆς· *Ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός τὸν*
οὐρανὸν τὴν σφαῖραν, εἶτα τὴν γῆν τὸ κέντρον, ἢ γὰρ ἂν ἔδει εἰπεῖν
 345 *τὰν ἀνάπαλιν*. Ἰ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν, εἶπουν τὸ
 κέντρον καὶ τότε τὴν σφαῖραν. Εἰ γὰρ ὡς συμπλεκτικὸν σύνδεσμον τὸν
 καὶ προσλαμβάνουσι καὶ ἄμφω φασὶν ἐν ταύτῳ γεγονέναι, ἀλλ' ἔδει κατ'
 ἐκείνους τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ κύκλου καὶ αἰτίαν προσημανθῆναι, τὸ κέντρον
 ἦτοι τὴν γῆν, καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον τὰν ἀνάπαλιν. Ὅταν δ' οὗτοι ὁμολογοῖεν
 ἅπαν κέντρον ἐφ' ἐδραίου καὶ στερεοῦ τινος πῆγνυσθαι καὶ οὕτω τὸ περι-
 350 φανὲς περιγράφεσθαι, ἄλλως δ' οὐκέτι, τὸν δὲ Θεὸν ἐπιγνοῖεν ἐφ' ὕδατων
 οὐκ ἀντεχόντων πρὸς οὐδὲ ἐν στεγανόν, ἀλλ' εὐθύς διασχιζομένων καὶ
 περικλυζόντων τὸ στιβαρόν, οὐ μόνον ἐπιβαλόντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ στερεοῦντα
 ἐπὶ διύγρων τοιούτων τὸ πληθύν, πῶς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὥσει καμάραν καὶ
 ἀνευ κέντρου τοῦτον ἐγείρειν οὐ συγχωρήσαιεν; Τὰ γὰρ ἀδύνατα παρὰ
 355 ἀνθρώποις δυνατὰ εἰσι παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ.

3. Ἀλλὰ εἰς ἄλλον ἰτέον εἰρμόν καὶ ζητητέον τὴν ἄνω σοφίαν, τὴν
 πᾶσι διδοῦσαν καθὼς καλῶς αἰτοῦνται, τὴν μυστικῶς ἔσωθεν τοῦ
 γράμματος διάνοιαν ἡμῖν ἀποκαλύψαι, πῶς διὰ πάσης τῆς ἑξαήμερου
 κτίσεως τὸν τύπον καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς ἐκκλησίας Χριστοῦ προκατ-
 360 εσκεύασέ τε καὶ προετύπωσε. Λέγει γὰρ οὕτως· *Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός*
τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, οὐρανὸν μὲν συλληπτικῶς πάσας τὰς
οὐρανίους καὶ νοερὰς τῶν ἁγίων δυνάμεων καὶ τοῦ νοεροῦ κόσμου
ὀνομάζων συστάσεις, ἵνα τὸν ἄνω κόσμον πρῶτον νοήσης δημιουργού-
μενον κατὰ τὴν λέγουσαν θεολόγον φωνήν. Πρῶτον ἐννοεῖ τὰς
 365 ἀγγελικὰς δυνάμεις καὶ οὐρανίους, καὶ τὸ ἐννόημα ἔργον ἦν, γῆν δὲ πάλιν
 τοῦτον τὸν αἰσθητὸν καὶ ὁρώμενον κόσμον συλλήβδην μετὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ
 δῆτα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πάντα σὺν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γενόμενα
 καὶ ὑπάρχοντα ἔμψυχα τε καὶ ἄψυχα πράγματα. Εἰπὼν γάρ·

337 οὐδὲ] N οὐ P ὁ δὲ M^a corr. ὦν δὲ M^p corr. συμβαίνει] MN^a corr. P συμβαίνειν N^p corr.
 τὸν] τὴν M 338 εὐθύν] scripsi εὐθῇ MN^p corr. P περιφερῇ] M^p corr. περιφερῇ M^a corr. N^p
 συνθεῖναι N 339 ἢ] καὶ P τροχοειδεῖ P 341 ἀκολουθίας P 342 τεχνικῶς] add. δὲ P et
 fortasse N 343 ἢ] ἢ M 345/6 τόν· καὶ] cancellavit N^p corr. 347 προσσημανθῆναι M
 348 μᾶλλον P ὅταν] N οὕταν MP 349 ἐφαιδρίου M^a corr. ἐφαιδραίου M^p corr.
 καὶ στερεοῦ] om. N 350 οὐκέτι] οὐκ ἔστι P 351 στεγανὸν P 353 διύτρων N 356 ἀλλὰ]
 add. καὶ P 358 διάνοιαν P 363 νοήσεις MN 364 ἐννοεῖ P

But do not let the natural philosophers stick their tongues in here, when they hear the phrase: *In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth*.¹ Do not let them respond that God began to make the origin of heaven from the earth, as from a center. For—they say—the center is the beginning of every sphere. Men are not able to bend a straight or even a curved collar into a circle, or place the points of a circle evenly. They are not even able to bend a line, so to speak, and make it appear round as a wheel—unless the center is fixed beforehand in the middle.

That which fails for men, succeeds for God. Therefore, so that you might learn that God does not follow the laws of nature, but creates in a way beyond nature and technology, Moses says here: *God made the heaven*—which is the sphere—and then *the earth*—which is the center. Otherwise, it would have been necessary to say the reverse: God made the earth and the heaven, that is, the center and then the sphere.

If the natural philosophers latch onto the word *and* as a bond weaving the two together, and they say that both arose at the same moment, yet it was still necessary, according to them, that the beginning and source of the circle be marked out beforehand—the center or the earth—and not vice versa.

But when they agree that every center is fixed to something solid and unmoving, and that which is seen all around is itself completely embraced; and when they recognize that God threw one solid thing down on top of the waters, which did not oppose it,² but immediately opened up and washed all around the bulk, and that God then hardened it, compressed by such pressure—will they not concede that he raised the heaven like a vaulted roof and without a center?³ Things impossible for men are possible for God.⁴

3. But let us move on to another, related topic. And let us ask Wisdom above—who gives to all according to how gracefully they ask⁵—to reveal to us the meaning secretly inside the literal narrative. How did she prepare and stamp beforehand throughout the six-day creation the type and image of the Church of Christ?

It says the following: *In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth*. It uses the name *heaven* collectively for all the heavenly and spiritual arrangements: both of the holy forces and of the spiritual order. Thus, you must consider first the cosmos above. This was created—as the theologian says—in the following way: “First he takes thought of the angelic and heavenly forces; and the thought was a done feat.” Then it uses the name *earth* for this perceptible and visible world, collectively with its own heaven, and all the things upon the earth along with man that have come into being and exist, both animate and inanimate. So by saying *In the beginning God made the heaven*, it raised your mind

¹ Gen 1:1. ² Cf Jn 1:3. ³ Is 40:22. ⁴ Cf Lk 18:27. ⁵ Cf Jas 4:3.

370 Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνήγαγέ σου τὸν νοῦν πρὸς τὴν
 ποίησιν τῆς ἄνω διακοσμήσεως, εἶτα ἐπαγαγὼν· Καὶ τὴν γῆν κατήγαγέ
 σου τὸν νοῦν πρὸς τὴν θέσιν τῆς κάτω ἀποπληρώσεως, ἥς τὴν πᾶσαν
 περιοχὴν σοι παρέστησεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ μέρους τῆς γῆς φημί, οὐ μόνον λέγων
 375 γινῶναί σε γῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν περιέχοντα οὐρανόν, συνεκδοχικῶς ὥσπερ
 τινι ὄρω περιλαβὼν διὰ τῶν δύο λέξεων τοῦ ὀρωμένου καὶ νοουμένου
 κόσμου δημιουργίαν καὶ ποίησιν, ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός, τουτέστιν
 ἐν τῷ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῇ πατρικῇ ὄντι Λόγῳ, ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ
 πάντα ἐγένετο.

VII 1. Μέχρι τῶν ἐνταῦθα στήσας τὴν τῶν ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων
 πάντων ποίησιν ὁ πρὸς Μωσέα λαλῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄγγελος μετέρχεται εἰς
 380 τὸν μυστικὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγον, ἦντινα καὶ γῆν πάλιν ἐτέραν
 προσαγορεύει, καὶ φησι περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχαῖς αὐτῆς ἀγνωσίας καὶ πλάνης·
 Ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος, καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς
 ἀβύσσου, καὶ Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος. Ζητητέον δέ·
 385 ἄρα γε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς παραχθέντων καὶ τόπων τούτων
 ὄντων, ἔτι δ' ἐχόντων τὸ μέσον ἑαυτῶν κύτος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀβύσσου
 πεπληρωμένον μετὰ τὸ μεταρθῆναι ταύτην | καὶ εἰς μίαν ἐγκλεισθῆναι
 συναγωγὴν, οὐχ ὁ ἀὴρ ἐπλήρου τὸ πᾶν ὡς μηδαμοῦ κενὸν ὑπολείπεσθαι
 τόπον ἐν τῷ παντί· Κοινὸν γὰρ πᾶσιν ἐστὶν ὁμολόγημα τὸ μὴ εἶναι πού
 τόπον κενόν, καὶ πάντως σύμφωνός ἐστι δόξα, ὅτι περὶ τὸ πᾶν ὁ ἀὴρ
 390 αὐτίκα ἐπέδραμεν, ἡνίκα τὸ τῆς ἀβύσσου ὕδωρ εἰς μίαν πῆξιν μεθίσταται.
 Ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ ὕδατος ὡς ἐπίπαν θυμιᾶται ὁ ἀήρ.

2. Ἔστιν οὖν καὶ οὗτος εἰς τύπον τῆς ἀκενώτου θεότητος. Ὡσπερ
 γὰρ ὁ ἀὴρ πάρεστι πανταχοῦ καὶ πάντα πληροῖ, οὕτω καὶ ἡ θεία φύσις
 395 παρούσα ἐν τῷ παντὶ ἀκενώτως τοῦτο πληροῖ. Ὡς γὰρ ὁ ἀὴρ οὐ τόνδε
 πληρὸν τὸν τόπον ἐκ τοῦδε κεκένωται, οὕτω καὶ ἡ θεότης ἀκενώτως τὰ
 πάντα πληροῖ. Καὶ ὡς ὁ ἀὴρ καὶ σκοτεινός ἐστι καὶ φωτεινός, πρῶτον δὲ
 τὸ σκοτεινόν, οὕτω καὶ ἡ θεότης σκότος ἐστὶ τοῖς μὴ θέλουσιν, φῶς δὲ
 τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν, πρῶτον δὲ τὸ σκοτεινόν, ὅτι πρῶτον ἀγνοεῖται καὶ τότε
 ἐπιγινώσκεται. Καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ ἀὴρ ἀψάυστως οἶον καὶ ἀνεπαισθήτως καὶ
 400 τελειότερως ἐστὶ διασχιζόμενος πρὸς τὰ διακινῆσαι τοῦτον τέμνοντα
 σώματα, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς μέσον τούτου διαβαίνειν ἐθέλουσι καὶ οἶον
 διὰ περιχωρήσεως, καθ' ὅσον ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ δυνατόν, ἐνουμένοις αὐτῷ
 ἀνεπαισθήτως αὐτὸς καὶ μετὰ τελειότητος ὑπανοίγεται, καὶ οὐδ' ὡς
 αὐτὸς ἐπίσταται ὁ θεούμενος. Καὶ ὡς ὁ ἀὴρ καὶ τὸ ἔξωθεν περιέχει καὶ τὸ
 405 ἔσωθεν ἀναψύχει τοῦ ζῶου, ἀναγκαιοτέρα δέ ἐστιν ἡ ἔσωθεν χρήσις,
 οὕτω καὶ ὁ Θεὸς τὸ ἔξωθεν μὲν παρεμβολαῖς ἀγγέλων συνέχει ὡς οἶα

370 κατήγαγέ M 372 μόνην N μόνω P 374 τοῦ] om. M νοουμένου] MN^{corr} P
 νοουμένου NP^{corr} 375 κόσμον N 380 ἐτέραν] om. P 386 πεπληρωμένον P μεταρθῆναι N
 ἐγκλασθῆναι N 388 εἶναι ποῦ MN 389 ὁ] om. M^{corr} N 390 αὐτίκα P 397 τὸν M
 τοῖς] τῆς M 400 τελειότερως N 401 μέσων M 402 διαπεριχωρήσεως NP
 402 καθ' ὅσον] scripsi καθόσον MNP 406 οὕτω καὶ] MP οὕτως N

up to the creation of the whole arrangement above. Then by introducing
and the earth, it brought your mind down to the establishment of the
 fulfillment below. And through a part—I mean the earth—it presented
 to you the whole compass. It used synecdoche, so that you recognize not
 only the earth, but also its surrounding heaven. Thus in two phrases, in
 one definition, it encompassed the act of creating and the creation itself
 of both the spiritual world and the visible world. And God did his
 creating in the beginning: that is, in his paternal beginning, which is the
 Word.¹ For all things came into being through him and in him.²

VII 1. Up to this point in the text, God's angel, who is speaking to
 Moses, presented the creation of all things in the heavens and on the
 earth. But then he proceeds to the mystical passage about the Church,
 which he calls another "earth". He talks about her ignorance and
 wandering at the start. He says: "*The earth, however, was invisible and
 unfinished. And darkness was upon the deep. And the Spirit of God was
 borne upon the water.*"³

Let us inquire. Heaven and earth were brought forth and these
 became places. Yet still they had a space between them, which was filled
 by the deep. Then the latter was shifted and confined collectively.⁴ Did
 not air then fill up the entirety, so that nowhere a place was left empty
 in the entirety? It is generally agreed that a vacuum does not exist
 anywhere; and this theory is in complete harmony with the opinion that
 as soon as the water of the deep was moved to one fixed place, air
 dispersed everywhere. It evaporated out of the water, as it does
 universally.

2. Even this exists as a type of the inexhaustible Divinity. For just as
 air is present everywhere and fills up everything, so too the divine
 essence is present and fills all inexhaustibly. The air, when it fills one
 place, is not emptied from the other. So too, the Divinity fills all things
 without leaving anything empty.

The air is both dark and bright. But first, the darkness. So also, the
 Divinity is darkness for those who do not want him, but light for those
 who do. But at first, the darkness: because at first one does not
 understand, and then one comes to know.

Air is divided—without being touched, without being perceived, and
 completely—in front of bodies that put it into motion when they are
 cutting through. So too God opens himself up imperceptibly and
 perfectly for those who want to penetrate within and, so to speak,
 through his embrace are becoming one with him—as much as is
 humanly possible. Yet he, who is becoming divine, does not know how.

The air embraces a creature's exterior; it also animates what is
 inside. In fact, the internal use is more important. So also, God
 maintains the external with his ranks of angels, as with salutary

¹ Cf Jn 1:3; 10:38; 14:10-11, 20; 17:21. ² Cf Jn 1:3; Col 1:16. ³ Gen 1:2. ⁴ Cf Gen 1:9.

σωστικῶν πνευμάτων, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ, πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἔσωθεν τοῦ
 ἀνθρωπίνου ζώου μόνος ἐκεῖνος χωρεῖ καὶ τὴν πνευματικὴν αὐτὸς
 ἐργάζεται ζώωσιν ἢ ἀναζώωσιν. Μόνον δ' ἐκεῖνοι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦδε ἀέρος
 410 στερίσκονται οἱ τὴν νήξιν ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ κατὰ τοῦ διύγρου
 τῆς ἀμαρτίας αἰρετισάμενοι, καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ὑγροτήτων αἱ ἡδοναί. Στῆθος δὲ
 ἐπὶ κοιλίᾳ ἐστί, τὸ ὅξυ πρὸς τὰ ὑπογάστρια.

3. Ἀλλὰ δασύν τινα καὶ πανέσπερον καὶ βαθύν καὶ κατάστυγον καὶ
 415 ζοφερόν καὶ πάντῃ σκοτοφόρον διὰ τῶν εἰρημένων διεζωγράφησεν ὁ
 Μωυσῆς τὸν ἐπίγειον κόσμον διαφόροις τισὶν ὥσπερ ἐπικαλύμμασι καὶ
 διαφράγμασι καλυπτόμενον, ὥσανεὶ βεβιασμένης καὶ συμπινομένης τῆς
 γῆς καὶ ἐν σκοτεινοῖς ἅμα καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου ἐν τοῖς καταχθονίοις τοῦ
 ἄδου τυγχανούσης, τοῦτο μὲν τοῖς ὕδασι τοῖς ἐπικειμένοις αὐτῇ συμπι-
 νομένης, τοῦτο δὲ τῷ σκότει τῆς ἀβύσσου σκοτιζομένης, εἶτα καὶ τῷ
 420 πνεύματι τῷ ἐπιφερομένῳ τοῦ ἀνέμου σφοδρῶς ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπὸ
 τῶν κυμάτων κλυδωνιζομένης καὶ χειμαζομένης. Τὸ γὰρ φέρεσθαι τὸ
 σφοδρὸν σημαίνει τῆς τοῦ ἀέρος φορᾶς καὶ κινήσεως.

4. Αὕτη μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὸ γράμμα τὸ Μωσαϊκὸν περὶ τῆς γῆς ἡ σωμα-
 τικωτέρα κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἱστορίαν διήγησις θάλασσαν τινα ζοφεράν καὶ
 425 πολύκυμον καὶ ὀλόνυκτον πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν ἀρχαῖς διαγράψασα,
 ἣτις ἦν σαφῶς καὶ ἀναμφιβόλως προτύπωσις καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς προτέρας
 καταστάσεως, μᾶλλον δὲ παραβάσεως, τῆς πλάνης καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ
 τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης τῆς λογικῆς γῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Αὕτη γὰρ ἡ γῆ ἦν
 430 ἀόρατος, οὐ μόνον μὴ ὁρωμένη, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ὁρώσα, τουτέστιν ἀόμματος
 καὶ τυφλὴ ἐκ γενετῆς εὐθέως γενομένη, ἦν ὁ ἀρχὼν τοῦ σκότους τοῦ
 αἰῶνος τούτου τοῦ ἐπικειμένου ἐπάνω τῆς λογικῆς ἀβύσσου ἐτύφλωσε.
 Καὶ τὰ ὕδατα δὲ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν κατεβύθισαν αὐτὴν καὶ κατεπόντισαν,
 καὶ τὰ πνεύματα τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας φυσήσαντα διὰ τοῦ στό-
 ματος τοῦ ὄφως τὸν πάνδεινον αὐτῇ χειμῶνα πεποιήκασι καὶ μυρία
 435 κύματα τῶν πειρασμῶν αὐτῇ ἐξήγειραν.

5. Ὅθεν οὐ μόνον ἀόρατον λέγει ταύτην τὴν γῆν, τουτέστιν ἀόμμα-
 τον, ἀλλ' ὥς μὴδ' ὁρωμένην. Ἀποστρέψω γὰρ φησὶν ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς ὀφθαλ-
 μούς μου ἀφ' ὑμῶν, καὶ διὰ ὧσῃ, εἰ καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ τῷ
 γένει παντί· Ἔμυσσα τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου ἀφ' ὑμῶν, ὅτι μεμίσηκα τὰ ἔργα
 440 ὑμῶν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστον ταύτην φησί. Προσηξάντων γὰρ
 αὐτῇ τῶν πονηρῶν ποταμῶν καὶ πνευσάντων τῶν ἀνόμων ἀνέμων
 ἔπεσε καὶ ἦν ἀκατασκεύαστος, καὶ ἡ πτώσις αὐτῆς μεγάλη μήπω οἰκο-
 δομηθεῖσα εἰς γυναῖκα καὶ νύμφην τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν τῆς τοῦ
 Πέτρου πίστεως.

406/7 οἱ σωστικῶν] οἱ ἀσωστικῶν M 409 ἢ ἀναζώωσιν] om. P τοῦδε] om. P
 410 νύξιν P τὸ στήθος P 411 ἐξυγροτήτων M 412 ἐπικοιλία M 415 ἐπὶ καλύμμασι P
 416 βεβιασμένης N 419 σκοτεινοῖς M 424 κατ' αὐτὴν] κατὰ P διήγησις] add. ὁ M
 425 διὰ γράψασα M^{corr.} 426 ἀναμφιβόλως N 430 σκότος M 431 αἰῶνος] M^{corr.} NP
 αἰῶνες M^{corr.} 437 ὁρωμένην P 440 πρὸς ῥηξάντων M

breezes. But God alone by himself enters inside a human being and
 creates spiritual life or revives it.

Only they who choose to swim with their chest and belly beneath
 moist sins are deprived of this divine air. For pleasures are liquid; and
 their heart is on their stomach, and they are keen on their groin.

3. Through his words, Moses brought to life a portrait of the earthly
 cosmos. It was something murky: always in twilight, deep, depressed,
 misty, and bearing darkness everywhere. It was covered by different
 things, as by curtains and ceilings. The earth itself, as if overpowered
 and strangled by darkness and the shadow of death,¹ was in the nether
 regions of the underworld. It was choked by the waters that lay upon it;
 it was darkened by the darkness on the deep. And when the breath of
 the wind was borne mightily upon the water, the currents rocked and
 beat the earth below.² For the phrase *was borne* suggests a forceful rush
 and movement of the air.

4. This therefore is the literal description, according to Moses, of the
 earth. The style, in accord with the facts themselves, is rather concrete.
 It paints the sea as something dusky and choppy; and at the start, the
 world was entirely in night.

And this was clearly and unambiguously an image and prototype of
 the early situation—rather, the early deviation—of the Church. The
 rational earth, the Church, was wandering and stormy and ignorant.
 For this earth was invisible—not only unseen [ἀόρατος], but also
 unseeing, that is, right at its inception it lost its sight and became
 blind.³ The prince of this age's darkness, which was lying upon the
 rational abyss, made the earth blind.⁴ And the waters of her sins
 dragged her down and drowned her. The spiritual blasts of evil⁵ came
 blowing from the serpent's mouth and created an awful storm for her.⁶
 And thousands of turbulent trials were roused against her.

5. For these reasons, it calls this world not only invisible in the sense
 of being bereft of visibility [lit. sight], but also in the sense of not being
 able to see anything. For God says: "*I will turn my eyes away from you.*"⁷
 And through Hosea, he said to the Jewish nation, but was also speaking
 to every nation: "*I have closed my eyes from you,*"⁸ because I hate your
 works."⁹

It also says the earth was unfinished. For when the lawless winds
 were blowing, and the currents of evil were lashing her, she was not
 prepared and she fell. Indeed, her destitution was great. She had not yet
 been edified into the woman and virgin bride of Christ on the rock of
 Peter's faith.¹⁰

¹ Cf Is 9:1; Lk 1:79. ² Cf Gen 1:2. ³ Cf Jn 9:1. ⁴ Cf Jn 12:31; 1 Cor 2:6, 8; Eph 6:12.
⁵ Eph 6:12. ⁶ Cf Gen 3:1-7. ⁷ Is 1:15. ⁸ Is 1:15. ⁹ Cf Hos 9:15; Am 5:21. ¹⁰ Cf Mt
 7:24-27; 16:18; Rev 21:9.

445 VIII 1. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τοσοῦτοις δεινοῖς ἡ γηγενὴς γῆ ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
περιέκειτο φύσις, ὅτε ἤλθε τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, ἵνα ἀνέλθῃ ἐκ τοῦ
καταχθονίου βυθοῦ τῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐλευθερωθῇ τῶν συμπιγόντων
αὐτὴν ὑδάτων καὶ γαλήνῃ γένηται τῶν κατ' αὐτῆς κυμάτων, ὅπως
450 σιγήσωσιν οἱ πονηροὶ ἄνεμοι καὶ ὑποχωρήσῃ τὸ σκότος τῆς ἀγνωσίας
καὶ ἀναλάμψῃ τὸ φέγγος τῆς θεογνωσίας, ἐβόησε καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός·
Γενηθήτω φῶς, τουτέστιν ὁ Χριστός, τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν τὸ φωτίζον
πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον. *Γενηθήτω* ὑπὸ γέννησιν
δηλαδὴ ἐλθέτω, τουτέστι πλασθήτω καὶ σωματωθήτω. Ἵνα δέ σοι δείξῃ
ἀναγκαιοτέραν πάντων τὴν τοῦ Λόγου σάρκωσιν καὶ δι' αὐτὴν πάντα
455 γεγονότα, ἧς ἄνευ μάταιά εἰσι καταχρειωθέντα τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ καὶ συντε-
λοῦντα εἰς τὸ μηδέν, ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς γραφῆς αὐτίκα καὶ ἀπὸ προοιμίων
αὐτῶν ἐκείνην σοι παραδίδωσι λέγων· *Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν*
οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, εἶπουν ἐν ἀρχῇ χρονικῇ ἐποίησεν, ἡγουν εὐδόκησε
ποιηθῆναι τὸν οὐρανὸν ὡς Θεὸν καὶ γῆν διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον Ἰησοῦν.

460 2. Πότε δ' εὐδόκησε ταύτην τὴν ποίησιν; Ὅτε τὰ αἰσθητά, οὐ μὴν τὰ
νοητά, παράγειν ἐνῆρξατο. Ταῦτα γάρ, οὐκ ἐκεῖνα, παθεῖν καὶ μεταφθα-
ρῆναι κακῶς ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀδὰμ γενησομένης ἀμαρτίας ἠπίστατο. Καὶ
προκαταλαμβάνει τῇ ἰδίᾳ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τὴν τοῦ πάθους ἐπιδρομὴν πρὸ
τοῦ πάθους καὶ τῆς κακίας ἐτοιμάζων τὸν ἱατρόν. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ σιτευτὸς
465 μόσχος λέγεται παρὰ τῷ θείῳ Λουκᾷ, μόσχος ὡς σὰρξ ἢ ὡς μέλλων
ἐλθεῖν τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ σταυροῦ, σιτευτὸς δὲ ὡς πρόπαλαι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς
ἀρχῆς ἀφωρισμένος εἰς τὸ μέλλειν ὑπεισδύναμι τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς. Ὅτε οὖν τὸν
οὐρανὸν ὑφίστα καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ σὺν αὐτοῖς, τότε καὶ τὸ τῆς σαρκώ-
σεως συμπλέκει μυστήριον. Εἰς γὰρ τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐκέῖσε ἡ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ
470 πικρία οὐκ ἐσφενδόνιστο.

3. Ὅθεν τούτου τὴν κατὰ σάρκα γέννησιν εὐαγγελιζόμενος καὶ ὁ
Ματθαῖος φησί· *Βίβλος ἡ γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ υἱοῦ* 864A
Ἀβραάμ, Χριστοῦ τοῦ λέγοντος· Ἐγὼ φῶς εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐλήλυθα, καί·
Ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου, καί· Ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ φῶς καὶ ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ἡ
475 *ἀνάστασις*, φῶς τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀνατεῖλαν εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν πρὶν ἐσκοτισ-
μένων ἐθνῶν, ὧν ὁ λαὸς ὁ καθημένος ἐν σκότει εἶδε φῶς μέγα τῆς
ἐπιγνώσεως, ἡνίκα ἐπεσκέψατο ἡμᾶς ἀνατολὴ ἐξ ὕψους ἐπιφᾶναι τοῖς ἐν
σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου καθημένοις. Τὸ γὰρ εἶναι τὴν γῆν ἐν ἀρχαῖς
κάτω ἐν τοῖς καταχθονίοις βεβυθισμένην τὴν γηγενῆ φύσιν ἡμῶν προδιέ-
480 γραφεν ἐν σκοτεινοῖς καὶ ἐν σκιᾷ θανάτου καθημένην, ἧς τὸν ἐν ἐσχάτοις
καιροῖς διὰ Χριστοῦ φωτισμὸν προδιαγράφων εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· *Γενηθήτω*

448 γαλήνη P 450 καὶ - θεογνωσίας] καὶ ἀναλάμψῃτο φέγγος τῆς θεογνωσίας M om. P
εὐδόκησε M 451 φωτίζοντα P 452 γεννηθήτω M γεννηθήτω P 453 τουτέστι - σωμα-
τωθήτω] om. P 454 ἀναγκαιοτέραν P 458 εἶτος N 463/4 ἐπιδρομὴν - πάθους] om. M
466/7 ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς] ἀπαρχῆς P 472 Δαυὶδ υἱοῦ] om. M 473 Ἐγὼ] add. τὸ M
480 ἐν'] om. M

VIII 1. The mundane earth, human nature, lay surrounded by such
terrors. Then time's fulfillment arrived:¹ when human nature was to rise
from the subterranean depth of pleasures and be freed from the choking
waters,² and when the waves against her were to be calmed; when the
evil winds were to fall silent,³ the darkness of ignorance was to move on,
and the light of divine understanding was to be ignited. God cried out
and said: "*Let there be light.*"⁴ He meant Christ, *the true light*, who
illuminates *every person coming into the world.*⁵ *Let there be:* through
birth, let him come openly. That is: let him be formed and receive a
body.

Moses wanted to point out to you that the Incarnation of the Word
was more important than all else. On account of the Incarnation, every-
thing came into being. Without it, all things are pointless: degraded by
sin and accomplishing nothing. So Moses, right at the beginning of
Scripture, indeed with the opening words, introduced the Incarnation to
you. He said: "*In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth.*"⁶ At
the beginning of time, he created—or rather, he resolved that there be
created—a heaven like God and an earth for the human Jesus.⁷

2. When did he resolve upon this creation? Not when he began to
bring forth the spiritual things, but the perceptible. For he understood
that these perceptible things—not the spiritual—would suffer miserably
and be ruined by the approaching sin of Adam. In his love for humanity,
he anticipated the onslaught of this suffering and prepared the doctor
before the injury and the pain. And for this reason, Jesus was called by
the divine Luke a fattened young bull:⁸ a "young bull" because of his
flesh, or because he was destined to pull the yoke of the cross; "fat-
tened" because long ago, in fact from the very beginning, he was or-
dained to receive mysteriously our future condition. Therefore, when he
was giving substance to heaven and earth and the things with them, he
also wove within the mystery of his Incarnation. But the venom that
poisoned Adam did not shoot up there to the angels.

3. For this reason Matthew, when he reports the good news of
Christ's incarnate birth, writes: *This chapter is about the "genesis" of*
*Jesus Christ, son of David, son of Abraham.*⁹ And Christ says: "*I the*
light have come into the world"¹⁰ and "*I am the light of the world*"¹¹ and
"*I am the light and the life and the resurrection.*"¹² He is the light that
dawned in truth to reveal the nations, which had previously been in
darkness.¹³ The people of the nations, who had been sitting in darkness,
saw the great light of knowledge,¹⁴ when *the dawn visited us from on*
high to illuminate those who were sitting in darkness and the shadow of
*death.*¹⁵

At the start, the earth was submerged down among the
subterranean. This was a foreshadowing of our earthborn nature, which
was sitting among dark things and in the shadow of death. But in the
final ages, our nature is illuminated through Christ. This was

¹ Cf Gal 4:4. ² Cf Gen 1:9. ³ Cf Mt 8:26; Mk 4:39; Lk 8:24. ⁴ Gen 1:3. ⁵ Jn 1:9;
cf 1 Jn 2:8. ⁶ Gen 1:1. ⁷ Cf Rom 5:15; 1 Tim 2:5. ⁸ Cf Lk 15:23, 27, 30. ⁹ Mt 1:1.
¹⁰ Jn 12:46. ¹¹ Jn 8:12. ¹² Jn 8:12; 11:25; cf 14:6. ¹³ Cf Lk 2:32. ¹⁴ Cf Is 9:1; Mt 4:16.
¹⁵ Lk 1:78-79.

φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς, πρόδρομον καὶ προτυπωτικὸν τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ φωτὸς Ἰησοῦ.

4. Τοῦτο δ' ἀκριβωσάμενος ἐνταυθοῖ κατεξέτασον πῶς, ὡς εἰρήκει
 485 ἄνωθεν· Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, οὐχὶ καὶ
 ἐνταῦθα εἶπε· Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸ φῶς, ἀλλ' ἢ τό· Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός·
 Γενηθήτω φῶς, ἵνα σὺ μάθῃς τὸ διάφορον ποιήσεώς τε καὶ γενέσεως, καὶ
 τὰς τῶν αἰρετικῶν κατακρύψῃς φωνὰς τῶν λεγόντων ἀθέλητον καὶ
 490 ἀβούλητον ὑπομῖναι τὸν Λόγον τὴν σάρκωσιν, καὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς πατρικῆς
 ἐντολῆς ἀπαραίτητον ὡς ἀγαπῶν τὸν Πατέρα, ἄκων μὲν, τέως δ' οὖν,
 ὡς μὴ θέλων ἀντιπεσεῖν εἰσέδου τὸ ἀνθρώπινον πρόσλημμα. Διὰ γοῦν
 ταύτην καὶ τὰς τοιάσδε κακίας οὐκ εἶπε τό· Καὶ ἐποίησε τὸ φῶς, ἀλλὰ·
 Γενηθήτω φῶς, καὶ γὰρ τὸ ποιούμενον ἀκαταλλήλως ἴσως ἔχει πρὸς τὴν
 πείσιν, πρὸς ἣν μετατίθεται, τῷ ποιῶντι μὴ συμφωνοῦν. Ἡ δὲ γένεσις
 495 οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, συγχαίρει γὰρ τὰ γινόμενα τῇ γενέσει καὶ συνευδοκεῖ καὶ
 συσκιρτᾷ καὶ ζητεῖ τὴν τελείωσιν, ὥσπερ ὁρῶμεν ἐπὶ τῶν μητρώων
 νηδύων τὰ κυόμενα προσκιρτῶντα καὶ προεξάλλεσθαι σπεύδοντα, καὶ
 ἐπὶ τῶν φυτῶν τοὺς κλάδους, τὰ φύλλα, τὰ ἄνθη, τοὺς καρπούς ἡδέως
 αὐξάνοντα. Εἶπε γοῦν τό· Ἐγένετο φῶς καὶ οὐχὶ τό· Ἐποίησε φῶς, ἵνα
 500 διὰ τοῦ· Ἐγένετο τὴν ταυτοθέλητον καὶ ἰδίαν καὶ περιχαρῇ συνευδόκησιν
 τοῦ Λόγου μετὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐπὶ τῇ σαρκώσει μάθῃς, καὶ οὐχὶ μᾶλλον
 βεβιασμένην καὶ κατηναγκασμένην αὐτὴν ὑποστῆναι τὸν Λόγον ἀπὸ τοῦ
 ποιηθῆναι ῥήματος εἰσαγόμενον, ὃν καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἰδὼν οὕτω σαρκοφόρον
 ἠυφράνθη. Διὸ καὶ λέγεται τό· Καὶ εἶδεν ὅτι καλόν.

505 IX 1. Εἰ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς καλὰ λίαν, πῶς οὐ λέγει ἡ γραφὴ
 ἐκεῖνο τὸ σκότος τὸ πρὸ τοῦ φωτὸς εἶναι καλὸν οὐδὲ τὰ ὕδατα ἐκεῖνα
 καλὰ οὔτε τὴν ἄβυσσον τὴν σκοτιζομένην καλήν; Οὐκοῦν λέγων ὁ
 συγγραφεὺς ὅτι Καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸ φῶς ὅτι καλόν, δεικνυσὶν ἐκεῖνα τὰ
 ἐλθόντα πρὸ τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, τοῦ πάντα ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸν
 510 κόσμον ἦκοντα φωτίσαντος, καὶ σκοτίσαντα καὶ βυθίσαντα καὶ συμπνί-
 ξαντα τὴν γῆν μὴ εἶναι καλὰ, ὡς ἀφώτιστον αὐτὴν καὶ ἀόρατον καὶ
 ἀκατασκεύαστον καὶ ἄκαρπον ὑποκειμένην κάτω ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντα.
 Ταῦτα δὲ λέγω τὰ ἐναντία πνεύματα τὰ πρὸ τοῦ φωτὸς Χριστοῦ τὴν
 γῆν κατακυριεύσαντα. Γῆν δὲ ἐν τούτοις τὸν ἀνθρώπων νόησον. Ὁθεν
 515 καὶ ἀκούομεν τούτου τοῦ καλοῦ φωτὸς ἰ λέγοντος ὅτι Πάντες ὅσοι
 ἦλθον πρὸ ἐμοῦ κλέπται εἰσὶ καὶ λησταί.

2. Τί λέγεις, Δέσποτα; Πάντες ὅσοι ἦλθον πρὸ σοῦ κλέπται εἰσὶ καὶ
 λησταί; Ἄρα κλέπται εἰσὶ καὶ λησταί Ἀβελ, ὃν δίκαιον εἰρηκας, καὶ Σὴθ
 καὶ Ἐνῶχ καὶ Νῶε; Ἄρα ληστής ἐστὶν Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ
 520 Μωϋσῆς καὶ Ἀαρών; Ἄρα ληστής ἐστὶ Δαυὶδ ὁ κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν σου

484 ἐνταυθὶ κατωξέτασον N^p corr. 487 γενηθήτω P 492/3 ἀλλαγενηθήτω MN 493 τὸ
 τί MP ἴσος M 497 νηδύων M 500 ταυτοθέλητον] MP αὐτοθέλητον N^p corr
 508 καὶ] om. N 513 πρὸ] παρὰ M 514 κατὰ κυριεύσαντα M

foreshadowed by God, when he said: "Let there be light,"¹ and there was light, a precursor and prototype of the true light, Jesus.

4. Examine the following carefully and thoroughly. Moses said above: *In the beginning, God made the heaven and the earth.*² Then why does he not say here: "And God made the light," but rather: *And God said: "Let there be light!"*³ This was so you might learn the difference between creation and birth, and so you might smother the voices of the heretics that say the Word endured the Incarnation against his wishes and against his will. They say he did it on account of the inflexibility of his Father's command. He loved the Father;⁴ so although he was unwilling, at least to some extent, he did not want to oppose him. And he put on the outer garment of man.

On account of this and other such evils, Moses does not say: "And he made the light," but rather: "Let there be light." That which is made is probably not in agreement with the maker about the condition into which it is changed, because it is not in unison with the maker. Birth is different. Things that come into being rejoice in their birth and are pleased with it. They leap into it and seek perfection. In like manner, we see those born from a maternal womb leaping forward, eager for the change. And so too, the branches, the leaves, the flowers, and the fruits grow with pleasure from the tree.

Therefore he says: "Let there be light," and not: "He made light," so that through the *Let there be* you might know this: the Word gave his consent—with the same will, of his own accord, and with joy—to his Father in his Incarnation. The Word was not brought forth by the command: "Be made!" He did not endure the Incarnation as something forced or necessary. And when the Father saw him bearing his corporality so, the Father was pleased. Accordingly, it is written: *And he saw that it was good.*⁵

IX 1. If everything that God made was exceedingly good,⁶ why does Scripture not say that the darkness before the light was good? and the waters were good? and the deep covered by darkness was good? When the author says: "And God saw the light, that it was good,"⁷ is he not pointing out that the things that came before the true light, which illuminates every person coming into the world,⁸ were not good? that they darkened, submerged, and choked the earth?⁹ that they held it lying below among themselves, with no light, no vision, unprepared, and infertile?¹⁰

I say that those things were the opposing spirits, who had complete dominion over the earth before the light of Christ.¹¹ Consider the earth as the human being in their midst. That is why we hear the beautiful Light say: "All who came before me are thieves and robbers."¹²

2. What are you saying, Lord? All who came before you are thieves and robbers? Does that mean Abel, whom you called just,¹³ and Seth, Enoch, and Noah? And was also Abraham a robber, and Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and Aaron? And was David a robber, the one who was near your

¹ Gn 1:3. ² Gen 1:1. ³ Gen 1:3. ⁴ Jn 14:31. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:4. ⁶ Cf Gen 1:31.
⁷ Gen 1:4. ⁸ Cf Jn 1:9. ⁹ Cf Lk 8:14. ¹⁰ Cf Mt 13:22; Mk 4:19. ¹¹ Cf Jn 8:12; 12:46.
¹² Jn 10:8. ¹³ Cf Mat 23:35.

τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων; Ἄρα κλέπτης ἐστὶν Ἡλίας ὁ μετὰ τοιαύτης δόξης ἀναληφθεὶς; Ἄρα λησταὶ εἰσιν Ἡσαΐας καὶ Δανιήλ καὶ πάντες οἱ προφηταὶ οἱ τὴν σὴν ὀπτασίαν καὶ παρουσίαν προεωρακότες καὶ προκαταγγείλαντες; Πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι πρὸ σοῦ ἦλθον διὰ σαρκός, οὓς
 525 πολλάκις δικαίους εἶναι ἐν τοῖς σοῖς λόγοις ἐμαρτύρησας. Ἄρα κλέπτης ἐστὶ καὶ ληστής Ἰωάννης ὁ πρόδρομος ἐλθὼν καὶ λέγων· Ἐρχεται ὃς ἔμπροσθέν μου ἐστίν; Καὶ εἰ κλέπτης ἐστίν, πῶς μαρτυρεῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγων· Οὐκ ἐγήγερται ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν μείζων Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ;

530 3. Ἐπίσχες, φησὶν, ὁ ταῦτα λέγων. Οὐ γὰρ περὶ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἐν σαρκὶ γεννηθέντων ὁ λόγος ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἦλθον ἀποσταλεῖς παρὰ τοῦ Πατρός μου, πάντες ὅσοι ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ οὐρανοῦ οὐ μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σκοποῦ ἦλθον πρὸ ἐμοῦ κλέπται εἰσὶ καὶ λησταί, τουτέστι αἱ ἐναντίαι δυνάμεις. Καὶ ἐπιφέρει λέγων· Οὐκ ἤκουσαν
 535 αὐτῶν τὰ πρόβατα.

4. Ποία πρόβατά μοι λέγεις, Δέσποτα, μὴ ἀκούσαντα τῆς φωνῆς καὶ διδαχῆς τῶν πονηρῶν ληστῶν; Εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων λέγεις, ὑπήκουσαν καὶ ἔθυσαν τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας τοῖς δαίμοσιν, εἰ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν, πάντες ἡμεῖς ὑπετάγημεν καὶ ἐλατρεύ-
 540 σαμεν τῷ διαβόλῳ πρὸ τῆς σῆς παρουσίας, τῷ ἀρχιληστῇ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ τοῖς πονηροῖς, κλέπταις τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν.

5. Ἄλλ' οὐ περὶ ἀνθρώπων λέγω, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἐκείνων τῶν ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα προβάτων τῶν ἄνω ἐν οὐρανοῖς τῶν ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων. Ἐκεῖνα γὰρ τὰ πρόβατα οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν τῆς φωνῆς τῶν
 545 κλεπτῶν καὶ ληστῶν.

6. Τί ἐστίν· Οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν, ἢ ὅτι διὰ τοῦ ῥήματος τὸ ἀπτωτον τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων λέγει καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστον, ἢ πάλιν αἰνίττεται διδάσκων ἡμᾶς ὅτι περ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀποστασίας αὐτῶν, ἡνίκα ἡμελλον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκπίπτειν, οἱ δαίμονες συνεβούλευσαν καὶ ὑπέθεντο πάσαις ταῖς
 550 ἀγγελικαῖς συναποστῆναι αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ; Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἤκουσαν αὐτῶν τὰ πρόβατα, εἰ μὴ μόνον τὸ γηγενὲς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀπολωλὸς καὶ πλανηθὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πρόβατον, ὃ καὶ ἀποκτείναντες ἔθεντο αὐτὸν νεκρὸν ἐν σκοτεινῷ ἐν τῷ ᾄδι καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου.

7. Καὶ τούτου χάριν φησὶν ἡ ἱστορία· Ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατα-
 555 σκεύαστος, καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου πονηρὸν πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ φωτὸς ἐπάνω αὐτῆς, τουτέστιν ἡ ἀγνωσία καὶ ἡ πλάνη, εἴθ' οὕτως ἡ τοῦ φωτὸς ἐπίγνωσις. Καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξόδου ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ προτάσσεται τὸ τριήμερον ἐκεῖνο σκότος, καὶ εἴθ' οὕτως πάλιν

523 πρὸ ἐωρακότες P 524 πρὸ καταγγείλαντες P 528 γυνητοῖς M γεννητοῖς N
 543 ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα] *scripsi* ἐνενηκόντα ἐννέα M^{a.corr.} ἐνενηκόντα ἐννέα M^{p.corr.}
 ἐνενηκονταεννέα NP τῶν] *om.* N 549 ἐκπίπτει M 550 αὐτῆς M 552 αὐτόν] αὐτὸ MN
 553 ἄδει P

heart,¹ you who are God? And was Elijah a thief, the one who was taken up in such great glory?² And were Isaiah and Daniel and all the prophets robbers, who foresaw and announced your appearance and arrival? And all those who came before you in the flesh, whom you often by your own words declared just?³ And was John a thief and robber, the precursor that came and said: "*There comes a man who is ahead of me.*"⁴ And if he was a thief, why did you testify on his behalf and say: "*Among those born of women, there has arisen no one greater than John the Baptist*"?⁵

3. "Stop!" commands the one who said these things. "This statement was not about men that were born before me in the flesh. Since I, sent by my Father, came from the heavens,⁶ all those that came before me from the same heaven, but not with the same purpose, were thieves and robbers. That is: the opposing forces." And he adds: "*The sheep did not listen to them.*"⁷

4. What kind of sheep, Lord, are you talking about, the ones that did not listen to the voice and teaching of the evil robbers? If you mean the flock of the Jews, they did obey *and sacrificed their sons and daughters to the demons.*⁸ But if you are speaking about the Gentile nations, all of us before your coming were subjected to the devil and served him, the chief robber, and his evil angels, thieves of our souls.⁹

5. "I am not talking about men," he says. "I am talking about those ninety-nine sheep, which are the angelic forces in the heavens above. Those sheep did not obey the voice of the thieves and robbers."¹⁰

6. They did not obey? What does that mean? Is he saying through this phrase that the holy angels were never molested nor thrown down? Or is he teaching us enigmatically that the demons, at the time of their rebellion, when they were about to fall away from God, took counsel with all the angels and advised them to rebel from God? *But the sheep did not listen to them.*¹¹ Only one, the earthborn, the lost sheep, man, was misled by them. And they indeed killed him and lay his corpse in darkness, in Hades and the darkness of death.¹²

7. On account of this, the narrative says: *The earth, however, was invisible and unfinished. And darkness upon the deep*¹³ was evil, before the genesis of the good light upon it. That is: first came ignorance and error, then came the recognition of the light. And likewise, at the exodus of Israel from Egypt, the three-day darkness is placed first,

¹ Cf 1 Sam 13:14. ² Cf 2 Kg 2:11. ³ Cf Mt 13:17; 23:29; Lk 1:17. ⁴ Jn 1:30.

⁵ Mt 11:11. ⁶ Cf Jn 3:13; 6:38, 41-42, 51, 57. ⁷ Jn 10:8. ⁸ Ps. 105(106): 37. ⁹ Cf Lk 4:5-6; Jn 12:31; 14:30; 16:11. ¹⁰ Cf Mt 18:12-13; Lk 15:3-7. ¹¹ Jn 10:8. ¹² Cf Lk 12:5.

¹³ Gen 1:2.

560 ἡμέρα. Καὶ αὖθις ἡ νυκτερινὴ τοῦ Πάσχα θυσία, καὶ εἴθ' οὕτως ἡ τῆς
 δουλείας ἐλευθερία ἡ πλεον τῆς ἐπιφθασίας τότε ἡμέρας τὸν Ἰσραὴλ
 φωτίσασα. Καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης πρῶτον λέγει τὸ σκότος
 τῆς τετάρτης φυλακῆς τῆς νυκτός, εἴθ' οὕτως τὴν πρωινήν ἀύγην καὶ τὴν
 σωτηρίαν τοῦ λαοῦ ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ. Τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ
 565 Σιναίου ὄρους προτάττει τὸν γνόφον καὶ τὸν ζόφον καὶ τὴν θύελλαν, καὶ
 μετὰ ταῦτα τὰ φωτοφόρα τοῦ Θεοῦ προστάγματα, οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα
 προτέθηκε τὸ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ εἴθ' οὕτως ἡ τὸ θεο-
 γένητον φῶς.

8. Εἰ δὲ ὡς εἰκὸς θαμβῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις, εἰπέ σύ, τί δῆποτε φῶς
 ὑπάρχων ὁ Θεὸς ἐσκοτισμένον εὐθέως καὶ ζοφερόν τὸ πρῶτον ἔργον
 570 αὐτοῦ, λέγω δὴ τὸν κόσμον, ἐποίησεν; Πᾶς γὰρ τεχνήντως ἐργαζόμενος
 ἐν φωτὶ ἐργάζεται. Διὰ τί δὲ καὶ τοῦ φωτός τὸ σκότος προέταξεν, εἴτα
 προτάξας πῶς οὐ λέγει πόθεν ἐκεῖνο τὸ σκότος ὑφέστηκε; Πρόδηλον, ὡς
 τῆς ἀμαρτίας ὃν σύμβολον· ἄκτιστος δὲ ἡ ἀμαρτία καὶ ἀνυπόστατος.
 "Ὡςπερ γὰρ τὰ ὕδατα ἐξ οἰκείας ὑπάρξεως τὴν ὁμίχλην ἔχει, οὕτω καὶ ὁ
 575 ἄνθρωπος οἰκεία καὶ ἀβιάστῳ προθέσει ἐκουσίως τὴν ἀμαρτίαν πράττει
 καὶ τίκτει.

9. Σὺ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ εἰς τὸν περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός λόγον ἐλθεῖν
 προδιασκόπησον ὅτι καὶ σκότος ὑπῆρχεν ἄκτιστον, εἴτα φῶς, καὶ πάλιν
 σκότος ἐγένετο, καὶ τοῦτο ἡμέραν κατωνομάκει Μωσῆς, ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ
 580 πᾶσιν οὕτως ἡ ἡμέρα ἐπιμετρεῖται. Βαβυλώνιοι μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν
 ἡλίου μέχρι δυσμῶν τὴν ἡμέραν λαμβάνουσι νυκτός οὐδ' ὅλως μνείαν
 ποιούμενοι οἷα μὴ καθ' ὑπόστασιν οὐσης, ἀλλὰ κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς γινο-
 μένης. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρας τὴν ἐπιφοιτῶσαν ἀριθμοῦσιν ἡμέραν
 ἕως αὖθις ἐσπέρας διὰ τὸ πρὸ τῆς τοῦδε τοῦ παντός διακοσμήσεως
 585 σκότος ὑποτίθεσθαι τοὺς κοσμογράφους καὶ διὰ τὸ νύκτα τε πάντων
 μητέρα ὀνομάζειν. (Ὅποιον δὲ σκότος ἢ αἰσθητὸν ἢ μὴ τοιοῦτον ὑπὲρ
 ἡμᾶς κἀκεῖνο ἔστι νοεῖν.) "Ὅθεν οἱ μυθικοὶ ἀπὸ Λητοῦς τεχθῆναι Ἄρτεμιν
 φασιν, εἴτ' Ἀπόλλωνα, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ νυκτός (αὕτη δ' ἂν εἴη Λητώ, καὶ
 γὰρ λήθη κατ' αὐτὴν καὶ ὕπνος ἐγένετο), πρῶτην τὴν οἶονεῖ ἀερότεμιν
 590 τεχθῆναι σελήνην, μεθ' ἣν καὶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων, τουτέστιν ὁ ἀπὸ ὅλων ὢν
 ἥλιος, ἵνα μὴ καταιθαλώσῃ τὸ πᾶν. Οὐμβροὶ δὲ ἔθνος Ἰταλικὸν ἀπὸ
 μεσημβρίας εἰς μεσημβρίαν τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι φασιν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ πάντων
 τῶν κλιμάτων ἴσον δρόμον διασώζει ἡ ἡμέρα. Ἀμέλει τοι περὶ τὰ βόρεια
 595 ἡλιος γένηται, ὀλίγον τῆς αὐγῆς μειοῦται, καὶ εὐθὺς κατὰ ἀνατολὰς αὖθις

then the day.¹ Also the nocturnal sacrifice of the Passover comes first;
 and then—more illuminating for Israel than the daylight that arrives—
 comes the freedom from slavery.² And at the Red Sea, the darkness of
 the fourth guard of the night is mentioned first, then the dawn and the
 people's salvation from the depth.³ In the same manner, at Mount Sinai,
 he puts the darkness, the gloom, and the thunderstorm first; and after
 these, God's commands bring forth the light.⁴ So also here, the darkness
 upon the abyss is placed first, and then the light born from God.

8. If you are astonished—which is likely—at what I am saying, then
 tell me: why did God, who is the Light,⁵ immediately darken and make
 gloomy his first work? (I am speaking here about the world.) Everyone
 who works with skill, works in light. Why did he place the darkness
 before the light? And then, since he placed it first, why did he not say
 from where that darkness came?

Obviously, because it is a symbol of sin. Sin was not created, and it is
 without an independent existence. Just as waters have mist from their
 own substance, so also man commits and gives birth to sin willingly, as
 his own unforced offering.⁶

9. But before entering into this discussion about day and night,
 consider carefully the following. Darkness, though uncreated, came first;
 then light and again darkness arose. And Moses called this a day.⁷

All people do not measure out the day in this way. The Babylonians
 take the rising to the setting of the sun as their day. They make no
 mention at all of the night, because it is not substantial but happens *per*
accidens. The Egyptians, however, reckon the day as coming around
 from evening to evening again. That is because their cosmographers
 propose that darkness came before the arrangement of the universe,⁸
 and also because they call night the mother of all things. Accordingly,
 the myth writers say that Artemis and then Apollo were born from Leto:
 that is, from night. (Leto would be the night, because sleep and
 "forgetfulness" [λήθη] come during the night.) And first the moon was
 born, "cutting through the air" [ἀερότεμς]. And after her, Apollo the
 sun, who is "from all" [ἀπὸ ὅλων]. This order was necessary so that he
 might not burn the universe to ashes.

The Umbri, an Italian tribe, say that a day extends from noon to
 noon, because the day does not keep an equal course in all regions. For
 instance, around the northern seas and Thoule the night is very short.
 When the sun is setting there, its brilliance is diminished a little, and

¹ Cf Ex 10:21-29. ² Cf Ex 12:1-32. ³ Cf Ex 14:19-30. ⁴ Cf Dt 4:11-14. ⁵ Cf 1 Jn 1:5.

⁶ Cf Jas 1:13-15. ⁷ Cf Gen 1:2-5. ⁸ Scholion inserted into the text: "What is the nature
 of darkness? Is it perceptible or not? Even this is beyond our intelligence."

560 ἐπὶ φθασίας M 566 προτέθηκε MN 570 τεχνιέντως P 571 τί NP 581 μὴ
 δόλως P 582 κατὰ συμβεβηκός] NP^{corr.} συμβεβηκῶς M κατὰ συμβεβηκῶς N^{a-corr.}
 κατασυμβεβηκῶς P 586/7 ὁποῖον - νοεῖν] *ins. scholium post* κοσμογράφους MNP
 587 ὅθεν] *add.* μύθοι M 590 σελήνην M ἀπόλλων] ἀπόλλων MP ἀπὸ ὅλων] N ἀπο
 ὅλων MP^{corr.} 591 κατεθαλώσῃ M Οὐμβροὶ] *scripsi* ὁμβροὶ MNP 593 διασώζει] *scripsi*
 διασώζη NP διὰ σώζη M ἀμέλει] NP^{corr.} ἀμέλλει MN^{a-corr.} P 594 ἡ] *om.* N

ὑποφαίνεται. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν μέχρι δυσμῶν τὴν ἡμέραν ὀρίζονται, ὥς ὁ Κάτων φησὶ καὶ ὁ Λαβεών.

X 1. Μὴ παραδράμῃς μηδὲ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς κοσμοποιίας, λέγω δὴ πῶς ποιήσας ὁ Θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, καταλιπὼν τὸ κατακοσμήσαι τὸν οὐρανόν, ἄκοσμον καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστον ὄντα καὶ αὐτόν, εὐθέως πρὸ ἐκείνου διὰ τοῦ συγγραφέως εἰς τὸν τῆς γῆς εἰσβάλλει λόγον λέγων· Ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος. "Ὅθεν, τινὸς ἐξηγητοῦ εἰπόντος πρὸς τοῦτο ὅτι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ προσκυνήσαντα τοῖς ἐπιγείοις κτίσμασιν ὡς θεοῖς, βουλόμενος ὁ Θεὸς ἀποστήσαι αὐτόν τῆς τοιαύτης εἰδωλολατρίας, διδάσκει αὐτόν κτίσματα ὄντα τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἕτερος ἀντέθηκε λέγων· Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἡλίῳ καὶ ἄστροις προσεκύνει ὁ Ἰσραὴλ, ὡς οἱ προφηταὶ φασί. Καὶ λοιπὸν ἔδει καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν κοσμηθῆναι, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τοῦτον ὁ Ἰσραὴλ προσκυνῇ. Οὕτω γὰρ ἦν ἐκπεσὼν ὃ ποτε ἐωσφόρος ὁ πρῶτος ἀνατέλλων. Ἐκείνη δὲ ἡ γῆ, λέγω δὴ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἀκούσας· Γῆ εἴ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ, κατασυρρυῖσα εἰς τὸν βύθιον ὠλισθήσῃ Τάρταρον ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους ἐν ἀμαρτίαις βλαστήσασα. Τούτου χάριν τὸν περὶ ταύτης τῆς γῆς εἰσάγει λόγον ὁ συγγραφεύς.

2. Καὶ πρῶτον διὰ τοῦτο πρὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἡ γῆ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ κατακοσμεῖται, ἐπειδὴ πρὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἡ γῆ καὶ οἱ γηγενεῖς ἄνθρωποι τὸν Θεὸν διὰ σαρκὸς ἐωράκαμεν, καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄνω τὰ κάτω κοσμήσας ἐφαίδρυνεν (καὶ) ἐφώτισε. Πρὸ τῶν Χερουβὶμ καὶ τῶν Σεραφὶμ μάγοι καὶ τελῶναι καὶ λησταὶ καὶ πόρνοι καὶ ἀμαρτωλοὶ πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον τὸν Θεὸν ἐωράκασι καὶ τούτου κατετρύφησαν καὶ ἀπήλυσαν, εἴθ' οὕτως ταῖς ἄνω δυνάμεσιν αὐτόν ὁραθῆναι παρέπεμψαν. "Ὅτι δ' ὃν οὐκ εἶδον οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ποθ' οἱ ἄγγελοι κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τε καὶ τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλ' ὃν μόνος ἐπίσταται ὁ Πατήρ καὶ ὃς μόνος ἐπίσταται τὸν Πατέρα, τοῦτον αὐτόν πρὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων κατείδον οἱ ἄνθρωποι σαρκικῶς, μαρτυρεῖ καὶ Δαυὶδ λέγων· Ὁ οὐρανὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ, τὴν δὲ γῆν ἔδωκε τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀντικρυς τοῦτο σαφῶς παριστῶν, ὡς ὁ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ἀπάντων ὑπερανέστηκώς ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ Λόγος, ὁ οὐράνιος Υἱὸς τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ οὐρανοῦ Πατρός, οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλω γνωστός κατ' οὐσίαν ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ Κυρίῳ πάντων, αὐτῷ φημι τῷ Δεσπότῃ Θεῷ καὶ χάριτι τῶν γηγενῶν Πατρί. Τὴν δὲ γῆν ἔδωκε τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἡμῖν γάρ φησι τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν κάτω φυσικῶς πατέρων τὴν γῆν ἔδωκεν, ἥτοι τὴν γῆν τοῦ Λόγου προτέθηκε γέννησιν εἰς τὸ γινῶναι τι τοῦ ταύτης μυστηρίου, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ταύτης τὸ πᾶν.

602 γῆ] om. N 606 τὰ] om. M 608 προσεκύνει P 610/11 κατασυρρυῖσα] scripsi κατασυρρεῖσα MNP 612 ὠλισθήσῃ] scripsi ὀλίσθησῃ] MNP 617 ἐωράκαμεν] N^p corr. ἐωράκειμεν MN^a corr. P 618 καὶ] scripsi 622 τὴν] om. P 629 τῷ] τῷδε N 631 τῶν] add. ἀνθρώπων τῶν P

straightway it appears again in the east. And finally the Athenians and the Romans fix the day from sunrise to sunset—so Cato says and Labeo.¹

X 1. So that you will not miss this at the beginning of creation, I shall state it here: God created the firmament of heaven—rather, the heaven and the earth—but then left off completing the heaven, which was unadorned and unfinished. Instead, he immediately begins through the narrator the account about the earth: *The earth, however, was invisible and unfinished.*²

One exegete, explaining this passage, said that the nation Israel, when in Egypt, had been worshipping earthly creatures as gods. So God, desiring to separate Israel from such idolatry, taught it here that the things of the earth are creations.

Another exegete, however, objected. "None the less," he said, "Israel then worshipped the host of heaven and the sun and the stars—as the prophets say.³ It was necessary to adorn heaven in such a way that Israel would not worship that too. Lucifer, who rises early and once brought the dawn, was not yet banished."⁴

But I say that the earth—the human who heard "*You are earth and to earth you will return*"⁵—slipped and sank down into deep Tartarus, where in its sins it sprouted thorns and prickly plants.⁶ On account of this, the narrator added the statement about the earth.⁷

2. Indeed, because the earth and earth-born men would see God in the flesh before the angels would, God adorned the earth first, before heaven.⁸ Having arranged the things below, he purified and illuminated them before the things above. Before the Cherubim and Seraphim, the Magi and tax collectors and robbers and adulterers and sinners looked at God, face to face. But they mocked and rejected him, and sent him to be seen by the powers above. The angels had never seen him in his essence and nature, because only the Father knew him, and he alone knew the Father.⁹ And before the angels, men looked upon him physically.

David verifies this, when he says: *Heaven belongs to the Lord of Heaven, but he gave the earth to the sons of men.*¹⁰ With this statement, David openly and clearly presents the following. Heaven, by its nature, stands above everything. And the Word, the heavenly Son of a heavenly Father from heaven, is not known in his nature by any other than by the Lord of All. Here I am speaking about God, the Ruler, and the Father in grace of all upon the earth. *But he gave the earth to the sons of men.* This means that he gave the earth to us, the sons of fathers physically, below.¹¹ Or rather, he presented to us the earthly birth of the Word, that we might know something of its mystery, but not all of it.¹²

¹ Cf R. Wünsch, ed., Ioannis Laurentii Lydi *De mensibus* (Leipzig 1898), pp. 18-20.

² Gen 1:2. ³ Cf 2 Chr 33:3; Jer 7:18; 8:2; 19:13; Zeph 1:5. ⁴ Cf Is 14:12. ⁵ Gen 3:19.

⁶ Cf Gen 3:18. ⁷ Cf Gen 1:2. ⁸ Cf Gen 1:11-12. ⁹ Cf Mt 11:27; Lk 10:22. ¹⁰ Ps 113:24 (115:16). ¹¹ Cf Jn 1:12-13. ¹² Cf Jn 1:14.

3. Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἄνω γεννήσεως οὐδ' αὐτοὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι οἶδασιν. Καὶ
 635 δῆλον, ὅτι τὰ πρόσωπα δυσὶ συγκαλύπτονται πτέρυξι, τοὺς δὲ πόδας
 δυσὶ, τοῦτο σαφῶς παριστῶντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τυπικῶς καὶ συμβολικῶς τὸ
 πρόσωπον σὺν τῇ κεφαλῇ συγκαλύπτειν. Ἦνιξαντο γὰρ ὡς ἐν συμβόλῳ
 τὴν ἑαυτῶν νόησιν, ὡς Οὐθ' ἡμεῖς, εἰ καὶ νόες ἐσμέν, ἐπιστάμεθα τι σαφές
 640 περὶ τῶν δύο γεννήσεων, ἃς παριστῶμεν διὰ τῶν περικαλυπτουσῶν δύο
 πτερύγων, οὐθ' ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περὶ τούτων δυνάμεθα ἐξεπεῖν.
 Πόδες δ' εἶεν ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἐσχάτους καὶ μεθ' ἡμᾶς τεταγμένους
 ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἀφ' ἡμῶν κατὰ μετάδοσιν νοημάτων διάβασις. Ἀλλὰ
 δυσὶ μόναις πετόμεθα πτέρυξι διὰ τῆς πτήσεως τὸ λίχνον καὶ ἐκκρεμές καὶ
 645 ἀεὶ ἐναγώνιον καὶ ζητητικὸν εἰς τὸ μαθεῖν τί περὶ τῶν δύο τούτων γεννή-
 σεων ἐνδεικνύμενοι, ὧν ταῖς ζητήσεσιν ὡς ὑπὸ πτέρυξιν ἀεὶ φερόμεθα καὶ
 οὐδαμοῦ κατάπαυσιν τῆς πτήσεως μέχρι τοῦδε εὐρίσκομεν. Ἡ γὰρ λύσις
 τοῦ ζητουμένου κατάπαυσις, οἷον καὶ καλλιὰ τίς ἐστι τῆς πολυπλανοῦς
 τοῦ νοῦ περὶ τὸ ζητούμενον πτήσεως. Γνωσιν μὲν γὰρ ἔχομεν τῶν δύο
 650 τοῦθ' ἱπτάμεθα ἐς ἀεὶ. Καίτοι γε πάντων ζώων τὴν ὑπαρξιν οἶδαμεν,
 τῶν μὲν ἀερίων, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ χερσαίων, ὃ τι καὶ αἰτὸς καὶ ἰ λέων καὶ
 βοῦς τὴν γνώσιν τούτων ἐν ἡμῖν εἰκονίζουσιν. Οὐ μόνον δ' ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ
 τιμιώτερον πάντων ζώων τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἐπιστάμεθα, διὸ καὶ τὸν τοῦ
 προσώπου τούτου τύπον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς περιφέρομεν. Θεὸν δὲ γινῶναι τε καὶ
 655 εἰπεῖν οὐδαμοῦ τις φύσις γεγεννημένη, μηδ' ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτή, ἐξαρκεῖ.
 "Ὅπου γε καὶ τὴν κάτω γέννησιν τὴν διὰ σαρκὸς ἀφ' ἡμῶν μὲν
 ἀποκέκρυφεν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατήρ (τουτὶ γὰρ τὸ ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἐφ' ἀπάντων
 ἀποκεκρυμμένον μυστήριον), ὑμῖν δὲ δέδωκε πρῶτοις τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων τοῦτο μαθεῖν, καὶ διὰ τῆς ὑμῶν ἐκκλησίας ὑστέρως τοῦθ' ἡμεῖς
 660 ἐπεγνώκαμεν.

4. Εἰ δὲ φρίττεις, ὦ ἀκροατά, ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις, ἀπαλλάττει σε
 τούτου τοῦ φόβου ὁ Παῦλος λέγων περὶ τῆς Χριστοῦ ἀπὸ γῆς ἀναλή-
 ψεως, *Νυνὶ γὰρ φησιν ἀνῆλθεν ὀφθῆναι ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις διὰ*
τῆς ἐκκλησίας. "Ὅθεν καὶ ἀνιῶν ἐθάμβησε τὰς ἄνω δυνάμεις ἐν οὐρανοῖς,
 665 καὶ διηπόρουν πυθόμεναι τῶν συνανιουσῶν σὺν τῷ Δεσπότη ἀπὸ γῆς
 καὶ ἔλεγον· *Τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης;* Βαβαὶ τῶν παραδόξων
 θαυμάτων καὶ χαρισμάτων, ὧν ἐδωρήσατο ὁ Θεὸς τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει
 οἰκήσας ἐν αὐτῇ. Οἱ ἀνθρωποι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἐνεφάνησαν τὸν Θεόν, ὃν

3. About the birth above, not even the angels themselves are know-
 ledgeable. They clearly represent this, in symbol and type, by covering
 their face and their head. They cover their faces with two wings, and
 their feet with two,¹ suggesting symbolically their thoughts:

"Even if we are minds, we know nothing clearly about the two births.
 The two curtain-like wings represent this. Nor are we able to declare
 anything about them to you men. Our feet would be the crossing over of
 ideas from us to you to share, you humans who are stationed last and
 behind us.

"We fly with two wings only.² Yet we point out by our flight that we
 are inquisitive, in suspense, and forever striving and searching to know
 something about the two births. By our investigations, as by wings, we
 are always carried along, but have found no rest from our winging to
 this moment. Rest comes with the discovery of what is sought, which is
 like a nest for the wandering flight of the mind in its quest. We know
 about the two births of the Word, but we do not understand them at all.
 And on account of this we fly forever.

"Indeed, we know how all living beings came into existence: the
 things of the air, and also the things of the land. The eagle and the lion
 and the bull are images of our knowledge of these things. We under-
 stand not only these, but also that which is the most honored of all living
 beings: man. On account of this, we carry upon ourselves the type of his
 face.³ But nowhere has a nature come into being—and certainly not
 ours—that is capable of knowing or speaking about God.

"God the Father concealed from us the birth below, that of the flesh.
 Indeed, it was the mystery that from eternity had been concealed from
 all.⁴ He allowed you first, the sons of men, to learn about it. Then later
 through your Church, we came to understand it."⁵

4. If you tremble, dear reader, at what is being said, Paul will release
 you from your fear. He says the following about the ascension of Christ
 from the earth: *Now he went up to be seen by the Principalities and the*
*Powers through the Church.*⁶ For this reason, when Christ went up, he
 astounded the forces in the heavens above. And they, after having been
 informed by those who were ascending with the Ruler from the earth,
 were at a loss. They asked: "*Who is this King of Glory?*"⁷ Just look at the
 astonishing marvels and charms that God gave to mortal nature, in
 which he resided!"

God, whom the angels had not seen before, was introduced to them by
 men. What an incomprehensible wonder! They had been praising

¹ Cf Is 6:2. ² Cf Is 6:2. ³ Cf Ezek 1:10. ⁴ Cf Eph 3:9; Col 1:26. ⁵ Cf Eph 3:10.
⁶ Eph 3:10. ⁷ Ps 23(24):8, 10.

635 καλύπτονται P 637 ἠνολξαντο N 638 ἐπιστάμεθα τι] *scripsi* ἐπιστάμεθα τι P
 ἐπιστάμεθα τί MN 639 περικαλυπτουσῶν M^{a.corr.} περικαλυπτοσῶν M^{p.corr.} 640 ἡμῖν P
 642 τῶν] *add. ἃ ad lineae finem* P μετάδωσιν P 643 μόνες P 644 ζητητικὸν] *scripsi*
 ζητικὸν MNP 647 καλλιὰ N καλλιὰ P 650 ἐσάει P 654 αὐτοῖς M
 655 γεγεννη(έν)η N 657 ἀπόκρυφεν P 658 ὑμῖν] MN^{a.corr.} P ἡμῖν N^{p.corr.} 659 ὑμῶν]
 MN^{a.corr.} P ἡμῶν N^{p.corr.} 660 ἐπεγνώκαμεν] *scripsi* ἐπεγνώκειμεν MNP 661 τοῖς] τῆς P
 663 καὶ] *om.* M 665 ἀνιουσῶν P 668 ἐνεφάνησαν] MN^{a.corr.} P ἐνεφάνισαν N^{p.corr.}

οὐχ ἐώρων τὸ πρότερον. Ἀκατάληπτα θαύματα· ἀνύμνουν τὸν οἰκεῖον
 670 Θεόν, καὶ οὐκ ἔβλεπον ὃν ὑμνούν· ἔφερον αὐτὸν ἐποχούμενον οἱ θρόνοι,
 καὶ οὐχ ἐώρων τίνα φέρουσιν· προσεκύνουν καὶ ἐδοξολόγουν ἀσιγήτως
 τὰ ἐξαπτέρυγα καὶ πολυόμματα, καὶ οὐ κατενόουν τίνα καταγεραίρου-
 σιν. Ὅθεν γονυπετοῦντες ἐπεθύμουν, ἐδίψων, προσήχοντο, ἐδυσώπουν
 675 ἰδεῖν τὸν ἀόρατον, θεάσασθαι τὸν ἀθέατον, ἢ καὶ μόνον ὡς ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ
 καὶ αἰνίγματι ἀτενίσαι ἢ παρακύψαι καὶ ἰδεῖν τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνυμνού-
 μενον καὶ προσκυνούμενον, καὶ οὐκ ἠδύναντο διὰ τὸ ἀπροσπέλαστον καὶ
 ἀκατάληπτον τῆς θείας οὐσίας.

5. Εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖς τῷ λόγῳ, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ἄκουσον Πέτρου λέγοντος ὅτι
 ἐδωρήθη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθὰ *Εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι*,
 680 καὶ οὐκ ἠδύναντο, ἐπεὶ ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη γῆ ἀόρατος ἦν τότε κάτω ἐν τῷ
 βυθῷ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ σκότους οὔσα ἀκατασκεύαστος. Διὸ καὶ στυγνὸς
 ἦν ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστος τὸ στερέωμα καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ τῇ δευ-
 τέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ, ἕως οὗ ἀνέστη ἡ γῆ καὶ ἀνῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ ᾗδου τριήμερος τῇ
 τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνανεύσασα, καὶ οἶονεῖ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναπνεύσασα, καὶ τὸ φῶς
 685 θεασαμένη, καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος μεταλαβοῦσα, καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων ἀπαλλα-
 γεῖσα τῶν πονηρῶν καὶ τοῦ σκότους, καὶ καρπὸν βλαστήσασα ἢ τὸ πρὶν
 ἄκαρπος. Καὶ τότε λοιπὸν μετ' αὐτὴν καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς κατεκοσμήθη καὶ
 ἐφαιδρύνθη, καὶ ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ ἄστροις ἐκοσμήθη, τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ
 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις, τὸν μὲν ὡς δεξαμένων τῶν οὐρανίων νόων
 690 αἰελαμπῇ ἀνιόντα μετὰ σαρκός, τῇ δὲ ἐκκλησίᾳ συνευφραινομένων, καὶ
 τοῖς ἁγίοις συναυγαζόντων. Ὅθεν καὶ θερμῶς καὶ μεγάλως προοίστανται
 καὶ ἀγαπῶσι καὶ προνοοῦσι καὶ πρεσβεύουσιν αἱ ἄνω δυνάμεις ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 ἀνθρωπίνου γένους, ἐπειδὴ δι' ἡμῶν ἡξιώθησαν ὅπερ δι' ἑαυτῶν ἰδεῖν οὐκ
 ἠτόνησαν. | Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς τὸ δεῖξαι δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἡ γῆ πρὸ τοῦ
 695 οὐρανοῦ ἐν τῇ κοσμοποιᾷ διεκοσμήθη.

XI 1. Ἐπειδὴ οὐ μόνον τὰς ἐναντίας δυνάμεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ τῶν
 ἔθνων συστήματα πολλάκις ἡ θεία γραφή προσαγορεύει ὕδατα καὶ
 ἀβύσσους, ἐφ' ἃς τὸ σκότος τὸ πονηρὸν ἐπέκειτο, ἀνάγκη ἡμᾶς περὶ τού-
 του μαρτυρίας προφητικὰς ἀγαγεῖν. Λέγει γοῦν ὁ Δαβὶδ· *Ἄβυσσος*
 700 *ἄβυσσον ἐπικαλεῖται*, καὶ προτρέπεται εἰς θεογονωσίαν νῦν τὸν Ἰουδαῖον
 ἢ ἄβυσσος, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἔθνων τῶν πρὶν ἐσκοτισμένων. Τινὲς γὰρ τὰς
 δύο προσηγορίας τῶν δύο ὑδάτων εἰς τοὺς δύο ἐνόησαν λαούς, ἄβυσσον
 μὲν τὸν ἐξ ἔθνων, ἐφ' ὃν τὸ σκότος, ὕδωρ δὲ τὸν ἐξ Ἰουδαίων, ἐφ' ὃν τὸ
 Πνεῦμα τῆς θείας γραφῆς ἐπεφέρετο μὲν, οὐκ ἐπανεπαύετο δέ. Περὶ
 705 τούτων δὲ πάλιν τῶν δύο ὑδάτων εἴρηται τό· *Ἐξελεύσεται ὕδωρ ζῶν ἐξ*
Ἱερουσαλὴμ, τὸ ἥμισυ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν πρώτην καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ
αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ἐσχάτην, καθὰ καὶ Ἀμβακοῦμ ὁ προφήτης

675 ἐνίγματι MP 678 ὦ M 682 ὁ] om. M 702 προσαγορίας P 703 δὲ] add. καὶ P
 Ἰουδαῖον MP 706 ἡμισυ] ἡμισυ MP^{corr.} 707 Ἀμβακοῦμ] scripsi ἀββακοῦμ MN^{a,corr.} P
 ἀββακοῦκ Np^{corr.}

with hymns their God, but they had not seen whom they were praising.
 The Thrones had been holding God aloft, but they had not seen whom
 they were carrying.¹ And the angels with six wings and many eyes had
 been worshipping and glorifying him without a moment of silence,² yet
 they had not perceived whom they were honoring. For this reason, while
 genuflecting, they longed, thirsted, prayed, and entreated to look upon
 the invisible, to see him who could not be seen, or to gaze upon him if
 only as in a cloudy mirror,³ or just to glimpse him and see whom they
 were adoring and hymning! But they could not. The divine essence was
 unapproachable and incomprehensible.

5. If you, O man, do not believe what I am saying, then listen to
 Peter, who says that men were given goods⁴ *that the angels long to*
*glimpse.*⁵ But they were not able, because the human world was invisible
 then. It was unfinished, down in the depth of the darkness of sin.⁶ On
 account of this, heaven too was gloomy, and the firmament was
 unadorned on the first and second day. Then on the third day, the world
 raised its head, stood up, three days old, and ascended from Hades. As if
 from death, it revived. It gazed upon the light. Freed from the evil
 waters and darkness, it began to breathe. And that which was infertile
 before, now produced fruit.⁷

Then finally, after the earth, heaven too was put in order and
 brightened. It was adorned with the sun, the moon, and the stars, with
 Christ, the Church, and the saints. The heavenly spirits received him,
 resplendent always, as he ascended in the flesh. And they rejoice with
 the Church;⁸ they shine with the saints. Therefore with warmth and
 might the hosts on high protect, love, provide, and pray for the human
 race. Through us they were honored with seeing. By themselves, they
 did not have the means.

For this reason, in order to point out all this, the earth was adorned
 before the heaven in the creation of the universe.

XI 1. Divine Scripture often refers to not only the opposing forces, but
 also the Gentile communities as waters and depths, upon which the
 darkness of evil lay. Since this is so, it is necessary to bring forth pro-
 phetic testimony about the matter. David, for instance, says: *The deep*
*calls upon the deep.*⁹ Indeed, the deep—the multitude of Gentiles that
 were once in the dark¹⁰—now urges the Jew to know God. For some have
 thought that the two names for the two waters represent two groups of
 people. The people of the Gentile nations, on whom there was darkness,
 are the deep. The people of the Jewish nation, over whom the Spirit of
 the divine Scriptures hovered, but did not settle, are the water.¹¹

About these two waters it is also said: *Living water will flow out of*
*Jerusalem. Half of it will go to the first sea, and half of it to the last sea.*¹²
 Accordingly, Habakkuk the prophet declares: *And you have made your*

¹ Cf Ezek 1:25-26; 10:1. ² Cf Is 6:2-3; Ezek 10:12; Rev 4:6, 8. ³ Cf 1 Cor 13:12.

⁴ Cf Eph 4:8. ⁵ 1 Pet 1:12. ⁶ Cf Gen 1:2. ⁷ Cf Is 44:23; 49:13; Rev 12:12; 18:20.

⁸ Ps 41(42):8. ⁹ Cf Is 8:23-9:1; Mt 4:15-16. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 1:2.

¹² Zech 14:8.

βοᾷ· Καὶ ἐπεβίβασας εἰς θάλασσαν τοὺς ἵππους σου ταράσσοντας ὕδατα
πολλά, ἵππους Χριστοῦ τοὺς ἁγίους ἀγγέλους καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους
710 λέγων. "Ὁθεν καὶ τῇ ἐπιβάσει τῶν ἵππων τούτων ἐταράχθησαν ἄβυσσοι,
πληθος ἤχους ὑδάτων, καὶ τό· Αἰνεῖτε δὲ τὸν Κύριον ἐκ τῆς γῆς, δράκον-
τες καὶ πᾶσαι ἄβυσσοι περὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ᾄδεται, δράκοντες δὲ τοὺς πρὶν
ἀνημέρους αὐτῶν ἄρχοντας ὀνομάζει.

2. Λοιπὸν τοσούτων μαρτυριῶν οὐσῶν μὴ θαυμάσης εἰ περὶ τοῦ
715 συστήματος τῶν πρὶν ἐσκοτισμένων ἐθνῶν λέγει ὅτι Καὶ σκότος ἦν
ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου πρὸ τοῦ φωτός, σκότος ἀθείας, σκότος ἀσελγείας,
σκότος μαντείας, σκότος εἰδωλολατρίας καὶ πάσης ἄλλης ἁμαρτίας πρὸ
τῆς τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ φωτός Χριστοῦ παρουσίας καὶ ἐπιδημίας. Διὰ τοῦτο
720 γὰρ καὶ μόνον προτάσσει τὸ σκότος ἢ γραφὴ πρὸ τοῦ φωτός, ὅτι
πρότερον ἐν τῇ πλάνῃ ὑπῆρχομεν, εἴθ' οὕτως εἰς τὸ φῶς μετήλθομεν. Διὰ
τοῦτο πρῶτος ὁ σκοτεινὸς νόμος, καὶ εἴθ' οὕτως τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. Διὰ
τοῦτο πρώτη ἐσπέρα, εἴθ' οὕτως ἡ ἡμέρα. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐνομοθετήθη ἐξ
ἐσπέρας ἄρχεσθαι τῆς κυριακῆς, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ σκοτεινοῦ θανάτου εἰς φῶς
προήλθομεν τὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως. Εἰ δὲ μὴ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, πάννυ
725 ἀπρεπὲς ἦν καὶ ἀνοίκειον τῷ Θεῷ πρὸ τοῦ φωτός ὀνομάσαι τὸ σκότος
καὶ εὐθέως ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐσκοτισμένην τὴν κτίσιν κατασκευάσαι.

3. "Ὁθεν, μὴ ἰσχύσας ὁ Μανιχαῖος ταῦθ' οὕτως νοῆσαι, δύο θεοὺς
ὀνομάζει τὸ σκότος καὶ τὸ φῶς, καὶ προτάσσει πρὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ
φωτός τὸν ἀντικείμενον τὸν σκοτεινόν. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς εἰρημένας
730 ἀναγωγικὰς ποιούμενοι θεωρίας οὐ καταλύομεν τὸ γράμμα· ἄπαγε.
Μᾶλλον δὲ σαφῶς γινώσκουμεν ὅτι σκότος αἰσθητὸν ἐπέκειτο ἐπάνω τῆς
ἀβύσσου τῆς αἰσθητῆς καὶ πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ
ὑδάτος, εἴτε τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀέρος, ὅπερ ἄνεμον οἶδεν ὀνομάζειν ἢ τῶν
ἀνθρώπων συνήθεια, εἴτε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον προμηνῦον καὶ προδια-
735 γράφον τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος χάριν, καὶ γὰρ ἀμφοτέρων ἐν
τούτῳ χρεῖα, καὶ τοῦ ἀερίου ἀνέμου ὥστε σταυρικῶς ἐμφυσᾶν τῷ τοῦ
βαπτίσματος ὕδατι, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἵ ὥσθ' ἀγιάζειν. Τάχα
γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο πάλιν ἐνταῦθα μετὰ τὸ σκότος ἐξέταξε τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ
πνεῦμα, τουτέστι μετὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τὸν τοῦ βαπτίσματος φωτισμόν.
740 "Ὡςπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ κολυμβήθραν τινὰ κατασκευάσας ὁ Θεὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα
ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος, οὕτως εὐθέως ὕστερον μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέπει λέγων·
Γενηθήτω φῶς τῶν φωτισμάτων, καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς τῶν φωτισμάτων.

4. "Ὁθεν καὶ τὸ τῆς Τριάδος μυστήριον ἐνταῦθα ἐν πρώτοις ἐπὶ τοῦ
βαπτίσματος τούτου μανθάνομεν ὅτε λέγει· Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός, πάντως ὁ

horses enter the sea, stirring up much water.¹ He means that the holy
angels and the apostles are "horses" of Christ. For this reason, at the
entrance of these horses, the depths were disturbed, the multitude of
noise of the waters.² And the verse: Praise the Lord from the earth, you
dragons and all you depths,³ is sung about the Gentile nations. The
"dragons" are their earlier, savage leaders.

2. In conclusion, since there are such witnesses, you should not be in
a quandary when it says: And darkness was upon the deep⁴ before the
light. It is speaking about the community of Gentile nations, which once
was in the dark. It was the darkness of atheism, the darkness of
violence, the darkness of superstition, and the darkness of idolatry and
every other sin, before the advent and presence of the true light, Christ.⁵
For this reason alone, Scripture puts the darkness before the light:
because earlier we were wandering, and then we pursued the light. On
account of this, first there was the dark Law, and then the Good News.
And on account of this, first there was evening, and then the day.⁶ And
therefore it was ordained that it begin from Sunday evening, because we
progressed from the darkness of death to the light of the resurrection.⁷ If
these things are not so, then it was very inappropriate and incongruous
for God to have named the darkness before the light, and immediately at
the beginning to have made his creation dark.

3. The Manichean is not able to understand these things. So he calls
the darkness and the light two gods. And he places the dark enemy
before the light of Christ.

We, however, while making the anagogical observations that have
been discussed above, are not destroying the literal meaning. Come now.
We clearly know that a perceptible darkness was lying upon the
perceptible deep, and that a breath of God was borne upon the percep-
tible water. Either this was a blast of air, which is customarily called
"wind" by mankind; or this was the Holy Spirit, which predicted and
represented beforehand the grace of holy Baptism. Indeed, there was
need of both: the airy wind to blow crosswise upon the water of Baptism,
and the Holy Spirit to sanctify it.

Perhaps it was on account of this that the water and the spirit were
placed after the darkness. That is: the illumination of Baptism comes
after sin. God supplied the Spirit to the water as to a baptismal font,
and immediately thereafter commanded: "Let there be the light⁸ of
illumination." And there was the light of illumination.

4. In addition to Baptism, here among the first things we also learn
about the mystery of the Trinity. It says: And God said. The Father, of

¹ Hab 3:15. ² Ps 76(77):17. ³ Ps 148:7. ⁴ Gen 1:2. ⁵ Cf Jn 1:9; 1 Jn 2:8.
⁶ Cf Gen 1:5. ⁷ Cf Jn 5:24; 1 Jn 3:14. ⁸ Gen 1:3.

708 ἵππους P 713 ἀνημέρας M 714 τὸ σοῦτων M 716 ἀσελγίας MP
717 εἰδωλολατρίας N ἁμαρτίας] add. καὶ P 720 διήλθομεν P 726 ἀπαρχῆς P
ἐσκοτισμένην N 732 αἰσθητοῦ] om. P 734/5 πρὸ διαγράφων M 736 καὶ] add. καὶ per
dittographiam P ἐκφυσᾶν N 738 ἐξέταξε N 739 τὸν] om. M 741 ἐπὶ τρέπει M
742 γενηθήτω] N^{corr} P γενηθήτω M γεννηθήτω N^{corr} καὶ ἐγένετο - φωτισμάτων] om. P

745 Πατήρ, καὶ τό· *Γενηθήτω φῶς*, τουτέστιν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπὶ γῆς φανήτω, καὶ
τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ ἅγιον τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος. Σὺν
τούτῳ τῷ μυστηρίῳ καὶ τὸν θεάρεστον βίον μαυθάνομεν. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ
δοθῆναι, φησὶν, τὸ βάπτισμα καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ πίστιν ὥσπερ τινὰ σφραγί-
δα, *Γενηθήτω*, φησὶν, φῶς, ἥτοι βίος θεάρεστος ἐνεργηθήτω *Ἐμπροσθεν*
750 *τῶν ἀνθρώπων* λάμπων ὡς φῶς κατὰ τὸν οὕτως εἰρηκότα Χριστόν, ὃν
καὶ ἰδὼν ἐπαινεῖ. *Εἶδε* γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ βίου τὸ φῶς, καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι
καλόν. Ἐπαινεῖ δ' ὅτι χαίρει ἐπὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ φωτί. Χαρὰ γὰρ γίνεται ἐπὶ
ἐνὶ ἀμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι.

5. Διόπερ, ὡς ἤδη καὶ ἀπὸ πίστεως καὶ ἀπὸ βίου χρηστοῦ φωτισθείσης
755 τῆς κτίσεως καὶ χωρισθέντος ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι τοῦ προϋπάρ-
χοντος αὐτῇ σκοτούς τῆς ἀμαρτίας καὶ τῆς ἀπιστίας, εὐθέως ἐπήγαγε
λέγων ὁ συγγραφεὺς· *Καὶ διεχώρισεν ὁ Θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτός καὶ*
ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους. Τοῦτον τὸν ἀγαθὸν χωρισμὸν τοῦ φωτός καὶ
τοῦ σκότους τοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ἀβύσσου προεσήμανε καὶ τὰ δύο
760 ἐκεῖνα πετεινὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς κιβωτοῦ τοῦ Νῶε πεμφθέντα. Ὅθεν ἔστιν ἰδέσ-
θαι κάκεισε πρωτεύον τὸ σκότος. Πρῶτος γὰρ ἐξεπετάσθη κόραξ ἐπὶ τὰ
ὑδατα, καὶ ἡ ἀποπνιγέντος καὶ ἀπολωλότος τοῦ σκοτεινοῦ κόρακος
Σατὰν ἡ καὶ πρὸς τὸ παχὺ καὶ σαρκῶδες κατὰ πάντος τῆς ἀμαρτίας, οὐ
γὰρ πᾶσιν ὁ Λόγος ἐστὶ χωρητός, τότε τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ περι-
765 στερά ἐπέφερετο πετομένη μὲν ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος, μήπω δ' εὐρίσκουσα
ἀνάπαυσιν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῆς τοῦ κατασκηνῶσαι ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ἡ ἐνοικῆσαι
καὶ ἐμπεριπατῆσαι, καίτοι γε πασῶν τῶν κορυφῶν τῶν ὀρέων ἀποκε-
καλυμμένων οὐσῶν, αἵτινες τὸ ἀπερικάλυπτον ἐδήλουν τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν
ἀμαρτίας καὶ ἀναιδές καὶ τὸ ὑπέρογκον εἰς ἄγαν τῆς κακίας σὺν τούτοις
770 καὶ τὸ σκληρὸν καὶ πεπωρωμένον αὐτοῖς εἰς ἀπόνειαν. Διὸ καὶ ἔτι ἡ
περιστερά, τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐπέφερετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος.

6. Τοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὥσανεῖ συγγενεῖάν τινα καὶ
συμφύαν πρὸς ἀλλήλα ἔχοντα ἐν διαφόροις τόποις συντάσσει ἐν τῷ ἅμα
ἡ γραφή. Διὸ καὶ ὁ Κύριος πρὸς Νικόδημόν φησιν· Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, εἰ
775 μὴ τις γεννηθῇ δι' ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν
τῶν οὐρανῶν. Καὶ πάλιν Ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, φησὶν, καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ
γραφὴ, ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ρεύσουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος. Τοῦτο
δὲ ἔλεγε περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος οὐ ἔμελλον λαμβάνειν οἱ πιστεύοντες εἰς

745 φανήτω] P^{corr.} φανεῖτω MNP^{corr.} 747 θεάριστον M 749 ἦτω P 754 φωτισθή-
σης MP 755 αὐτοῦ N 755/6 ὑπάρχοντος M^{corr.} 756 τῆς] om. P ἐπὶγαγε P
757 διεχώρησεν M^{corr.} ἀνὰ μέσον] scripsi ἀναμέσον MN ἀναμέσων P 758 ἀνὰ μέσον]
scripsi ἀναμέσον MN ἀναμέσων P 758/9 τοῦτον - σκότους] om. N 760 τοῦ] τὸν ut
videtur N^{corr.} τῶν ut videtur N^{corr.} 761 πρωτεύον M πρωτεύων P 763 κατὰ πάντος]
scripsi καταπάντος M καταπάντος N^{corr.} κατὰ πάντως P 766 ἀνάπαυσιν N
κατὰ σκηνῶσαι M 767 καὶ] ἡ P 769 εἰς] om. N 770 αὐτῆς MP 778 ἡμελλον M
λαμβάνειν M

course. Then: "*Let there be light.*"¹ That is: "Let Christ appear upon the earth." And God's Holy Spirit was that which was borne upon the water.

With this mystery, we also learn about the way of life that is plea-
sing to God. First Baptism was given, and then—as some sort of seal—
faith in it. It says: "*Let there be light.*" Or: "Let a life pleasing to God
become active, shining *before men as a light*"²—according to Christ, who
said so. And seeing this way of life, God approved. For *God saw the light*
of the life, and he said that it was *good*.³ He approved because he
rejoices in such light. For joy arises *at just one sinner who changes his*
way of thinking.⁴

5. Now, at last, creation was illuminated by faith and by the good
way of life. The darkness of sin and faithlessness, which had existed
before, was now banished from it by Baptism. Therefore, straightaway
the author presents the following: *And God separated light from*
darkness.⁵

This excellent division of the light and the darkness upon the water
of the deep was foretold also by the two birds sent out from the ark by
Noah.⁶ And it is possible to see here too that the darkness came first. It
was first the raven that flew out over the waters. But this dark raven,
Satan, was drowned and destroyed; or else he wandered to the dense
and thoroughly physical place of sin. (For the Word is not accessible to
all.) Then the Spirit of God, the dove, was borne in flight above the
water. But it did not find rest for its feet yet, so that it might settle in
man,⁷ or build a nest⁸ and go about in him.⁹

Finally, all the peaks of the mountains were uncovered,¹⁰ which
revealed the shameless nakedness of sin among the nations, and their
excessive mass of evil, and their hardness of heart, firmly fixed in mad-
ness. On account of this, the *Spirit of God*, the dove, *was still borne*
above the water.¹¹

6. Water and the Holy Spirit are brought together by Scripture in a
variety of places, as if they had some sort of relationship and bond to one
another. For instance, the Lord says to Nicodemus: "*Amen amen, I say to*
you: if someone is not born from water and Spirit, he will not enter into
the kingdom of the heavens."¹² And again he says: "*The one who believes*
in me—as Scripture says—will have rivers of living water flowing from
within him." He said *this about the Spirit, which those believing in him*
were about to receive.¹³ And the author of the Psalms speaks

¹ Gen 1:3. ² Mt 5:16. ³ Gen 1:4. ⁴ Lk 15:7. ⁵ Gen 1:4. ⁶ Gen 8:6-13. ⁷ Cf Ezek
37:27; Jn 1:14. ⁸ Cf Rom 8:11; 2 Tim 1:14. ⁹ Cf Lev 26:12; 2 Cor 6:16. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 8:11.
¹¹ Cf Gen 1:2. ¹² Jn 3:5. ¹³ Jn 7:38-39.

αὐτόν. Καὶ ὁ ψαλμωδὸς σύμφωνα τούτοις φησὶ περὶ Θεοῦ ὅτι *Πνεύσει τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ρύσεται ὕδατα.*

7. Εἰ δὲ θροεῖ τὰ λεγόμενα τὸν νοῦν, εἰπέ μοι σύ· εἰς δύο τμήματα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τότε τὰ ὕδατα, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὑψώσας ἄνωθεν τοῦ στερεώματος καὶ ἀποσκιάσας, οἷον καὶ κατακλείσας ἐν μέσῳ τῶν δύο οὐρανῶν, τὰ δὲ κάτω περὶ τὴν γῆν ἀφίει. "Ὅσον οὖν κατὰ τὴν φυσικὴν τάξιν καὶ ἀκολουθίαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν ἐκείνοις ἐχρῆν εἰπεῖν τὸ σκότος ἐπικαθήμενον; Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἀμαρτημάτων σκότος οὐχ ὑπάρχει ἐν ταῖς ἄνω δυνάμεσιν (αὐτὸ γὰρ τινες νοοῦσιν ὅταν ὁ ψαλμωδὸς φησιν· *Αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν οἱ οὐρανοὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν. Αἰνεσάτωσαν τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου*, ὅτι ὑψώθη), τούτου χάριν τὰ ἐπίγεια καὶ τὰ οὐράνια ὕδατα μᾶλλον ἐσκοτισμένα ὠνόμασεν ἢ γραφὴ ἐν ἡμῖν τοῖς διαρρέουσιν ὑφ' ἀμαρτίας τὸ σκότος τῆς ἀμαρτίας. παριστῶσα ἐπικαθέλζεσθαι.

8. "Ὅμως διεχώρισεν ὁ Θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους ἀπελάσας ἐξ ἡμῶν τὰς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σκότους, μεσότοιχον ἡμῶν θείας τὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον λίθον Χριστόν, περὶ οὗ καὶ ἐπιφέρει λέγων ὅτι *Ἐκάλεσε τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐκάλεσε νύκτα*, ὅτι φῶς ἐστὶν ὃν καὶ ἡμέραν καλῶ, τὸ δ' ἀντικείμενον σκότος νύκτα προσαγορεύω. Καὶ περιπατεῖτε ἕως τὸ φῶς ἔχετε. *Ἐρχεται νύξ ὅτε οὐδεὶς δύναται ἐργάσασθαι.* Ἡμεῖς γὰρ οὐκ ἐσμεν τέκνα νυκτός, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἡμέρας Χριστοῦ. *Οἱ γὰρ καθεύδοντες* τὸν τῆς ἀμαρτίας ὕπνον νυκτὶ τοῦ σκότους *καθεύδουσι, καὶ οἱ μεθυσκόμενοι* πάλιν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νυκτὶ μεθύσκουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν, καθὰ διδάσκει Παῦλος.

XII 1. *Καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωΐ, ἡμέρα μία.*

Οὐκ εἶπεν ἡμέρα πρώτη, ἀλλ' ἡμέρα μία τὰ δύο. *Τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν*, ἡ ἑσπέρα καὶ τὸ πρωΐ, ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω εἰς Χριστόν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ποτε ὑπάρχουσιν ἑσπέραν σκοτεινὴν. Ἐνωθέντος δ' αὐτῇ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ φωτὸς ἐγένοντο οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν, ἡμέραν φωτὸς μίαν φωτίζουσιν πάντα ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐρχόμενον τῆς Χριστοῦ πίστεως, ὃν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ βάπτισμας μεμύηκεν ὅταν ἔλεγε· *Καὶ Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος* διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος αὐτὸ παριστῶν, δι' οὗ καὶ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ρύπου τοῦτον ἐκάθηρεν, ἐδίδαξέ τε καὶ τὸ μυστήριον τῆς γεννήσεως, ὅτι εἶπε· *Γεννηθήτω φῶς*, δι' οὗ λόγου καὶ τὸν σπουδαῖον βίον τοῦτον ἀπήτησε τὸν ὡς φῶς πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ διαυγάζοντα.

2. "ἵνα μὴ κατοκνεῖν αὐτὸν συμβῇ πρὸς τὸ σύντονον τῶν ἰδρώτων τῆς ἀρετῆς, ὡς μὴ στεφάνους ἀποκεισομένους ἔξοντα τῶν τοσούτων

783 καὶ² om. P 790 ὠνόμασεν P 793 διεχώρισεν] N^pcorr. διεχώρησεν MN^acorr. P ἀνὰ μέσον] scripsi ἀναμέσον MN^pcorr. P 794 μεσότοιχον MN 797 ἀντηκείμενον M^acorr. ἀντηκείμενον M^pcorr. 798/9 ἐργάζεσθαι M 807 ἀληθοῦ M 812 γεννηθήτω M 813 τοῦτον βίον N 816 ἔξοντα] scripsi ἔξοντι MNP

in harmony with these, when he says about God: *He will breathe his Spirit, and waters will flow.*¹

7. If my statements disturb your mind, then you explain the following to me. God divided the waters into two. He raised some of the waters above the firmament and darkened them, as if enclosing them between the two heavens. And he sent the lower waters down to surround the earth. Now, according to their physical arrangement and the continuity of things, how much darkness must one say was sitting above the higher waters? The darkness of sin does not exist among the hosts above. (Some, however, think this was meant, that it was raised, when the psalmist said: *Praise him, you heavens of the heavens and the water above the heavens. Let them praise the name of the Lord.*)² On account of this, Scripture says that the terrestrial and the heavenly waters were darkened, but it places the darkness of sin as sitting upon us, who flow away beneath sin.

8. In similar fashion, God made a division between light and darkness³ when he expelled from us the powers of darkness⁴ and placed a wall between: the cornerstone Christ.⁵ And the reference is to him when it says: *He called the light day, and the darkness he called night;*⁶ because: "The light is him whom I also call day, and the opposing darkness I address as night." And: *"Walk around so long as you have the light."*⁷ *Night is coming, when no one is able to work.*⁸ For we are not children of night, but of the day, which is Christ.⁹ *For they who lie down in the sleep of sin, they lie down in the night of darkness. And they who get drunk, they get drunk from their sins in that very night.*¹⁰ That is what Paul teaches.

XII 1. *So evening came, and morning came; it was one day.*¹¹

It does not say "the first day", but that the two were *one day*. *This mystery is great*, the evening and the morning, but I say represent Christ and the Church.¹² The Church was once a shadowy evening. But when the true Light united with her,¹³ the two became as one flesh,¹⁴ one day of light, illuminating every person coming into the world of faith in Christ.¹⁵

So, it taught about Baptism when it said: *And the Spirit of God was borne upon the water.*¹⁶ It introduced it through the Spirit and the water. And through Baptism, the world was cleansed of its old sordidness. It then taught about Christ and the mystery of his genesis, when it said: *"Let there be light."*¹⁷ Through this statement it also demanded from us the virtuous life, one shining as light before God's face.¹⁸

2. One should not shrink back from straining and sweating for virtue, because one thinks one will not obtain the crowns reserved for

¹ Ps 147:7(18). ² Ps 148:4-5. ³ Cf Gen 1:4. ⁴ Cf Lk 22:53; Col 1:13. ⁵ Cf Ps 117(118):22; Is 28:16; Eph 2:20; 1 Pet 2:6. ⁶ Gen 1:5. ⁷ Jn 12:35. ⁸ Jn 9:4. ⁹ Cf 1 Th 5:5. ¹⁰ 1 Th 5:7. ¹¹ Gen 1:5. ¹² Eph 5:32. ¹³ Cf Jn 1:9; 1 Jn 2:8. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 2:24; Eph 5:31. ¹⁵ Cf Jn 1:9. ¹⁶ Gen 1:2. ¹⁷ Gen 1:3. ¹⁸ Cf Ex 34:30; Mt 17:2; Mk 9:2; Lk 9:29; 2 Pet 1:19.

ιδρώτων, οίόμενον συγκαταλήξειν ἴσως σὺν τῷ παντί, διδάσκει τοῦτον
καὶ τὸ μυστήριον τὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ φησί· Μὴ οἶον εἰς μηδέν σοι
820 κέρδος μέλλων τοὺς ἀγῶνας [μὴ] ἀποτείνειν. Οὐκ ἔσται τοῦτο. Ἀλλὰ
γενήσεται σοι ἐσπέρα, ἦγουν διὰ θανάτου συσταλήσει, καὶ πάσης ἐργασί-
ας σχολάσεις, ἢ καὶ σκότος ἀορασίας σε καταλήψεται, εἴτα μετὰ τοῦτο 872A
γενήσεται σοι πρωΐ. ἦγουν ἡ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἀναλάμψει ἡμέρα, καὶ ὁ
νοητὸς ἥλιος ἐκθρώσκων λύσει τὴν ἐπιθανάτιον νύκτα, καὶ ἐκκαλέσεται σε
πρὸς τὴν ἐγρήγορσιν, καὶ οὕτως ὄψη τὸ θεῖον ἐκεῖνο πρωΐ, ὅπερ ὁ Μωϋ-
825 σῆς ἡμέραν ὠνόμασε. Καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν ἡμέραν πρώτην, ὅπερ καὶ ἔδει μᾶλλον
εἰπεῖν μέλλων καὶ ἐσχάτην ἡμέραν τῷ λόγῳ καταλέγειν. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὴν
μέλλουσαν ἐκείνην τυπικῶς προϊστορεῖ τὴν μὴ καταμετρούμενην ὥραις
τε καὶ στιγμαῖς μηδὲ νυκτὶ διακοπτομένην, ἀλλ' αἰδιον οὔσαν καὶ συνεχῇ,
μίαν ταύτην ὠνόμασεν ὡς ἔχουσιν ὡσαύτως αἰεὶ, καὶ οὐ πρώτην, διὰ τὸ
830 μὴ διαδόχῳ ἐσχάτῃ περιγράφεσθαι. Τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον καὶ ἔσχατον πρὸς τί
εἰσιν. Ἐκεῖ οὐδέν τι τοιοῦτον οἶον ἀνατέλλει Χριστός.

3. Εὐρήσεις δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἔξω τῆς χάριτος σχεδὸν τὰ αὐτὰ φθεγγο-
μένους. Οἱ γὰρ Πυθαγόρειοι τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν τοῦ μηνὸς οὐ πρώτην,
ἀλλ' ὁμοίαν ὠνόμασαν, οὐκ οἶμαι φαντασθέντες τὴν ἀκατάλυτον ἐκείνην
835 ζωὴν, τέως δ' οὕτως ταύτην κατωνομάκασιν. Καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ καθ'
ἱερὸν λόγον δράκοντα οὐρηβόρον ταῖς πυραμίσιν ἐγγλύφουσι τὸ αἰδιον
καὶ τὴν ἀδιάτμητον ἔλιξιν τῶν θεῶν ὑποδηλοῦντες· τὸν δράκοντα γὰρ
εἰς θεοὺς ἀνῆγον Αἰγύπτιοι. Ὀρφεὺς δὲ τὴν μονάδα Ἀνέα καλεῖ, τουτέ-
στιν ἀμερῇ, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμιόλιον ἢ ἐπίτριτον ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν μερῶν τοῦ
840 ἀριθμοῦ περὶ αὐτόν. Διαφέρει δὲ μονὰς ἐνάδος ἢ διαφέρει ἀρχέτυπον
εἰκόνας. Παράδειγμα μὲν γὰρ ἡ μονὰς, μίμημα δὲ μονάδος ἓν, ὡς περ ὁ εἰς
ἥλιος μίμημα τῆς μιᾶς μονάδος, τοῦ Ἰησοῦ φημί. Αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ
κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. |

817 οἰόμενον] *scripsi* οἰόμενον MNP συγκαταλήξειν P 818 τὸ] *add.* καὶ M
821 ἀορασίας σε] MN ἀωρασίας P καταλήψεται M 824/5 Μωσῆς M^{p. corr.} 825 καὶ]
om. P 828 ἀλλὰ ἴδιον MP καὶ συνεχῇ οὔσαν N 830 μὴ] om. P 833 πυθαγόριοι MP
837 ἀδιάτμητον P 838 ἀνέα] MNP Ἀγνεία *legendum est secundum* Cumont 839 ἡμιόλιον M

such labor and decides to give up altogether. To prevent this, Scripture
also teaches us the mystery of the resurrection. It says: "Do not think
that doubtless you extend your efforts to no profit for you. This will not
be so.¹ But evening will come to you. That is to say: through death you
will be brought to an end and you will rest from all work. The darkness
of no vision will seize you. Then after this, dawn will come to you. That
is, the day of the resurrection will shine forth. The spiritual sun, leaping
up, will dissolve the deadly night and will call you to waking. And so you
will see that divine morning, which Moses calls 'day'."

And so, he did not say "the first day". Surely, it would have been
better to call it the first day, as he was going to give an account also of
the last day. But since he is giving a preliminary hint of what that
future day would be—it is not measured by hours and minutes and is
not divided by night, but is everlasting and continuous—he called this
"one" day, since it is so eternally. It is not "the first", because it is not
terminated by a succession, by an end. "The first" and "the last" are
relative to something. No such thing is there, in so much as Christ is
risen.²

3. You will find that even those outside of grace say the same thing,
more or less. The Pythagoreans do not call the first day of the month
"the first", but "the same". I do not imagine that they are thinking of the
perpetual life;³ but up to now, they have named that day so. And the
Egyptians, following a priestly dictate, carve on their pyramids a
serpent biting its own tail. In this manner, they intimate the ever-
lasting and uninterrupted orbit of the divinities. (For the Egyptians
have elevated the serpent to the gods.) And Orpheus calls Agnieus the
Monad: that is, undivided. For he has nothing to do with a half, or a
third, or any other fraction. The "monad" differs from "one", in the way
that the original differs from its copy. The "monad" is a paradigm; "one"
is an imitation of the monad. Just so, I say that the one sun is an
imitation of the one monad, Jesus. The glory and the power are his
forever. Amen.

¹ Cf 1 Cor 15:58. ² 2 Pet 1:19. ³ Cf Heb 7:16.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀκολουθῶς εἰς τὴν δεύτεραν ἡμέραν
<τῆς ἑξαήμερου κτίσεως> λόγος δεύτερος |

11. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Γενηθήτω στερέωμα ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ὕδατος.

Τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ γέγονε τὸ τοῦ ἀνωτέρου οὐρανοῦ καταπέτασμα τὸ ἐγγίζον εἰς τὰ Ἅγια τῶν Ἁγίων, ὅπου πρόδρομος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εἰσῆλθε Χριστός. Τούτου χάριν λοιπὸν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἐξώτερον καταπέτασμα γίνεται τὸ λεγόμενον στερέωμα ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ὕδατος, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ στερέωμα τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως. Οὐκ ἂν δ' ἐγεγόνει τοῦτο, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐτέχθη τὸ φῶς, εἴτουν ἐδόθη τὸ βάπτισμα, μετὰ γὰρ τὸ βάπτισμα ἡ πίστις ἔπεται. Οὐκ ἐκτὸς δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος γίνεται τοῦτο τὸ στερέωμα, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παγκοσμίου τῶν ἐθνῶν ὕδατος ἐξ αὐτοῦ συμπηχθὲν, ὅτε *εἰργάσατο σωτηρίαν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς*, ἡγουν μέσον τῆς γῆνης γαστρὸς τῆς Παρθένου οἰκήσας καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῦ κόσμου ποιήσας, τὸ στερέωμα τοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῦ σώματος ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἀφθόρου μήτρας τῆς πηγῆς τῆς ζωῆς θεομήτορος κόρης πῆξας καὶ | θέμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ καθ' ὑπόστασιν (τῷ τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ φημί ἡλίῳ), ἐν 872D
τούτῳ τῷ στερεώματι (τῇ πίστει φημί) ἐκοδόμησε τὴν σελήνην ἐκκλησίαν λέγων ὅτι *Πύλαι ᾗδου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς*.

2. Ὅθεν καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐστερέωται ἄσειστος ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κλύδωνος τῶν κυμάτων, τῶν ἀνέμων, τῶν καταιγίδων, τῶν μυρίων χειμώνων, παθῶν καὶ αἰρέσεων. Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ταύτης οἰκοδόμους 20 ἀπέστειλεν ὡς πρόβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων, ἀνδρῶν αἰμοχαρῶν, πονηρῶν ὑδάτων, λέγων· *Γενηθήτω στερέωμα*, ἡγουν πίστις ὀχυρὰ κηρυχθήτω, ἵνα μήκετι διασχίζωνται καὶ κλυδωνίζωνται καὶ διαχέωνται τὰ ἐθνικὰ ὕδατα, τῶν μὲν λεγόντων Πέτρου εἶναι, τῶν δὲ Παύλου, τῶν δὲ Κηφᾶ, ἀλλὰ στερεωθεῖ ἡ τούτων θάλασσα εἰς τὸ περιπατεῖν με ἐπάνω τῶν 25 ὑδάτων αὐτῆς | καὶ ἐνοικεῖν καὶ ἐμπεριπατεῖν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, μέσον δὲ ὕδατος καὶ <ὕδατος> ὕδατος ζῶντος τῇ πίστει καὶ ὕδατος νεκροῦ τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ. Ἐὰν γὰρ ἄπιστος χωρίζεται, χωριζέσθω τὸ ζιζάνιον ἐκ τοῦ σίτου, τὸ ἄχυρον ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου. Οὐ γὰρ ἤλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην τοῦ φωτὸς πρὸς τὸ σκότος, ἀλλὰ ποιῆσαι χωρισμὸν ἀνὰ μέσον Ἰουδαίου καὶ 30 Ἑλλήνος καὶ βαλεῖν ἐχθρὰν ἀνὰ μέσον ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον ὄφεως.

3. Εἰ δέ, ὡς εἰκός, ἀπίθανος ὁ λόγος, δείκνυμί σοι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τῆς ἑξαήμερου τοιοῦτόν τινα χωρισμὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν Θεόν· ἴσως τῷ πλήθει τῶν ὑποδειγμάτων ἀπαλλάξω σε τῆς ἀπιστίας. Τῇ πρώτῃ

titulus τῆς ἑξαήμερου κτίσεως] *supplevi*; cf. titulos librorum 1, 4, 5 1 γεννηθήτω P 2 ἐγένετο P 10 ὁ θεός σωτηρίαν P 12 τῷ κόσμῳ P 14 ἑαυτῷ αὐτῶν P 16 κατισχύσουσιν P 18 κυμάτων] *add.* ἐστερέωται M 22 μήκετι] *scripsi* μήκετι M μὴ κέτι N^{a.corr.} μήκετι N^{p.corr.} μήκ' ἐτι P διασχίζονται P κλυδωνίζονται P 24 στερεωθεῖ N στερεωθήτω P 26 ὕδατος] *supplevi* om. MNP 27 χωρίζεται] χωρίζεται P 30 ἀνθρώπου] *add.* καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον ἀνθρώπου, N 32/3 τῷ πλήθει] *om.* N

This is the second book in the series by the same author.
It is about the second day of the six-day creation.

I 1. And God said: "Let there be a firmament in the middle of the water."¹

On the first day, there came into being the upper heaven, the curtain close to the Holy of Holies,² where Christ, the precursor, entered on our behalf.³ Then for his sake, on the second day, the second and outer curtain came into being. This one is called the *firmament in the middle of the water*. This is the firmament of faith in Christ.

It would not have come into being if the light had not already been born,⁴ if Baptism had not already been bestowed. For faith follows after Baptism. This firmament did not come into being outside of the water; but in the middle of the universal water of the nations, it condensed from it, when God *worked out salvation in the middle of the earth*.⁵ More precisely, it happened when he settled inside the earthly womb of the Virgin and created salvation for the world. God fixed the firmament of his holy body in the middle of the incorruptible womb of the young girl, the Mother of God, the font of life.⁶ And when he had established himself as a person in himself (I mean in the sun of his divinity), in this firmament (I mean faith) he constructed the moon, the Church. And he said: "*The gates of Hades will not prevail against her.*"⁷

2. Therefore it was made firm in the middle of the waters, unshaken in the midst of the rough waves, winds, hurricanes, immense winter storms, passions, and factions.⁸ He sent out faith's builders like sheep in the midst of wolves,⁹ in the midst of men who love blood, in the midst of evil waters, and he said: "*Let there be a firmament.*"¹⁰ More exactly: "Let a secure faith be proclaimed, so that the waters of the nations will no longer be split and blown and scattered. They will no longer say that they belong to Peter, while others say that they belong to Paul, and still others to Cephas.¹¹ But let their sea be made firm, so that I might walk upon its waters,¹² and I might live and walk about in their hearts,¹³ between water and water: water alive in faith, and water dead in faithlessness. For if a faithless one departs, let the weed be separated from the grain,¹⁴ the chaff from the bread. I did not come to throw the peace of light to the darkness,¹⁵ but to make a separation between Jew and Gentile, and to cast enmity between serpent and man."¹⁶

3. If this discussion seems incredible, as it probably does, I will point out to you, day by day in the six-day creation, how God made such a separation. Certainly by the sheer number of examples, I will free you from disbelief. On the first day, for instance, a separation occurred

¹ Gen 1:6. ² Cf Heb 9:3. ³ Cf Heb 6:19-20. ⁴ Cf Gen 1:3. ⁵ Ps 73(74):12.

⁶ Cf Ps 35(36):10; Pr 13:14, 14:27, 16:22, 18:4; et al. ⁷ Mt 16:18. ⁸ Cf Lk 8:23-24.

⁹ Cf Mt 10:16; Lk 10:3. ¹⁰ Gen 1:6. ¹¹ Cf. 1 Cor 1:12. ¹² Cf Mt 14:25; Mk 6:48; Jn 6:19.

¹³ Cf 2 Cor 6:16; Eph. 3:17. ¹⁴ Cf Mt 13:30, 40. ¹⁵ Cf Mt 10:34; 2 Cor 6:14.

¹⁶ Cf Gen 3:15; Mt 10:34-36.

τοίνυν ἡμέρα γέγονε χωρισμός φωτός ἐκ τοῦ σκότους. Ταύτη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
 35 χωρισμός ὕδατος καὶ ὕδατος. Τῇ τρίτῃ ἀπαλλαγὴ τῆς γῆς ἐκ τῶν
 ὑδάτων. Τῇ τετάρτῃ δύο φωστήρων χωρισμός ἀνὰ μέσον ἡμέρας καὶ
 νυκτός. Τῇ πέμπτῃ διαίρεσις πετεινῶν ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων τῶν σκοτεινῶν. Τῇ
 ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ διαφορὰ καὶ μερισμός ἀνθρώπων καὶ κτηνῶν. Εἰ δὲ οὐ
 40 δυσωπῇ διὰ πάντων τὴν διαίρεσιν δηλοῦσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκ πλάνης
 καὶ ἀπιστίας, εἰπὲ σὺ τίνος χάριν ἢ τίνος χρεῖα τῷ Θεῷ συνάπτειν τὰ
 πράγματα καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως διαχωρίζειν αὐτὰ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων κατὰ δευτέραν
 τάξιν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἀφυοῦς τεχνίτου κατέστηκε σύμβολον. Λέγει γὰρ ὅτι
Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα ὁ στερεώσας τὴν γῆν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
ἐπὶ τῆς κολυμβήθρας.

45 **II 1.** *Καὶ διεχώρισεν ὁ Θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδατος, οὗ ἦν ἐπάνω τοῦ*
στερεώματος, καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. Καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα
οὐρανόν. Καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι καλόν.

Καὶ τίς ἀνάγκη, εἰπέ μοι, ποιῆσαι τὸ δεύτερον τοῦτο καταπέτασμα,
 τὸν ἄερα φημί, τὸ λεγόμενον στερέωμα; Ἦρκει γὰρ καὶ ὁ πρῶτος
 50 οὐρανὸς εἰς θέσιν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστέρων τοῦ καταυγᾶσαι τὴν
 γῆν. Εἰ καὶ ὅλως τοῦτο ἀνάγκη γενέσθαι, διὰ τί μὴ καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ὡσπερ
 καὶ ὁ πρῶτος οὐρανὸς αὐτόχθων γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀπὸ τίνος ξένης
 χώρας αὐτὸν ἐκ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐκ ταύτης νοτίδων ἀνύψωσε; Τὴν τοῦ ἀνω-
 τέρου οὖν οὐρανοῦ φύσιν καὶ ἀκατάληπτον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τύπον ἐπέχειν τῆς
 55 ἀοράτου καὶ ἀκαταλήπτου τοῦ Λόγου θεότητος, τὸ δὲ στερέωμα τὸ
 κάτωθεν ἀνελθὸν τύπον ἐπέχειν τῆς Χριστοῦ ἀνθρωπότητος ἡγουν τῆς
 σαρκός, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ σὺν αὐτῷ κάτωθεν ἀνελθὸν καὶ μέσον τοῦ τε
 πρῶτου καὶ κυρίως οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοῦ στερεώματος τούτου τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν
 κάτωθεν ἐμπεριληφθὲν εἰκόνα διαγράφειν τῆς ἀχράντου αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς
 60 μεσιτενούςσης θεότητι καὶ σαρκὸς παχύτητι, ὡσπερ δύο ἀνωτάτων τινῶν
 οὐρανῶν τούτων τοῦ μὲν ὁρατοῦ, τοῦ δὲ ἀοράτου ὄντων.

2. Καὶ μάρτυς τοῦ λόγου Γρηγόριος ὁ πολὺς τὰ θεῖα λέγων τὴν
 μεσιτείαν τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου δεσποτικῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς τε θεότητος καὶ σαρκὸς
 παχύτητα, καὶ γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ σύμβολα ζωῆς λέγονται παρὰ
 65 τῇ θεῖᾳ γραφῇ. "Ὅρα γὰρ ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἀνώτερος καὶ ἀόρατος οὐρανὸς φύσει
 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς οὐρανὸς ἐκλήθη καὶ ἔστι καθὰ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ὁ ἀναρχὸς
 φύσει Θεὸς ἔστι καὶ ἔσται, τὸ δὲ στερέωμα τὸ ὑλικὸν τὸ κάτωθεν ἀνελθὸν
 οὐ φύσει ἀπ' ἀρχῆς οὐρανὸς γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν ἣν ἔσχε πρὸς
 τὸν φύσει ἀόρατον οὐρανὸν τότε καὶ αὐτὸ οὐρανὸς προσηγορεύθη. Ἀλλ'
 70 ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σῶμα τῇ θεώσει καὶ τῇ ἐνώσει

38 μερισμός] χωρισμός P 40 τίς χρεῖα M τίνα χρεῖα fortasse N^pcorr. 42 τεχνήτου P
 κατέστηκε] scripsi κατέστηκε MNP 45 διεχώρησεν P 49 καὶ] om. P 51 διὰ τῆ] scripsi
 διατὶ MN διὰ τί P 56 ἀνελθόν P 57 αὐτῷ] N et probabiliter P^acorr. αὐτὸ MPP^{corr}.
 60 μεσιτενούςσης P 63 μεσιτείαν P θεότητα P 67 ἀνελθόν M^acorr. 69 τὸν] τὴν M
 αὐτὸ] scripsi αὐτὸς MNP

between light and darkness.¹ On this the second day, a separation
 between water and water.² On the third, a deliverance of the earth from
 the waters.³ On the fourth, the two sources of light were separated
 between day and night.⁴ On the fifth, a division of the birds from the
 dark fish.⁵ And on the sixth day, men and animals were distinguished
 and parted.⁶

If you are not compelled to believe that the separation of the Church
 from wandering faithlessness is revealed throughout, then tell me: for
 what reason, or with what need, did God join these things together and
 then separate them so from each other in a second arrangement? Is this
 not the sign of a stupid craftsman? It says: *And God made the firma-*
*ment.*⁷ He made firm the earth of man at the font of Baptism.⁸

II 1. *And God made a division between the water—a part of which*
was above the firmament.⁹ And it was so.¹⁰ And he called the firmament
heaven. And God saw that it was good.¹¹

Tell me: why was it necessary to make this second curtain, the atmo-
 sphere, the one called the firmament? Indeed, the first heaven was suf-
 ficient for the placement of the sun and moon and stars to illuminate the
 earth.¹² And if it was completely necessary for this to happen, why did
 this second heaven, just as the first, not remain bound with the earth?
 But God raised it away from the earth and her moistures as from a
 foreign country.¹³

It seems to me that the nature of the upper heaven¹⁴ offers an incom-
 prehensible type of the invisible and incomprehensible divinity of the
 Word. But the firmament, which rose up from below,¹⁵ offers a type of
 the humanity and corporeality of Christ. Water rose up with it from
 below and was enclosed between the first and truly heaven and the
 firmament from below.¹⁶ This draws an image: just as the two high
 heavens are the invisible and the visible, so his undefiled soul acts as a
 mediator between his divinity and the hard reality of his body.

2. Gregory of Nazianzus, who was great in divine matters, offered
 testimony for this interpretation. He said that the Lord's reigning soul
 mediates from the divine to the coarseness of the flesh. And the soul and
 water are said to be symbols of life, according to Divine Scripture. Look:
 the higher and invisible heaven, by its nature, from the beginning, was
 called and is "heaven",¹⁷ just as God the Word, by his nature, without
 beginning, is and will be God.¹⁸ But the firmament, the physical, the one
 having come up from below, was not by its nature, from the beginning,
 "heaven".¹⁹ Only after it was unified with the heaven that was invisible
 by nature, was it too then called "heaven".

The holy body of Christ, by becoming unified and divine, is called

¹ Cf Gen 1:4. ² Cf Gen 1:6. ³ Cf. Gen 1:9. ⁴ Cf Gen 1:14-15, 18. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:20-21.

⁶ Cf Gen 1:24-28. ⁷ Gen 1:7. ⁸ Cf Ps 135(136):6. ⁹ Gen 1:7. ¹⁰ Gen 1:6. ¹¹ Gen 1:8.

¹² Cf Gen 1:15-17. ¹³ Cf Jn 12:32. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 1:1. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 1:6-7. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 1:7.

¹⁷ Cf Gen 1:1. ¹⁸ Cf Jn 1:1. ¹⁹ Cf Gen 1:6-8.

λέγεται Θεός, ἢ ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ φύσει, λέγοντος τοῦ θεσπεσίου Παύλου κατα-
πέτασμα τὴν πανάχραντον σάρκα Χριστοῦ, ἀνέγκλητοί ἐσμεν ἐπὶ τοῖς
εἰρημένοις τυπικοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐ φυσικοῖς πραγμάτων παραδείγμασι.

3. Τοῦτο τὸ στερέωμα τὸ ἐξ ὑδάτων γενόμενον ἦν ἡ ἄβυσσος ὁ τοῦ
75 σκότους θρόνος ἀνθρώπου, νῦν δὲ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑψωθὲν ἄνω ἐστὶ
Θεοῦ τοῦ φωτὸς θρόνος καὶ σύνθρονος ἀδιαίρετος. Περὶ τούτων τῶν ἐν
Χριστῷ ἡνωμένων οὐρανῶν εἶπουν φύσεων εἰρηται τό· *Οἱ οὐρανοὶ*
διηγοῦνται δόξαν Θεοῦ, τουτέστιν αἱ φύσεις αἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κηρύττουσιν
αὐτοῦ τε τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς θεωρουμένου μονογενοῦς
80 Θεοῦ καὶ τὴν πατρικὴν γνωρίζουσαι τοῦτον ὡς μὲν Θεόν, ὡς δὲ καὶ
ὁμόθεον ἄνθρωπον ἐν ταύτῃ. Τὴν δὲ ποίησιν τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ, ὅτ' ἔδει
ἀψάμενον αὐτουργεῖν ἐν τοῖς θαύμασι, τὸ στερέωμα ἀναγγέλει, τουτέ-
στιν ὁ φαινόμενος ἐν αὐτῷ ἄνθρωπος. Δι' αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἡτύουργεῖ τὰ τῆς
θεότητος θαύματα, ὃν ἀπὸ γῆς ἀνήγαγον λέγοντα· *Αἱ χεῖρες σου*
85 *ἐποίησάν με καὶ ἐπλάσαν με* στερέωμα ἀπὸ φθορᾶς εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν.

4. "Ὅθεν τὸν μὲν ὁρώμενον οὐρανὸν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐκ τῆς
νοτίδος τῆς γῆς ἤγουν τῶν αἱμάτων τῆς γήινης Παρθένου ἀναδοθέντα
αὐτῷ ἐστερέωσεν ἤγουν εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν ἐπαγίωσεν, ἐπεὶ τοι Θεοῦ σὰρξ.
Οὐ γὰρ διέφθαρτο, κὰν τοῖς τῆς φύσεως εἶπετο καὶ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ. Εἰ
90 γὰρ καὶ Θεοῦ σὰρξ, ἀλλ' ἦν γε καὶ ἡμετέρα. Τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ὕδωρ τὸ μέσον
τῶν δύο ἐναπολειφθὲν ὡς εἰρηται οὐρανῶν, λέγω δὴ τὴν ψυχὴν, κατ'
οὐσίαν οἰκίαν εἶασεν ὡς μὴ δεομένην στερεώσεως διὰ τὸ ἀφθαρτον τῆς
οἰκίας αὐτῆς φύσεως.

5. Εἰ δὲ βούλει, οὐκ εἰς τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου μόνον σάρκα ἐκλήψοιτο τὸ
95 δεύτερον τοῦτο στερέωμα, τὸν ἀέρα φημί, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ θεό-
τητα. "Ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἀὴρ τὰ πάντα πληροῖ καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ τόπος κενὸς
αὐτοῦ, λέγεται δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔξω τόπος δεκτικὸς καὶ χωρητικὸς τοῦ
παντός, ἔστι δὲ καὶ διαφανής, ἀσχημάτιστός τε καὶ ἀθέατος, ἀλλὰ μὲν
ὁρᾶσθαι ποιῶν, αὐτὸς δ' οὐχ ὁρώμενος, οὕτω καὶ ὁ τῶν ὅλων Θεὸς τὰ
100 πάντα πληροῖ καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ τόπος κενὸς αὐτοῦ, οὐ γὰρ ἔστι κτίσις
ἀφανὴς ἐξ αὐτοῦ. "Ἔστι δὲ καὶ χωρητικὸς καὶ δεκτικὸς ἀπάντων τῶν ὅσοι
ζητοῦσι τῆς ἐξ ἐκείνου καταπολαύειν θεώσεως κατὰ τό· "Ἔστι τόπος παρ'
ἐμοὶ τῷ Μωσῇ εἰρημένον, ἤγουν χωρητικὴ τις δύναμις τῶν κατὰ σέ. Τί δὲ
καὶ διαφανέστερον ἄλλο τούτου, ὡς καὶ μικροῦ τὰς ὀψεις ἀποτυφλοῦν
105 τῶν μαθητῶν ἐν Θαβώρ; "Ασχημάτιστος δὲ ἐστίν, ὡς μὴδ' ἄν ἄλλο τι
εἶδος δεδέχθαι ὡς εἶδος ἐν ὕλῃ. Προσεπὶ τούτοις τε καὶ ἀθέατος, ὁ γὰρ

75 σκότος P 77 τό] om. P 82 θαυμασίους M ἀναγγέλει M 83 ἡτύουργεῖ M
ἡτύουργεῖ N 85 εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν] MNPP^{corr.} καὶ ἀφθαρσίας P^{a.corr.} 86 "Ὅθεν] add. καὶ P
88 ἐπεὶ τοι] ἐπίτοι P 89 εἶπετο καὶ] εἶπε τοὺς M^{p.corr.} 90 ἡμέρα N 91 ἐν ἀπολειφθὲν P
92 δεομένη M 98 ἀφανὴς N ἀλλὰ] MN^{a.corr.} P ἄλλα N^{p.corr.} 99 ποιῶν] om. P οὕτως P
103 T[| τὶ P 104 ἄλλον P 105 δ' ἐστίν MN 106 εἶδος] om. P Προσεπὶ τούτοις]
scripsi πρὸς ἐπιτούτοις M προσεπιτούτοις N πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις P

"God"; but it was not so by its nature. Thus Paul, who spoke divinely,
said that the completely undefiled body of Christ was a veil.¹ Since this
is so, I cannot be reproached for giving the typology that has been
discussed, and not a physical explanation of things.

3. This firmament, which came into being from the waters, had been
the abyss, the throne of darkness, man. But now having been raised up
through Christ, it is the throne of God the light and reigns indivisibly
with him.

With respect to these heavens—or these natures—unified in Christ,
the following has been said. *The heavens tell the glory of God.*² That is,
the natures of Christ proclaim both the glory of Christ—who from them
and in them is understood as the only-begotten son of God³—and also
the glory of the Father. They make him known simultaneously as God
and as man like to God.

The firmament—that is, the man manifest in it—announced that his
making was by God's own hands,⁴ when it became necessary, in the
miracles, that God himself take hold and work them out. Through him,
God worked out the miracles of divinity, which led him up away from
the earth. And he said: "*Your hands made me and fashioned me*⁵ as a
firmament away from corruption and into incorruptibility."

4. The visible heaven of his flesh came from the moisture of the
earth—more precisely, from the blood of the earthly Virgin. And God
made it firm, when it had been given up to him. Or rather, he fastened it
to incorruptibility—since it was the flesh of God. It was not utterly
destroyed, although it followed the course of nature even on the cross.
For if indeed it was God's flesh, it was also ours.⁶

The other water, the one remaining between the two heavens,⁷ has
already been discussed. I am talking about the soul. God allowed it, in
essence, to become his own. It was not in need of being strengthened,
because it was free of corruption by its own nature.

5. This second firmament, the atmosphere, does not need to be
understood exclusively as the flesh of the Lord. If you want, it can also
be understood as his divinity. Air fills everything, and no place is
entirely void of it. It is also said, by the pagans, to be a place that
receives and contains everything. It lets light shine through, is without
form, and is invisible. Though it itself is not seen, it allows other things
to be seen.

So too is the God of all. He fills all things, and no place is void of him.
There does not exist a creation that is invisible from him.⁸ He is capable
of receiving and containing how so ever many earnestly desire to enjoy
his divinity to the full. For it was said to Moses: "*There is a place by*
me."⁹ More precisely: there is a power, with room in it for those like you.

Is there anything that lets more light shine through than this, as
almost to blind the eyes of his apostles on Mt. Tabor?¹⁰ Yet, he is

¹ Cf Heb 10:20. ² Ps 18(19):2. ³ Cf Jn 1:14, 18. ⁴ Cf Ps 18(19):2. ⁵ Ps 118(119):73.

⁶ For more on the doctrine of Aphthartodocetism, which is being addressed in this para-
graph, see Timothy E. Gregory, "Aphthartodocetism," *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*,
Volume 1 (Oxford, 1991), pg. 129. ⁷ Cf Gen 1:7. ⁸ Cf Heb 4:13. ⁹ Ex 33:21.

¹⁰ Cf Mt 17:2; Mk 9:3; Lk 9:29.

ἐπιστήθιος εἰρήκει· Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακε πώποτε. Καὶ ἄλλα μὲν ἄλλοις ὁρᾶσθαι ποιεῖ τοῖς ἔρρωμένοις τὸ τοῦ νοῦ ὀπτικόν, οἶον ἀγγέλους, οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν ὅλην κτίσιν, φημί, ὅθεν τε καὶ ὅπως γέγονεν, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐχ ὑπάγεται καταλήψει οὐδ' ὁρᾶται τρόπος τῆς ἰδίας ὑπάρξεως.

6. Μὴ παρήγῃ δέ σε καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι ἡ ὥσπερ ζωογόνος ἐστὶν ὁ ἀὴρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἐν χέρσῳ, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς κατὰ λόγον ζῶντας ζωογονεῖ μετεχόμενος, ἀγγέλους τε φημί καὶ ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τοὺς κτηνώδεις εἰς ὑπαρξιν μόνην συντηρῶν εἰσέτι, οὐ μὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν μετεχόμενος.

III 1. Εἰ δὲ καὶ περὶ ἀγγέλων καὶ δαιμόνων νοήσεις τό· *Καὶ διεχώρισεν ὁ Θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερεώματος καὶ τοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος*, οὐδὲν ἀπᾶδον τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ νοεῖς. Τινὲς δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς δύο λαοὺς τοῦτο ἀναφέρουσιν, ἡμᾶς μὲν ἐστῶτας ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος ἡδρασμένους εἰς τὸ τοῦ Πέτρου θεμέλιον καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀκράδαντον πίστεως, Ἰουδαίους δὲ πεπτωκότας καὶ ὑποκειμένους ὑποκάτω τούτου τοῦ στερεώματος. Καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων δυνάμεων δυνατόν ἐστι τοῦτο εἰπεῖν. Πολὺ γὰρ πλῆθος δαιμόνων διεχώρισεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ παρέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀβύσσῳ ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερεώματος τῆς γῆς, ὅπου παρεπέμφθησαν ἐκεῖνοι εἰς τὴν ἀγέλην τῶν χοίρων εἰσεληλυθότες, ὅπως ὀλιγοθέντων τῶν πολεμίων εὐχερεστέρως ἡμεῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν κατορθώσωμεν. Οὕτω ποτὲ διεχώρισε καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ μέσος ἐστὼς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἵνα διασωθῇ ὁ λαὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, προμηνύων τὸν τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελον μέλλοντα ἡμᾶς τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ρύεσθαι.

2. Ὁ δὲ ἡδύτατος τῶν Νυσσαίων Γρηγόριος νοερῶν δυνάμεων ἐνόησε τὴν τῶν δύο ὑδάτων διάστασιν. Τὰς μὲν γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ Θεὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς πρὸς τὴν θείαν δοξολογίαν ἔταξε, τινὰς δὲ εἰς διακονίαν τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς ὥρισε κατὰ τὸν λέγοντα αὐτοὺς *λειτουργικὰ εἶναι πνεύματα πρὸς διακονίαν ἡμῶν καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀποστελλόμενα*. Ὁρᾶτε γάρ, φησὶν ὁ Χριστός, μὴ καταφρονήσητε ἐνὸς τῶν μικρῶν τούτων τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμέ· λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτῶν διὰ παντὸς βλέπουσι τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς. Εἰ δὲ ἐρωτᾷς· Καὶ πῶς; Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακε πώποτε. Γινώθι ὅτι ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ ὡς ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ θεῶν τινὶ ὁρῶμεν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Πατρὸς κατὰ τό· *Ὁ ἑωρακὼς ἐμὲ ἑώρακε τὸν Πατέρα, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοί*.

3. Νοήσεις δὲ δύο ὑδάτων διαίρεσιν δικαίους ἐξ ἀμαρτωλῶν χωριζομένους, τοὺς μὲν ἀρπαζομένους ἐν νεφέλαις ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος, τοὺς δὲ ὑποκάτω ἐν ᾗδῃ παραπεμπομένους. Τίς γὰρ ἦν χρεια

114 εἰς] καὶ N 121 Ἰουδαίους δὲ] ἰουδᾶ P 126 ἐκεῖνοι] *add.* οἱ M ὀλιγοθέντων N 128 τοῦ] *om.* M 132 νυσαίων P 137 καταφρονήσετε M καταφρονήσεται P 141 τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸς) τὴν δόξαν P Ὁ] *om.* P

without form. He would receive no appearance other than his appearance in the world of matter. In addition to these characteristics, he is invisible. Even his bosom friend said: *No one has ever seen God*.¹ Yet he makes other things visible to others—to those that have been empowered with spiritual vision. They see such things as angels, heaven, and all of creation (I mean how and from where it came into being). But God himself cannot be comprehended; and the manner of his own existence cannot be seen.

6. And do not overlook this: our atmosphere gives life to humans and other land creatures too. So also, God gives life to those who live according to the Word, and he shares himself with them: I mean both angels and humans. Yet for those who live like beasts: he continues to preserve only their existence, but he is not shared by them.

III 1. Perhaps you think that the following passage is about devils and angels: *And God separated the water below the firmament from that above the firmament*.² If so, your thoughts are in tune with piety.

But some refer this passage to the two peoples. We have been stationed above the firmament and are resting on the foundation stone of Peter and the stability of his faith.³ But the Jews fell down and are lying under this firmament.

It is also possible that this passage is speaking about the hostile forces and us. For when he came to earth, Jesus separated out a large number of demons and banished them to the abyss below the firmament of the earth, where they were sent after they had entered into the herd of pigs.⁴ And the enemy was reduced, so that we, with less fear, might succeed in virtue.

Likewise the angel of the Lord stood on the sea and separated Israel from the Egyptians, so that the people of God might be saved.⁵ He foreshadowed the Angel of the Great Counsel, who was destined to drag us away from the grasp of the devil.⁶

2. Gregory of Nyssa, who is very pleasing, thought that the separation of the two waters represented the distribution of the spiritual hosts. God, he said, stationed some in the heavens for the purpose of giving divine praise, but he ordained others to minister to those on earth. Accordingly, it is said that these are *spirits of service sent off for our assistance and salvation*.⁷ "For look," Christ said, "*do not despise any of these little ones who believe in me. For I say to you that their angels look continuously upon the face of my Father in heaven*."⁸

You might now ask: "How can this be? No one has ever seen God."⁹ Then you should know this: in the Son, as in some divine mirror, we see the glory of the Father.¹⁰ So it is written: "*He who has seen me, has seen the Father*,"¹¹ because *I am in the Father and the Father is in me*.¹²

3. Consider the division of the two waters as the separation of the just from the sinners. The former are taken in clouds above the firmament;¹³ the latter are sent below to Hades.

¹ Jn 1:18. ² Gen 1:7. ³ Cf Mt 7:25, 16:18; Col 1:23. ⁴ Cf Mt 8:28-32; Mk 5:1-14; Lk 8:26-33. ⁵ Cf Ex 14:19-30. ⁶ Cf Is 9:5. ⁷ Heb 1:14. ⁸ Mt 18:10. ⁹ Cf Jn 1:18. ¹⁰ Cf Jn 1:14; 1 Cor 13:12. ¹¹ Jn 14:9. ¹² Jn 14:10, 11. ¹³ Cf 1 Th 4:17.

ἐπάνω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπιφέρεισθαι ὕδατα οὐκ οἶδα. Μὴ ἰχθυοβρωτεῖν ἡβούλετο ὁ Θεὸς τὰς ἀγγελικὰς δυνάμεις; Ὁ γὰρ ἐξ ὑδάτων στερεώσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων κρεμάσας τὴν γῆν ἡδύνατο καὶ χωρὶς ὕδατος ἀδιάλυτον τὸ στερέωμα φυλάξαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ πυρός;

150 IV 1. Δύο τοίνυν καὶ μόνων οὐρανῶν δημιουργίαν ἐκ τῆς θείας γραφῆς μεμαθήκαμεν εἰς τύπον τῶν δύο καταπετασμάτων τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν δη-
λούντων τὰς δύο φύσεις τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τῶν δύο λαῶν καὶ τῶν δύο
ἐκκλησιῶν, τῆς ἄνω λέγω Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν πιστῶν. Ὅπερ
γάρ ἐστι τῷ ἁνωτέρῳ οὐρανῷ εἰς φῶς ὁ Θεὸς τοῦτο ἐστὶ τῷ κατωτέρῳ
155 οὐρανῷ ὁ ἥλιος καὶ τῷ στερεώματι τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ ἡ
ὅπερ εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ ἁοράτῳ οὐρανῷ οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι τοῦτο εἰσὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ
στερεώματι οἱ ἀστέρες καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οἱ ἅγιοι. 876A

2. Εἰ δὲ καὶ οὐρανούς τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀκούεις ἐν ὕμνοις Δαυίδ, τοῦτο
ιδίωμα τῆς Ἑβραϊδος γλώττης ἐστὶ τὸ ἐνικὸν πολλάκις πληθυντικὸν
160 ὀνομαζούσης. Ὅταν δὲ Παῦλον ὁρᾷ ἀρπαζόμενον ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ,
πρῶτον οὐρανὸν τὸν ἀέρα εἶναι νόμιζε κατὰ τὸ λεγόμενον· *Ἐγνώκα
πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, τουτέστι τοῦ ἀέρος, εἴτα δεύτερον
λοιπὸν τὸν οὐρανὸν τῶν ἀστέρων, καὶ τρίτον τὸν ἁνωτάτον οὐρανὸν
τῶν ἀγγέλων. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἐξωτέρῳ μέρει τοῦ ναοῦ εἰστίηκε τὸ πολὺ
165 πληθὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ἐν τῷ ἐσωτέρῳ δὲ μόνοι εἰσίσιν οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἐσωτέρῳ
δὲ τούτου τοῦ δευτέρου καταπετάσματος μόνος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, καθὼς καὶ
ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς εὐρήσεις. Ἐν τῷ ἐξωτέρῳ μὲν καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὐρανῷ,
τῷ ἀερίῳ λέγω στερεώματι, τὰ γένη συναναστρεφόμενα τῶν πτηνῶν
τῶν δηλούντων τὸ ἀγελαῖον πληθὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ἐσωτέρῳ δὲ τοῦ
170 φαινομένου στερεώματος καὶ εἰσερχομένας καὶ διαγούσας καὶ λατρευού-
σας καὶ πρεσβευούσας τὰς νοεράς δυνάμεις, τάχα καὶ τὰς τῶν δικαίων
ψυχάς, ἁνωτέρῳ τοῦ δευτέρου οὐρανοῦ (ὅ τι ἂν εἴη, οὐκ ἴσθμι), τουτέστι
τοῦ δευτέρου καταπετάσματος, οὐδεὶς εἰσελήλυθεν, εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ ἀληθὴς
ἀρχιερεὺς Χριστὸς ὁ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ. Οἶμαι δὲ τὸν ἐπάνω
175 οὐρανὸν τοὺς κόλπους εἶναι τοὺς πατρικούς.

3. Σὺ δέ, ὅταν ἀκούσης ἐν οὐρανοῖς εἶναι καὶ κατοικεῖν τὸν Θεὸν ἐκ τῆς
θείας γραφῆς ἢ ἐνδότερον ὄντα τοῦ καταπετάσματος τοῦ δευτέρου, μὴ
περιορισμούς τινας καὶ τοπικὰς οἰκήσεις καὶ μεταστάσεις καὶ ἀναβάσεις
καὶ ἐξελεύσεις νοήσης. Πτωχοπρεπεῖ γὰρ οὕση τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φύσει, καθὼς
180 χωρεῖ ἀκοῦσαι, διαλέγεται αὐτῇ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Καὶ μάρτυς τοῦ
λόγου ἡ προκειμένη ἡμῖν Μωσαϊκὴ γραφὴ παχέα τινὰ καὶ ἀνάξια Θεοῦ

149 ὕδατα N διαφυλάξαι P 151 κατὰ πετασμάτων M 153 λέγω] om. P
154 κατέρω P 156 om. M^{corr.} 159 πολὰκις P 160 Ὅταν] ταν *ad initium lineae* P
163 τὸν οὐρανὸν] *scripsi* τῶν οὐ(ρα)νῶν MNP ἁνωτάτων] *scripsi* ἁνωτάτω MNP
οὐρανὸν] οὐ(ρα)νῶν MP 164 εἰστίηκε] *scripsi* ἰστίηκε MN ἰστίηκε P 166 τοῦ δευτέρου
καταπετάσματος] M τοῦ καταπετάσματος N τὸ δεύτερον καταπέτασμα ἐν ᾧ P
168 ἀερί P 179 νοήσης] *scripsi* νοήσεις MNP 180 αὐτῇ] om. P 181 ἢ] ἢ M

For what need was there to add waters above the heaven? I do not know of any. Did God want the angelic forces to eat fish? Upon the waters, he suspended the earth;¹ and from the waters, he made firm the heaven.² Was he not able to protect this firmament, without water, from melting from the solar fire?

IV 1. We have learned from Divine Scripture that the creation of two and only two heavens presents a type of the two curtains of the sanctuary.³ And these reveal the two natures of Jesus,⁴ and also of the two peoples and two Churches: the Jerusalem above and us the faithful.⁵ For just as God is the light for the upper heaven, so the sun is the light the lower heaven, and the Good News for the firmament of the Church. And just as the holy angels are for illumination in the invisible heaven, so the stars are in the firmament and the saints in the Church.

2. When you hear in the psalms of David the phrase "heavens of heavens",⁶ this is an idiosyncrasy of the Hebrew language. It often calls a singular thing plural. But when you see Paul snatched up to the third heaven,⁷ you should consider the first heaven the inner atmosphere. As it says: "*I know all the birds of heaven*,"⁸ that is: of the inner atmosphere. Then the second of Paul's heavens is the heaven of the stars. And third is the highest heaven of the angels. Also, on the outer side of the sanctuary stood the vast majority of Israel. Only the priests entered into the interior;⁹ but only the high priest entered inside the second curtain.¹⁰ You will find the same with respect to the heavens. In the outer heaven, which is near us—I mean the firmament of air—the families of birds live together. They represent the common multitude of Israel. Within this manifest firmament enter also the noetic forces—guiding, ministering, and advising¹¹—and certainly also the spirits of the just. Higher than the second heaven—whatever that might be, I do not know—that is, higher than the second curtain, no one has entered except only the true highpriest, Christ, according to the order of Melchizedek.¹²

I suppose that this heaven above is the embrace of the Father.¹³

3. When you hear from Divine Scripture that God exists¹⁴ and dwells in the heavens,¹⁵ or he is within the second curtain,¹⁶ do not imagine some boundaries or regional dwellings or migrations or entrances or exits. Our nature is rather meager, and the Holy Spirit speaks to it according to its ability to hear. In fact, the Mosaic passage that is lying before us offers evidence for what I've just said. It contains some

¹ Cf Ps 135(136):6; Job 26:7. ² Cf Hos 13:4. ³ Cf Ex 26:31, 36-37. ⁴ Cf Heb 10:20.
⁵ Cf Gal 4:25-26. ⁶ Cf Ps 148(149):4. ⁷ Cf 2 Cor 12:2. ⁸ Ps 49(50):11.
⁹ Cf Num 18:2-7; Heb 9:6. ¹⁰ Cf Ex 30:10; Lev 16:2-3, 15; Heb 9:7. ¹¹ Cf Mt 4:11; Heb 1:14. ¹² Cf Ps 109 (110):4; Heb 5:5-10, 6:19-7:28, 9:7. ¹³ Cf Jn 1:18. ¹⁴ Cf 2 Chr 20:6; Dan 2:28, 3:17; Mt 6:9, 7:11, 23:9; et al. ¹⁵ Cf Ps 2:4, 122(123):1. ¹⁶ Cf Ex 40:20-21; Lev 16:2; Heb 9:3-5.

τοῦ ἀπεριγράπτου περιέχουσα ῥήματα, ἅτινα οὐ ὁ Μωϋσῆς ἐξέθετο
οἰκοθεν, ἀλλ' ὁ Θεὸς δι' ἁγίων ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ ἐν ὄρει τῷ Σινᾶ ἐπὶ τῆς
σκηνῆς ταῦτα ὑπηγόρευεν. "Οθεν ὡς ἀγγέλου ταῦτα λαλήσαντος οὐδὲ
185 τέθηκεν ὅλως τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφῇ αὐτῆς ὁ Μωϋσῆς, καθὼς οἱ
λοιποὶ προφηταὶ πεποιήκασιν ἐν βίβλοις τῶν οἰκείων προφητειῶν. "Οτι
δ' ἄγγελοι ταῦτα τῷ Μωϋσεὶ διηγήσαντο, ἄκουσον Παύλου ἐν τῇ πρὸς
Ἑβραίους περὶ τῆς Μωσαϊκῆς νομοθεσίας καὶ γραφῆς λέγοντος· *Εἰ γὰρ ὁ*
δι' ἀγγέλων λαληθεὶς λόγος ἐγένετο βέβαιος. Ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ μακάριος
190 Στέφανος ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι τῶν Ἀποστόλων δημηγορῶν πρὸς Ἰουδαίους
περὶ Μωϋσέως ἔλεγεν· *Οὗτός ἐστι Μωϋσῆς ὁ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν*
τῇ ἐρήμῳ μετὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ λαλοῦντος αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾶ καὶ
τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ὃς ἐδέξατο λόγια ζῶντα δοῦναι ἡμῖν. Ἴδου σαφῶς
ἤκουσα παρὰ Παύλου καὶ Στεφάνου τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀγγέλους εἶναι
195 τοὺς τὸ βιβλίον τῆς Γενέσεως ὑπαγορεύσαντας τῷ Μωϋσεὶ, καὶ τούτου
χάριν οὐκ ἐπέγραψεν αὐτὴν εἰς οἰκεῖον ὄνομα.

V. Πρὸς δὴ τοῖς εἰρημένους ἀναγκαῖον μὴδὲ τοῦτο παραδραμεῖν, πῶς
δευτέραν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἐκάλεσε, καὶ οἶμαι εὐστόχως ἅμα καὶ ἀληθῶς. Εἰ
γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς οὐ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν ἄνθρωπον πέπλακεν, ἵνα ὑπεισδύς δι' αὐτὸν
200 ἐπ' ἄρτηρος τοῦ σταυρικοῦ ὑβρισθῇ | καὶ οὕτως δι' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν
μαθητῶν ἐλκύσῃ τὸ γένος ἅπαν εἰς ἑαυτόν, ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτὸς ὁ πλασθεὶς
ἐδραῖος μείνῃ πρὸς τὰ νενεμημένα τούτῳ ἐν τῇ Ἑδέμ μὴ κατὰ τι
παρασυρεῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὃς δ' οὐκ ἐμμείνας ἠττήθη καὶ τῆς Ἑδέμ ἐξεβλήθη
καὶ τὴν φθορὰν κατεκρίθη, ἔδει δὲ ἐλθεῖν τινα δεύτερα πολλῶν κρείττω
205 τῶν πρὶν ἀγαθῶν, τὰ δ' ἦν ἡ τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος ἐνανθρώπησις. Καὶ
νῦν τὸ κάτωθεν ἀνιὼν ἀέριον στερέωμα ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων τῆς γῆς, ὃ τὸ
ἄνθρωπινον εἶναι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐξειλήφμεν, σύνεστι τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ
πρῶτῳ οὐρανῷ τῇ θεότητι τοῦ Λόγου φημί, ἀδιαίρετως. Καὶ ἐγεγόνει
ταῦτα τὰ δεύτερα, ἵνα τὰ πρῶτα ἐξισθῇ. Διὰ τοῦτο δεύτερα ἡμέρα καὶ
210 πρᾶξις ἡ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐνανθρώπησις λέγεται, ἣν ἡ διαρρῦσασα ἔνθεν καὶ
ἐνθεν τὰ τῶν πιστῶν καὶ ἀπίστων ὕδατα διὰ τοῦ στερεώματος τῆς
πίστεως τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἡμέρα ἐσήμανε.

VI. Φαίνεται δὲ κάλλιον κάκεῖνο εἰπεῖν, ὡς οὐ δεῖ ἀπαναίνεσθαι τὴν
διάφορον τῶν ἀειμνήστων ἐξηγητῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἐκδοχὴν, ἐξ
215 αὐτοῦ γὰρ τοῦ θεοπνεύστου ἐδάφους τοῦτο ἐπαιδεύθησαν ποιεῖν. "Οθεν
καὶ δίκαιον ἀκοῦσαι | τῶν τε Μωσαϊκῶν καὶ προφητικῶν καὶ Δαυιτικῶν 878A

182 οὐ ὁ] *scripsi* ὁ MNP 184 τέθεικεν MN 186 τῶν] *om.* P 187 Μωϋσεὶ] *scripsi*
Μωϋσῆ] MNP 191 Μωϋσέως] Μωϋσέος MN 192 αὐτῷ] N^p *corr.* αὐτοῦ MN^a *corr.* P
195 Μωϋσεὶ] N^p *corr.* Μωϋσῆ MN^a *corr.* P 199 ἵνα] εἰσπεισδύς N^a *corr.* ἵνα] εἰσπεισδύς N^p *corr.*
201 ἑαυτόν] αὐτόν P 202 νενομημένα N^a *corr.* νεμημένα P 203 ὃς] *scripsi* ὁ MNP
205 ἐνανθρώπησις P 207 ἐξειλήφμεν MN 209 ἐξισθῇ M 213 φαίνετε M
214 θείαις] δύο P ἐκδοχὴν] ἐκδοθέν M^p *corr.*

phrases that are crude and not worthy of God, who cannot be com-
prehended. Moses did not expound these things out of his own invention,
but God had dictated them through his holy angels in Moses' tent on
Mount Sinai.¹

And since an angel had spoken them, Moses did not place his own
name anywhere as its author. This was contrary to what the other
prophets did in the books of their prophecies. Did angels describe these
things to Moses? Listen to Paul, when he speaks in his letter to the
Hebrews about Moses making the Laws and Scripture: *For since it was*
*spoken through the angels, the word was sure.*² Saint Stephan in the Acts
of the Apostles spoke similarly to the Jews about Moses. He said: "This
is Moses, *who was in the assembly in the desert, with the angel that*
spoke to him on Mount Sinai, and with our fathers. He received living
words to give to us."³ Look, I clearly hear from the apostles Stephan and
Paul that the angels are the ones who dictated the book of Genesis to
Moses. And for this reason, Moses did not inscribe it with his own name.

V. In connection with the things we've said above, it is necessary to
stop and ask: why did he call this the second day⁴ (which I think was
both accurate and true)?

God did not fashion man⁵ for this: that God, having entered on
account him, might be dishonored by hanging on a cross,⁶ and so
through himself and his apostles might draw all mankind to himself.⁷
Rather, it was so that the man, having been fashioned, might remain
securely among the things allotted to him in Eden and not be shaken
from them at all.⁸ Man did not, however, remain true.⁹ And so he was
brought down, expelled from Eden,¹⁰ and condemned to decay.¹¹ If this is
true, then it was necessary that something come along better by far than
the earlier good things.¹² And this better thing was the Incarnation of
the Creator. So there came up from below, from the waters of the earth,
the firmament of air. This we have taken to be the humanity of Christ.
And now it is joined together with the great and first heaven—I mean,
the divinity of the Word—indivisibly. And these second things occurred
so that the first might be cured.

Therefore the Incarnation of the Savior is called the second day, the
second action. And it was foreshadowed by the day that separated the
waters of the faithful and the unfaithful, to this side and the other,
through the firmament of the Christian faith.

VI. It seems good to say also this: that one should not reject the
diversity of the tradition of Divine Scripture's exegetes, who will be
remembered forever. For they learned this diversity from the divinely
inspired text itself. Therefore, it is right to listen to their discussions on
Moses and the prophets and David, when here they understand the

¹ Cf Ex 19:3, 19, 20-21, 24:15-18, 25:1-9; Acts 7:38; Heb 2:2. ² Heb 2:2. ³ Acts 7:38.

⁴ Cf Gen 1:8. ⁵ Cf Gen 2:7. ⁶ Cf Lk 18:32. ⁷ Cf Jn 12:32. ⁸ Cf Gen 2:15-17.

⁹ Cf Gen 3:6-7. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 3:24. ¹¹ Cf Gen 3:19. ¹² Cf Gen 3:15.

λόγων ποτὲ μὲν τὰ ὕδατα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη λαμβανόντων, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς
 πειρασμούς, εἶναι δὲ ὅτε καὶ εἰς τὰ θεῖα μαθήματα καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα
 καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ βαπτίσματος χάριν, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ ὁ οὐρανός ποτε μὲν
 220 αὐτὸ τὸ στερέωμα δηλοῖ, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ τὰς οὐρανίους δυνάμεις ἢ καὶ
 πᾶσαν καρδίαν ἐφ' ἣν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπαναπαύεται. Καὶ τὰ ὄρη δὲ πολυτρόπως
 νοοῦνται. Λαμβάνονται γὰρ εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ
 εἰς τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ εἰς τὰς ἐναντίας δυνάμεις
 καὶ εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Παρθένον καὶ Θεοτόκον. Ὅμοίως καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ αἱ
 225 πηγαὶ καὶ τὰ φυτὰ καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ σκότος καὶ αἱ νεφέλαι καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι
 καί, συνόλως εἰπεῖν, πᾶσα ἡ ὁρατὴ καὶ ἀόρατος κτίσις πολυμερῶς καὶ
 πολυτρόπως νοεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν πνευματοφόρων ἀνδρῶν, ἵνα μὴ πενίαν
 γνώσεως νοσήσῃ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον μὴ ἰσχύσαν ὥσπερ ὁ ὑέτὸς τοῖς
 φυτοῖς διάφορον χάριν ἐν τοῖς ἐδωδίμοις αὐτῶν καρποῖς δωρήσασθαι.
 230 Πολυπρόσωπον γὰρ καὶ πολύφωτόν ἐστι καὶ ταυτόφωτον ὕδωρ τὸ τῆς
 θείας γραφῆς, ἐκ μιᾶς πηγῆς τοῦ παναγίου ἀναβλύζον πνεύματος. Αὐτῷ
 ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. Ἰ

223 εἰς] om. MP 226 ἡ - κτίσις] κτίσις ἡ ὁρατὴ καὶ ἀόρατος N 228 νοσίση M^{corr.} P
 229 καρποῖς αὐτῶν P 231 ἀναβλύζοντος P

waters to mean the nations, but there, temptations; and even to mean
 the divine teachings, the Holy Spirit, or the grace of Baptism. This is
 also so when "heaven" signifies this firmament,¹ or the heavenly forces,
 or every heart in which God rests.² Mountains too are perceived in many
 ways. They are taken as the heavens, the Church, the angels, the altar,
 the opposing forces, and the Holy Virgin and Mother of God. Similarly,
 the rivers, springs, vegetation, earth, darkness, clouds, winds, and—to
 speak in general terms—all the visible and invisible creation³ are
 perceived in many and diverse ways by spiritual men.⁴ This is so that
 you might not suffer a lack of understanding, as if the Holy Spirit did
 not lack the strength to grant, just like the rain, a different grace to the
 plants for their edible fruits. The water of Divine Scripture has many
 faces and many lamps but is absolute light, because it gushes up from
 one source: the all holy Spirit. The glory and power belong to it forever
 and ever. Amen.

¹ Cf Gen 1:8. ² Cf Pr 14:33. ³ Cf Col 1:16. ⁴ Cf Heb 1:1.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀκολουθῶς <εἰς τὴν τρίτην ἡμέραν
τῆς ἑξαήμερου κτίσεως> λόγος τρίτος ἰ

877B-

878B

titulus

877C

Ἰ. Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐποίησάμην, ὦ Θεόφιλε, περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν
πρώτην ἡμέραν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γεγεννημένων, ἡτις ἐστὶ λεγομένη κυριακή, ἐν ἣ
πάντα ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγόν ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τούτων
λοιπῶν ὡσπερ ζυμῶν τινῶν κατακερματίσας τὸν κόσμον ὑπέστησε, μεθ'
5 ἦν ἡμέραν κυρίαν ὡσπερ εἰς δευτέραν ἱεράν κλίμακος βαθμίδα ἐπὶ τὸ ὕψος
τοῦ στερεώματος προεκόψαμεν. Νῦν δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνης ἐπὶ τὰ πλάτη καὶ βάθη
καὶ μήκη τῶν ὑδάτων κατατολήσωμεν κυβερνήτην Χριστὸν ἔχοντες
πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ὡς δημιουργὸν καὶ ἰσουργὸν γνήσιον ὁμοούσιον.

ἸΙ 1. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· *Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*
10 *εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν, καὶ ὀφθήτω ἡ ξηρά.*

Μέμνησό μου, ὦ ἀκροατά, εἰρηκότος ὡς οὐ καταλύοντες τὸ γράμμα
ἐπὶ τὰς ἀγράφους ἀναγωγὰς μετερχόμεθα. Ἀλλὰ Παύλῳ μαθητευθέντες
τῷ λέγοντι ὅτι *Τὸ γράμμα ἀποκτείνει*, ὡσπερ καὶ Ἰουδαίους ἀπέκτεινε,
τούτου χάριν μετὰ τὸ γράμμα ζητοῦμεν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ διὰ τοῦ
15 γράμματος σκιαγραφούμενον, εἰς Χριστὸν δὲ πληρούμενον. Ἰδοὺ γὰρ τοῦ
ὑδατος συνηγμένου καὶ ἀδιαιρέτου ὄντος καὶ πῶς ὡς μία θάλασσα
καθεστῶτος ἀφ' ὅτου τὸ γεγονὸς ἀέριον στερέωμα διεῖλε τὸ μὲν ἄνω, τὸ
δὲ κάτω, πῶς φησὶν ὁ Θεός· *Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ*
οὐρανοῦ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν; Μία ἦν συναγωγή ὅλον τὸ ὕδωρ, μία
20 θάλασσα ὅλον τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς, ἐν χεῖλος, ἐν πέλαγος συνηγμένον,
καὶ πῶς λέγει· *Συναχθήτω*; Τὸ γὰρ *συναχθήτω* ἐπὶ τῶν διεσκορπισ-
μένων λέγεται καὶ γίνεται.

2. Ἐὰν οὖν κατὰ τὸ γράμμα Ἰουδαϊκῶς νοήσωμεν τὰ προκείμενα, οὐ
γέγονεν ἡ ἐπιτροπὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τούτοις. Καὶ μὴν μαρτυρεῖ ἡ θεία γραφὴ
25 λέγουσα ὅτι *Καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως*. Εἰ καὶ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν χρόνων ἐγένετο
οὕτως, ἐπεὶ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ ὑδατος κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον
γέγονεν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ προτροπή, ἐὰν τῷ γράμματι ἀκολουθήσῃς. Αὐτὸς
μὲν γὰρ εἶπε· *Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς συνα-*
γωγὴν μίαν, ὡς περὶ ἐνὸς ὑδατος καὶ μιᾶς συναγωγῆς ἐπιτρέπων,
30 συνήχθησαν δὲ ὕδατα εἰς συναγωγὰς πολλὰς, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς μίαν
συναγωγὴν.

3. Καὶ μὴ θορυβηθεῖς ὁ ἀκούων ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ, αὕτη γὰρ ἡ θεία γραφὴ
τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ. Ἐπήγαγε γὰρ ὁ συγγραφεὺς λέγων ὅτι *Καὶ συνήχθη τὸ*
ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν. Ἰδοὺ οὐ
35 λέγει εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ συνήχθη, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰς

titulus εἰς τὴν τρίτην ἡμέραν τῆς ἑξαήμερου κτίσεως] *supplevi*; cf. titulos cap. 1, 4, 5
5 ἱερακλίμακος P 6 βά θῆς M 7 καὶ] *om.* M κατὰ τομήσωμεν P 13 ἀποκτείνει]
ἀποκτείνει N^p ^{com} 15 σκιαγραφούμενον M 16 ὄντως M 17 διεῖλε τὸ] διεῖλετο M
32 θορυβηθεῖς] MNP *lege* θορυβηθῆς 35 συναγωγὴ P

This is the third book in the series by the same author.
It is about the third day of the six-day creation.

I. I wrote the first chapter, O Theophilus,¹ about that which God had created during the first day, which is called Sunday. On that day, God brought forth everything from non-existence into existence. Then he cut it up and from the rest, as if from some leaven, he established the world. And after the first day of the Lord, we advanced to the height of the firmament, as if to the second sacred rung of a ladder. Now from there, let us boldly go forth to the breadth and depth and length of the waters. We have Christ as our pilot to the Father—Christ who was his consubstantial, genuine partner in creation.

II 1. And God said: "Let the water under heaven be gathered into one congregation, and let the dry land be seen."²

Remember me, O reader, as one who said that we are not destroying the literal meaning, but are pursuing its unwritten anagogy. We are students of Paul, who said: *The letter kills*.³ So it killed the Jews. On account of this, after examining the literal meaning, we search for the Spirit. Its shadow can be seen between the words, but its fulfillment is Christ.

Look here. The water has been brought together, is undivided, and somehow stands as one sea. In, so far as the atmospheric firmament, having been created from it, separated the water above from the water below, how can God say: "Let the water under the heaven be gathered into one congregation"? All the water was already one congregation. All the face of the earth was one sea, one rim, one gathered deep. So how can he say: "Let it be gathered"? The statement "Let it be gathered" is said and happens to things that have been scattered.

2. Therefore, if we take this passage literally, in a Jewish fashion, the command of God did not happen among these things. And yet, Divine Scripture bears witness, saying: *And so it happened*.⁴ And so it happened—even if at the end of time.⁵ For at first, there occurred just the opposite of God's behest to the perceptible waters—if you follow the literal meaning. He said: "Let the water under heaven be gathered into one congregation." His command seems to have been about one water and one congregation. The waters, however, came together into many congregations, not one congregation.

3. O reader, do not be startled at our discussion, for Divine Scripture here bears witness to it. The narrator goes on to say: *And the water under heaven was gathered into their congregations*.⁶ Look, he does not say that the water was gathered into its congregation, but into their

¹ Acts 1:1. ² Gen 1:9. ³ 2 Cor 3:6. ⁴ Gen 1:9. ⁵ Cf 1 Pet 1:20. ⁶ Gen 1:9.

συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν τὰς πολλὰς. Πολλὰ ὕδατα πολλαὶ τινες γενόμεναι
συναγωγαί. Ἐκ τῆς μιᾶς γὰρ ἐκείνης τῆς πρώτης συναγωγῆς καὶ
θαλάσσης τοῦ ἐνὸς ὕδατος πολλὰ ὕδατα, πολλαὶ θάλατται γεγόνασιν.
Πολλοὶ λίμναι διηρέθησαν· πολλαὶ πηγαὶ εἰς πολλοὺς ποταμοὺς
διηρέθησαν· τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκείνου τὸ πρὶν συνηγμένον ὑποκάτω | τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
εἰς πολλοὺς διηρέθη τόπους καὶ τρόπους.

4. "Ὑδωρ ἐν ἀβύσσοις· ἰδοὺ συναγωγή μία. "Ὑδωρ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ· ἰδοὺ
πάλιν καὶ ἄλλη συναγωγή. Ἡ θάλασσα ἡ μεγάλη· ἰδοὺ καὶ τρίτη
συναγωγή. Ἡ θάλασσα αὕτη καὶ ἐρυθρὰ καὶ ἡμῖν γειτνιάζουσα· ἰδοὺ
τετάρτη ὕδατος συναγωγή. Ποταμὸς ἐξ Ἑδέμ· ἰδοὺ μεγάλη ὕδατος
συναγωγή. Φεισῶν, Γεὼν, Τίγρις, καὶ Εὐφράτης· ἰδοὺ τέσσαρες ὑδάτων
συναγωγαί. Ἡ πηγή ἡ ἐκ γῆς ἀναβαίνουσα καὶ ποτίζουσα ὅλον τὸ
πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς· ἰδοὺ καὶ ἄλλη μεγάλη ὕδατος συναγωγή, μήτηρ
πολλῶν ὑδάτων. Συναγωγή θαλάττης νεκρά· ἰδοὺ καὶ ἑτέρα ὕδατος ἔξω
συναγωγή, τύπος τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς καὶ ἀγόνου καὶ νεκρᾶς συναγωγῆς.

5. "Ὑδατα ἄγονα, ὥς τὰ ποτε ἱεριχούντια, καὶ νῦν εἰσι γόνιμα ἡμᾶς
τυποῦντα τοὺς τίκτοντας ἀλλήλους ἐν ζῶντι Πνεύματι καὶ ὕδατι τοῦ
βαπτίσματος. "Ὑδωρ γόνιμον, ὥς τὸ Αἰγύπτου πολύγονον. "Ὑδατα
πότιμα, ὥς τὰ ἐν χρήσει. "Ὑδωρ ἄποτον, ὥς τὸ τῆς μερρᾶς. "Ὑδωρ
ἄδυτον, ὥς τὸ Ἀμῶνικόν· ἰδοὺ καὶ ξένη ὕδατος συναγωγή. "Ὑδατα ἐν
νήσοις διηρημέναις καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰς συναγωγαί. Ποταμοὶ ἐν ἡπείροις,
λίμναι κατὰ τόπους, ὕδατα κατὰ τόπους ἀλληλόσως τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ
τὴν ποιότητα ἔχοντα. "Ὑδωρ ἀλμυρόν, ὕδωρ πικρόν, ὕδωρ ἀσφαλτίζον,
ὕδωρ ἀναιρετικόν, ὥς τὸ παρὰ ταῖς ἐρήμοις τῆς Αἰθιοπίας. "Ὑδωρ
θερμόν καὶ ὑγιεινόν. Συναγωγαὶ μυρία ὑδάτων διαφόρων πολλῶν.

6. Καὶ μὴν οὐχ οὕτως ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ Θεὸς διαιρετὸν εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀλλ'
ἡνωμένον εἰς μίαν συναγωγὴν. Τίς δὲ καὶ ὅλως ἀνάγκη τῷ δημιουργῷ
ἐφαπλῶσαι τὸ ὕδωρ ἐφ' ὅλον τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς, εἴθ' οὕτως πάλιν
ἐπισυναγαγεῖν τοῦτο, καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον εὐθέως ἕκαστον τῶν ποιημάτων
κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον τρόπον ποιῆσαι καὶ πῆξαι;

III 1. Οὐκοῦν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῖς Μανιχαϊκοῖς περιπέσωμεν βρόχοις.
Ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα νοήσαντες περὶ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τούτων
τῶν ὑδάτων ψευσάμενον ἐνόμισαν τὸν Θεὸν διὰ τὸ μὴ συναχθῆναι τὸ
ὕδωρ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου γενέθαι. "Ὁρα
τί σημαίνει τό· *Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ*.

39 λῦναι P πολλοὺς] πολλὰς P διηρέθησαν] *scripsi* διηρέθη MNP 42 μία συναγωγή M
μία συναγωγή P τοῦ] τὸ P 45 ποταμοὶ N ἐδέμ N^{a corr.} ἐδέν N^{p corr.} 46 τίγρις] N^{p corr.}
τίγρης MN^{a corr.} P 48 μεγάλη ἄλλη P 51 ἱεριχούντια P^{a corr.} ἱεριχούντια P^{p corr.} 52 καὶ]
om. P 54 ἐν χρήσει] ἐχρήσει M^{a corr.} ἐν χρήσει M^{p corr.} 55 Ἀμῶνικόν] *scripsi* Ἀμῶνικόν
MNP 56 διηρημένοις· καὶ καθ' M διηρημένοις· καθ' P 57 ὕδατα κατὰ τόπους] om. P
ἀλλην ἄλλως N 58 ὕδωρ ἀσφαλτίζου] om. N 64 ἐπισυναγαγεῖν] *scripsi* ἐπισυναγάγει
MP ἐπισυναγάγει N 69 τι P 70 τό] *scripsi* τὸ M^{p corr.} NP

many congregations. Many waters, many congregations arose. From
that one first congregation and sea of one water arose many waters,
many seas. Many lakes were divided. Many springs separated into many
rivers. That water which was initially gathered under heaven was
dispersed in many forms to many places.

4. The water in the abysses: look, one congregation. The water of the
ocean: look again, yet another congregation. The Great Sea: behold, yet a
third congregation. The Red Sea adjacent to us: see, a fourth congre-
gation of water. The river from Eden:¹ see, a large congregation of water.
The Physon, Geon, Tigris, and Euphrates: see, four congregations of
waters.² The spring rising up from the earth and irrigating all the face of
the earth:³ look, yet another great congregation of water, the mother of
many waters. And the congregation of the Dead Sea: look, yet another
congregation out of water, which is a type of the Jewish congregation:
infertile and lifeless.

5. Waters that were infertile, as were once the waters of Jericho, but
now are fertile: these are types of us, because we give birth to one
another in the water and living Spirit of Baptism.⁴

Yes, there is fertile water, as the very fertile water of Egypt. And
there are drinkable waters, like those we use. And undrinkable water,
like the bitter water of the Marah.⁵ Water that cannot be entered, like
the Ammonic water: behold, such a strange congregation of water.
Waters on distant islands: indeed, congregations all by themselves.
Rivers on continents; lakes in their places. In each place, water that
varies from the others in its quality and effect. Water that is briny,
water that is bitter, water that stinks like tar, poisonous water, like that
beside the deserts of Ethiopia. Hot and healthy springs. A myriad of
congregations of many different kinds of water.

6. Yet God did not command the water to be divided so, but to be
unified into one congregation. Really, why was it necessary for the
Creator to spread the water over all the face of the earth, and then to
gather it together again? Why not rather straightaway create and fix
each of the creations in its own place?

III 1. Surely it was so that we would not fall into the traps of the
Manicheans. They think literally about his command over those waters
and conclude that God lied. The water was not brought together into one
congregation, but rather the opposite happened.

Look, what does this mean: "*Let the water be gathered*"?

¹ Cf Gen 2:10. ² Cf Gen 2:10-14. ³ Cf Gen 2:6. ⁴ Cf Jn 3:5. ⁵ Cf Ex 15:23.

2. Δεῦρο δὴ οὖν, ὧ θεϊότατόν μοι τῶν θείων ὑδάτων τῆς ἐκκλησίας συνακτῆριον, ἐπανάγαγε εἰς τὸ βάθος τούτων τῶν ὑδάτων. Φησὶν ὁ Θεός· *Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τουτέστιν ὅλον τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν συναχθήτω εἰς συναγωγὴν* 75 *μίαν τῆς ἐμῆς πίστεως καὶ ἐκκλησίας, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ συνηγμένον τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τῶν οὐρανῶν, φημί τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων, εἰς συναγωγὴν Θεοῦ μίαν, εἰς ὁμόνοιαν, εἰς εὐαρέστησιν μίαν, εἰς ὕμνωδιαν μίαν, εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐπουράνιον μίαν, εἰς πολιτείαν φωτὸς μίαν. Ἐνθα οὐκ ἔστιν αἵρεσις οὐδὲ διαίρεσις. Ἐνθα οὐκ ἔστι διάστασις οὔτε ἀντί- 80 στασις. Ἐνθα οὐκ ἔστιν Ἰουδαῖος οὔτε Ἕλλην. Ἐνθα οὐκ ἔστι Σκύθης οὔτε βάρβαρος, οὔτε ἄνομος οὔτε ἄπιστος οὐδ' ὄφις οὔτε σκορπίος οὔτε θῆρες ἐρπετῶν οὔτε ἁμαρτία οὔτε μελάνωσις, ἀλλ' ὕδωρ ἐν καὶ ρεῖθρον ἐν καὶ πηγὴ μία καὶ ὁμοία καὶ φρέαρ ὕδατος ζῶντος ἐν, ὧ Χριστὸς προσοῖζάνει, καὶ συναγωγὴ ἁγία καὶ τιμία μία.*

3. Γενηθήτω γοῦν τὸ θέλημά μου τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. *Συναχθήτω τὸ γένος τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τὸ ὕδωρ ἐφ' ὃ τὸ πρὶν ἐπέκειτο τὸ σκότος. Ἐλθέτω ἰ καὶ συναχθήτω πρὸς τὸ φῶς, τουτέστι 880A πρὸς Χριστὸν τὸν ἐπιτρέποντα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ λέγοντα· Πορευθέντες ἐπισυνάξατε πάντα τὰ ἐθνικὰ ὕδατα εἰς συναγωγὴν τοῦ βαπτίσματος μίαν, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐκείνου τοῦ ἐπιφερομένου μὲν τὸ πρὶν ἐπάνω τούτου τοῦ ὕδατος, εἰσοικιζομένου δὲ νῦν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ συνάπτοντος πάντα τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ διεσπῶτα τῶν ἐθνῶν ὕδατα εἰς συνα- 90 γωγὴν μίαν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ γενήσονται πάντες ἐν ὕδωρ ζωῆς, μία πηγὴ, εἰς παράδεισος, μία ποιμνὴ, εἰς ποιμὴν, εἰς Κύριος, μία πίστις, ἐν βάπτισμα, ἐν σῶμα Χριστοῦ, ἐν Πνεῦμα, μία καρδιά, μία σὰρξ· ἡ νύμφη ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ ὁ ταύτης νυμφίος Χριστός, ἐν στερέωμα, εἰς οὐρανός· ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ὁ λαὸς τῶν πιστῶν ὡς ἀστέρων ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκλαμπομένων καὶ φωτιζομένων.*

4. Οὕτω νοητέον καὶ ἐκκληπτέον τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ φωνὴν καὶ ἐπιτροπὴν 100 περὶ τούτων τῶν ὑδάτων. Οὕτω καὶ οὐχ ἐτέρως φρονοῦμεν ψυχῇ τε καὶ σώματι καὶ πνεύματι, καὶ οὕτω κηρύττομεν περὶ ἡμῶν τῶν πρὶν διεσκο-τισμένων ἐθνῶν καὶ εἰς μυρίους θεοὺς ἀθέους πολυθέους πλανωμένων φάσκειν τὴν θείαν φωνὴν καὶ ἐπιτρεπτικῶς λέγειν· *Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ 105 τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν.*

IV 1. Ἐπὶ γῆς συνάγει ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν, διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἀερίου στερεώματος διαιρῶν καὶ ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀνενέγκας τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπλάτυνε τοῦτο καὶ μεγάλως ἐξήπλωσεν ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων

71 δὴ] om. P 74 συναχθήτω] om. P 79 οὔτε] οὐδὲ P 80 Ἐνθα] ἐν P 85 ἐν] om. P 87 τὸ] om. P 88 αὐτοῦ M 89 ἐθνικὰ P συναγωγὴν] add. μίαν N^acorr. μίαν N^pcorr. 90 μίαν N^pcorr. 92 νῦν] om. P 98 αὐτοῦ] αὐτὰ M 100 πττοπὴν ad initium lineae P 101 Οὕτω] οὕτως M 102/3 ἐσκοτισμένων P 108 ἐξήπλωσεν P ἕως περάτων] om. P

2. Come, O most divine assembly of divine waters of the Church, and lead me to the depth of these waters.

God says: "*Let the water under heaven be gathered into one congregation.*" This means:

"All the multitude of nations under heaven, let them be gathered into one congregation of my faithful Church, just as the water under the heavens is gathered together—I mean the multitude of angelic forces—into one congregation belonging to God, into concord, into one satisfaction, into one hymn, into one celestial Jerusalem,¹ into one community of light. Within, there does not exist sect or division. Within, there does not exist disagreement or opposition. Within does not exist Jew or Greek. Within does not exist Scythian or barbarian, the lawless or the faithless, the serpent or scorpion or crawling monsters, or sin or blackness.² But one water, one stream, one and the same spring, and one well of living water—beside which Christ sits—and one congregation, honored and sanctified.³

3. "So let the will of me, God, be done, as in heaven so also on earth.⁴

"Let the water upon which the darkness had been lying⁵—let the human race be gathered. Let it be brought together and come to the light, which is Christ.⁶ He commissions his disciples, saying: '*Go forth and gather all the waters of the nations into one congregation of Baptism. Baptize them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.*'⁷ The Spirit, which was once borne upon this water,⁸ now makes its home in it. The Spirit now joins together all the disparate waters of the nations of the world into one congregation, the Church. All will become one water of life, one spring,⁹ one Paradise, one flock, one shepherd,¹⁰ one Lord, one faith, one Baptism,¹¹ one body of Christ, one Spirit,¹² one heart, one flesh. The bride, the Church, and her bridegroom, Christ: one firmament, one heaven. Christ and his people the believers, like stars from Him and in Him, illuminated and beaming brilliantly."¹³

4. One must think in this way. And one must take in this sense the voice of God and his authority over these waters. In this way and not otherwise, we are thinking with our soul, body, and spirit.¹⁴ In this way, we proclaim that the divine voice is speaking about us: nations that before were in darkness¹⁵ and were wandering toward a myriad of gods, who were many gods but not God. And with authority he says: "*Let the water under heaven be gathered into one congregation.*"

IV 1. Upon the earth, it is God the Word who is bringing the water together into one congregation. But raising it through the atmospheric firmament, he also brought it up among the heavens.¹⁶ He broadened this water and spread it out widely from one end to the other of all

¹ Cf Heb 12:22. ² Cf Col 3:11. ³ Cf Jn 4:6, 10-11. ⁴ Cf Mt 6:10. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:2. ⁶ Cf Jn 8:12, 9:5, 12:46. ⁷ Mt 28:19. ⁸ Cf Gen 1:2. ⁹ Cf Rev 21:6; 22:1, 17. ¹⁰ Cf Jn 10:16. ¹¹ Cf Eph 4:5. ¹² Cf Eph 4:4. ¹³ Cf Gen 1:16-17. ¹⁴ Cf 1 Th 5:23. ¹⁵ Cf Is 9:1; Mt 4:16; Lk 1:79. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 1:7.

πάσης τῆς κτίσεως καὶ τῶν ἀβύσσων καὶ τῶν θαλασσῶν, καὶ ἐπάνω τοῦ
 110 στερεώματος δίκην καταπετάσματος ἐφαπλώσας διέτεινεν αὐτό, ἵνα
 ἡμεῖς μάθωμεν ὅτι τὰ πρὶν ἐσκοτισμένα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὕδατα
 συναγόμενα εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν τῆς ὁμονοίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας
 ἀρπαγῆσονται ποτὲ ἐν νεφέλαις εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἐν οὐρανοῖς,
 115 ἐξαπλούμενα καὶ πλατυνόμενα τὰ μὲν ἐν χώρᾳ ζώντων, τὰ δὲ ἐν παρα-
 δείσῳ, καὶ ἕτερα εἰς αἰωνίους σκηνάς, καὶ ἄλλα ἐν φωτὶ ζώντων, καὶ
 ἄλλα ἐν βασιλείᾳ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἕτερα ἐν πόλει Κυρίου τῶν δυνάμεων κατὰ
 τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ ὅτι Πολλὰί μοναὶ παρὰ τῷ Πατρὶ. Περὶ τῆς
 συναγωγῆς τούτων τῶν λογικῶν ἐθνικῶν ὑδάτων ἔλεγεν ὁ Χριστὸς οὐ
 μόνον διὰ τὰ πρόβατα τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ τὰ διεσκορπισμένα
 120 τέκνα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπισυνάξῃ.

2. Περὶ τούτων τῶν ὑδάτων τῆς θαλάσσης φάσκει ὁ Δαυὶδ πρὸς
 Θεόν· Συνάγων ὥσει ἀσκὸν ὕδατα θαλάσσης, τιθεὶς ἐν θησαυροῖς ἀβύσ-
 σου, θησαυροὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ λέγων τὰς ἐκκλησίας. Ἐνθα τὸ χρυσίον καὶ τὸ
 ἀργύριον τοῦ λόγου τῆς γραφῆς ἀπόκειται ἀπόκρυφον καὶ πνευματικόν,
 125 καὶ ἔνθα οἱ μαργαρίται τῶν θείων μυστηρίων φυλάττονται, οὓς κελευ-
 ὀμεθα μὴ ρίπτειν τοῖς χοίροις, οἱ γὰρ κατ' Ἰούδα τούτους οὐ στέγουσι.
 Θησαυροὶ γοῦν τοῦ Χριστοῦ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι, ἐν αἷς τῷ μὲν τῶν πιστῶν
 δίδονται πέντε τάλαντα, τῷ δὲ δέκα, τῷ δὲ δύο, καὶ ἄλλῳ πάλιν ἐν. Ἐν
 τούτοις τοῖς θησαυροῖς ἐθησαύρισε τὰς πρὶν ἐσκοτισμένας τῶν ἐθνῶν
 130 ἀβύσσους, ὅτι σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου ἔκειτο.

3. Περὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀβύσσου τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ Ἀμβακούμ ὁ προφήτης
 ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἐδῶκεν ἡ ἀβυσσος φωνὴν | αὐτῆς δοξολογοῦσα τὸν 881A
 φωτίσαντα αὐτήν καὶ τὸ ὕψος τῆς φαντασίας αὐτῆς, τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς
 εἰδωλολατρίας, καταλύσαντα. Περὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀβύσσου τῶν λογικῶν
 135 ὑδάτων φησὶν ὁ Δαυὶδ· Φωνὴ Κυρίου ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων, ὁ Θεὸς τῆς δόξης
 διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐβρόντησε, Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶ ὑδάτων πολλῶν καὶ
 ἀμυθήτων ἐθνῶν. Διὸ πάλιν Κύριος τὸν κατακλυσμὸν κατοικεῖ εἰς
 συναγωγὴν μίαν, καὶ καθιεῖται Κύριος ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀναπανό-
 μενος, βασιλεύων αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

140 V 1. Τῇ τρίτῃ τοῖνον ἡμέρᾳ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ ὕδατα εἰς συναγωγὴν
 μίαν. Διὰ τί; Ἐπειδὴ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην Μωσαϊκὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν
 δευτέραν προφητικὴν λατρείαν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ διὰ τῆς σαγήνης τοῦ
 ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου τὰ ἔθνη συνήχθημεν εἰς συναγωγὴν πίστεως μίαν. Διὸ
 καὶ ἔλεγεν ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ ἐκ νεκρῶν τριήμερος ὅτι Σήμερον καὶ αὔριον ποιῶ

110 ἐφαπλώσας] ὑφ' ἀπλώσας P 113 ἐνεφέλαις N 117 add. τοῦ P 118 ἐθνικῶν
 λογικῶν P 119 καὶ] om. P 121 πρὸς] add. τὸν P 128 ἄλλῳ] scripsi ἄλλο] MNP
 129 τοῖς θησαυροῖς] om. N 131 καὶ] om. P 131 Ἀμβακούμ] scripsi ἀββακούμ MN^{corr.} P
 ἀββακούμ N^{corr.} 134 εἰδωλολατρίας P 134 τῆς ἀβύσσου ταύτης P 136 διὰ τοῦ
 εὐαγγελίου] om. P ἐβρόντησε P 139 τοὺς αἰῶνας M 140 ἡμέρᾳ] om. N 141 τί P
 142 σαγήνης N

creation,¹ both the water of the abysses and of the seas. And above the
 firmament he unfurled and draped it like a veil.²

This was done so that we might learn that the waters, which are the
 nations on the earth, which were once in darkness,³ are being brought
 together into one congregation of one mind, the Church of Christ. Then,
 at some time, they will be snatched up in clouds to meet the Lord in the
 heavens.⁴ And they will be dispersed widely: some in the land of the
 living, others in Paradise, still others into eternal tents,⁵ some in the
 light of the living,⁶ others in the kingdom of God,⁷ and others in the city
 of the hosts of the Lord.⁸ As Christ said: "There are many places beside
 my Father."⁹

When Christ spoke about the congregation of these waters, the
 rational nations, it was not only for the sake of the sheep of Israel,¹⁰ but
 also to gather up the scattered children of God.¹¹

2. David speaks to God about these waters of the sea: *Gathering the
 waters of the sea as if into a skin, placing the abysses into treasures.*¹²
 By the *treasures* of God, he means the churches. In these, the gold and
 the silver of the word of Scripture are tucked away—hidden and
 spiritual.¹³ In these, the pearls of the divine mysteries are guarded,
 which we are ordered not to throw before the swine, because pigs like
 Judas do not cherish them.¹⁴ The treasures of Christ are the churches.
 In these, five talents are given to one of the believers, ten to another,
 two to another, and one to yet another.¹⁵ In these treasures, he has
 begun to store up the abysses, which are the nations; these were
 tarnished before, because darkness lay upon the abyss.¹⁶

3. The prophet Habakkuk said this about the abyss of the nations:
The abyss gave forth its voice and praised the one who had illuminated it
 and had torn down *the grandeur of its fantasy*,¹⁷ which was Hellenic
 idolatry. And David says this about the abyss of rational waters: *The
 voice of the Lord over the waters, the God of Glory, thundered* through
 the Gospel—the Lord God over many waters and untold nations.¹⁸

Because of this, the Lord will once again settle the inundation into
 one congregation. And he will take his place upon it, as though resting
 upon a throne, and reign over it forever.¹⁹

V 1. God brought the waters together into one congregation on the
 third day.²⁰ Why? Because the first day was the day of Moses; and the
 second day was the service of the prophets; but on the third day, we the
 nations were brought together into one congregation of faith by the
 fishnet of the Holy Gospel.²¹

On account of this, Christ, who rose from the dead on the third day,
 said: "Today and tomorrow I will do wonders."²² Take note: two days.

¹ Cf Wis 8:1. ² Cf Gen 1:7. ³ Cf Is 9:1; Mt 4:16; Lk 1:79. ⁴ Cf 1 Th 4:17.
⁵ Cf Lk 16:9. ⁶ Cf Job 33:30 (in codex A). ⁷ Cf 1 Cor 15:50; Gal 5:21. ⁸ Ps 47(48):9.
⁹ Jn 14:2. ¹⁰ Cf Mt 10:6. ¹¹ Cf Jn 11:52. ¹² Ps 32(33):7. ¹³ Cf Col 2:3. ¹⁴ Cf Mt 7:6.
¹⁵ Cf Mt 25:15. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 1:2. ¹⁷ Hab 3:10. ¹⁸ Ps 28(29):3. ¹⁹ Cf Ps 28(29):10.
²⁰ Cf Gen 1:13. ²¹ Cf Mt 13:47. ²² Cf Lk 13:32.

145 σημεία· ἰδοὺ δύο ἡμέραι. Σημεῖα δέ φησιν ὅσα ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου, ὅσα ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου, ὅσα διὰ τοῦ Μωσέως, ἀπλῶς ταῦτα τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας ὅσα δι' Ἡλίου καὶ Ἐλισσαΐε καὶ τῶν καθεξῆς προφητῶν. Τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ τῆς ἐπιδημίας αὐτοῦ φαινὴ ἡμέρα τελειοῦται, ἡγουν τὸ τέλειον καὶ ἀπηρτισμένον τῆς σπουδῆς αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου δείκνυσι, Χριστὸς
150 γάρ ἐστι τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν. Καὶ ὁ Παῦλος φησὶν· Ὁ νόμος τέλειος, πάντως ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ νόμου, δηλαδὴ τοῦ Μωσαϊκοῦ, νόμῳ δουλεύω ἀμαρτίας.

2. "Οθεν ὁ ἐν Κανᾷ γάμος τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγένετο. Κανὰ δὲ ἐρμηνεύεται κτίσις, ἐν ἣ κτίσει αὐτοῦ κατιόντος ὁ γάμος ὁ ἀφθορος τῆς ἐνώσεως
155 τοῦ Λόγου καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γέγονε φύσεως. Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ γάμῳ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ πρῶτον θαῦμα ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ ὕδατι ἐποίησεν, ὅτι τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τὸ ὕδωρ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνήγαγεν εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν μεταποιήσας αὐτό, ἢ ἄμπελος ἢ ἀληθινή, ἀπὸ ὕδατος εἰς οἶνον εὐφροσύνης ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτοῦ ταῖς λιθίναις τῆς πέτρας τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὑδρίαις
160 χωρούσαις ἀνὰ μετρητὰς δύο τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης ἢ τρεῖς τοῦ μυστηρίου τῆς Τριάδος τοῦ τριημέρου Θεοῦ τοῦ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ λέγοντος· *Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν*. Πολλὰ γάρ ἦν πρῶην τὰ ὕδατα καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μισραὶ συναγωγαὶ ἐφ' ὅλον τὸ πρόσωπον ἐξηπλωμέναι τῆς γῆς.

3. "Υδατα νῦν λέγω τὰ ἀλλότρια τῆς εὐσεβείας δόγματα καὶ μαθήματα. "Υδωρ ἀναιρετικὸν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς διδασκαλίας, ἀστρολογίας, μαντείας. "Υδωρ αἱματεκχυσίας. "Υδωρ πικρὸν αἰρετικῆς γλωσσολογίας. "Υδωρ σκοτεινὸν καὶ δυσερμηνευτὸν Ἑβραϊκῆς δεισδαιμονίας. Πολλὰ ὑπῆρχον ὕδατα, πολλοὶ ποταμοί, πολλοὶ ποτισμοί, πολλοὶ
170 ποντισταί. Οὗτος ἐδίδασκε μὴ εἶναι Θεόν, οὗτος μὴ εἶναι πρόνοιαν. Οὗτος ἡλιολατρείαν ἐκήρυττεν, οὗτος ξυλολατρείαν, καὶ οὗτος λιθοεῖαν ἐξεπαίδευε, καὶ οὗτος τῷ πυρὶ προσκυνεῖν ἐδίδασκεν. Ἄλλος ἀσέλγειαν ἐμυσταγώγει. Ταῦτα εἰσὶ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ ἄγωνα καὶ ἄποτα καὶ θανατηφόρα καὶ πικρὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὕδατα εἰς πολλὰ ἰ δοχεῖα καὶ
175 ποτίστρας καὶ συναγωγὰς ἀυλιζόμενα καὶ ὑπάρχοντα. Συναγωγὴ Ἀπόλλωνος. Συναγωγὴ Κρόνου. Συναγωγὴ Ἀμμωνος, καὶ ἄλλη Σαράπιδος. Συναγωγὴ Ἰουλοῦς. Συναγωγὴ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ. Συναγωγὴ Πυθίας καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος. Οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ συναγωγὴ πονηρὰ καὶ μοιχαλὶς Ἰουδαϊκὴ ἀντίχριστος καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀντίδικος.

180 VI 1. Διὰ ταύτας οὖν πάσας τὰς δυσσεβεῖς συναγωγὰς καὶ τὰ ἐν

The wonders that he spoke of? Quite simply, those done through Moses in Egypt and the desert belonged to the first day. Those done by Elijah and Elisha and the prophets after them belonged to the second day. But on the third, the radiant day of his arrival is fulfilled.¹ Indeed, the Gospel shows the perfect completion of his eager desire, for Christ is the fulfillment of the Law and the prophets.² Paul said: "The law is perfect³ (certainly, the law of Christ); but through the Law (obviously, the Mosaic Law) *I am a slave to the law of sin.*"⁴

2. For this reason, the wedding at Cana took place on the third day.⁵ Cana translates as "creation". When he entered this creation, the Word was unified with our nature: a wedding that will never go sour. And in this wedding on the third day, Christ performed his first miracle by means of water.⁶ This was because on the third day he is gathering the water of the nations into one congregation, after changing it. He, the true vine, changes the water to joyful wine in his congregations,⁷ in the stone jars made of the rock of the churches. They hold two measures: the Old and the New Testaments. Or three:⁸ the mystery of the Trinity of the three-day God, who said on the third day: "*Let the water under heaven be gathered into one congregation.*"⁹ For many were the waters long ago, and many and varied were the congregations spread over the whole face of the earth.

3. Now let me speak about waters that are the dogmas and teachings foreign to holiness. There was the destructive water of Hellenic doctrine, astrology, and divination. The water of the pouring of blood. The bitter water of heretical talk, talk, talk. And the water of Hebrew superstition: obscure and difficult to interpret. There were many waters, many rivers, much irrigation, and many estuaries. This one taught that God does not exist; and that one taught that his Providence does not exist. This one preached the worship of the Sun, while that one, the worship of wood. This one's catechism was about rocks and stones; and that one's instruction was to genuflect before fire; while another initiated us into the mysteries of debauchery.

These were the first, infertile, undrinkable, deadly, and bitter waters of the inhabited world. They were gathered in the courtyard in many containers, troughs, and congregations. The congregation of Apollo. The congregation of Cronus. The congregation of Ammon, and another of Sarapis. The congregation of Ἰουλο.¹⁰ The congregation of Hermes. The congregation of the Pythia and Artemis. And not only these, but also the evil and adulterous Jewish congregation: the Antichrist and adversary of God.

VI 1. All these unholy congregations, and the infertile waters and

147 δι' δ' ἰ' P 152 μωσαϊκοῦ M 154 κτίσις] MN^acorr. P κτήσις N^pcorr. κτίσει] MN^acorr. P κτήσει N^pcorr. 158 αὐτό] scripsi αὐτόν MNP 163 ἦν] ἦν M 169 ποταμοί, πολλοί] om. MN 171 ἡλιολατρείαν] N^pcorr. ἡλιολατρίαν MN^acorr. P οὗτος] οὕτως P ξυλολατρείαν] N^pcorr. ξυλολατρίαν MN^acorr. P λυθοεῖαν P 172 ἀσέλγειαν N 177 σάραπιδος] N^acorr. σεράπιδος N^pcorr. Ἰουλοῦς] scripsi ἰούλου MNP 179 ἀντίχρηστος P 180 ἀπάσας M δυσσεβῆς M

¹ Cf Lk 13:32. ² Cf Mt 5:17. ³ Cf Rom 7:12, 14, 16; 1 Tim 1:8; Jas 1:25. ⁴ Rom 7:25. ⁵ Cf Jn 2:1. ⁶ Cf Jn 2:11. ⁷ Cf Jn 2:7-9. ⁸ Cf Jn 2:6. ⁹ Gen 1:9. ¹⁰ Ἰουλώ is Demeter as goddess of the sheaves (ἰουλος).

αὐταῖς τῶν λαῶν καὶ ἐθνῶν ἄγωνα ὕδατα καὶ μαθήματα καὶ διδάγματα
 ἐπιτρέπει ὁ Θεὸς μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ λέγων· *Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ*
ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν πίστεως, ἥστινος φωνῆς
 Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀκούσαντα πάντα τὰ ὕδατα καὶ τὰ πέρατα καὶ τὰ
 185 φύλα τὰ βάρβαρα, ὡς περ τότε ἐπὶ τῆς κοσμοποιΐας τὰ ρευστὰ ὕδατα,
 φόβῳ καὶ τρόμῳ ῥυσιδρομοῦντα ἔσπευδον, ἔτρεχον, ἐτάχυνον, οὐκ
 ἀνέμενον, εἰς μίαν συναγωγὴν ἀθροιζόμενα καὶ κινούμενα τὰ βόρεια, τὰ
 νότια, τὰ ἐσπέρια, τὰ ἐξῶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ρεύματα καὶ νάματα, ἄλλη
 λαμπροφθάνοντα, ὡς ὑπὸ τινος βιαίου καὶ θείου πνεύματος τοῦ ἐπάνω
 190 αὐτῶν ἐπιφερομένου ἐλαυνόμενα καὶ συνωθούμενα, ἵνα μία συναγωγὴ
 καὶ θάλασσα πάντα τὰ τῆς γῆς ὕδατα γένωνται. Οὕτως ἔστιν ἰδεῖν
 πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ μάλιστα κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς,
 ὑπὸ τῆς φωνῆς ἐκείνης τῆς γενομένης βιαίας τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ
 ἐπιφερομένου καὶ νῦν ἐπάνω τοῦ ἐθνικοῦ πιστοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ συναχθέντος
 195 εἰς μίαν συναγωγὴν πίστεως καὶ ἐνωθέντος, συνθέοντα εἰς ἓν πῆγμα τῆς
 ἐκκλησίας καὶ συντρέχοντα. "Ὅρα γὰρ οὐ μόνον πράγμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 αὐτοῖς τοῖς ῥήμασιν, ἰσχυροῦσαν καὶ συμφωνοῦσαν τὴν ἔνωσιν ἐκείνων
 τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ τούτων τῶν ἐθνικῶν ὑδάτων τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἐπιφερό-
 μενον ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος. Τότε αὐτὸ πνεῦσαν συνήλασεν αὐτὰ καὶ
 200 ἦνωσεν εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν, καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐπιφοιτήσας
 καὶ ἐμπνεῦσαν τὴν ἔνωσιν ἐποίησε τῶν ἐθνῶν. Ἐκεῖ γέγραπται ὅτι τὸ
Πνεῦμα ἐκάθητο, καὶ ὧδε γέγραπται ὅτι *Ἐκάθισεν ἐφ' ἓνα ἕκαστον*
αὐτῶν τὸ Πνεῦμα. Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τοῦ φωτὸς τὸ πῦρ ὁ
 Θεὸς ἐποίησε, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν πυρίναις
 205 γλώσσαις τὸ φῶς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐπεφοιτήσας. Ἐκεῖ γέγραπται τῇ
 τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ συναχθὲν τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανόν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ
 ὥρᾳ, γέγραπται, *ἦσαν* συνηγμένοι ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν
 οὐρανόν ὁμοθυμαδόν πάντα τὰ ἐθνικὰ ὕδατα, *Πάρθοι <καὶ> Μῆδοι καὶ*
Ἑλαμίται, καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, Ἰουδαίαν τε καὶ Καπ-
 210 *παδοκίαν, Πόντον καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν, Αἴγυπτόν*
τε καὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύης τῆς κατὰ Κυρήνην, Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ
προσέλυτοι, Κρήτες καὶ Ἀραβες, οἵτινες ἅπαντες ἀκούσαντες τῆς φωνῆς
 τῆς γενομένης ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς περ τῶν ὑδάτων ὄλων τὸ πλῆθος ἅμα
 215 συνήχθησαν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ οὗ ἦσαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι. Βαβαὶ τῶν καινῶν
 πραγμάτων τούτων.

2. Οὐδὲν διαφέρει τὸ εἰπεῖν· *Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ*
οὐρανοῦ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν πρὸς τὸ εἰπεῖν ὅτι *Καὶ* συνήχθη καὶ
συνεχύθη ὅλον ἐκεῖνο τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων.

189 λαμπροφθάνοντα] *add.* καὶ κυ· μαινόμενα M^{p.corr.} καὶ κυμαινόμενα P εὐκυμαινόμενα N
 194 τοῦ] οὐ M 195 ἐνωθέντος M 197 ἰσχυροῦσαν N συμφωνοῦσαν N 198 ἐθνικῶν P
 200 πνεῦμα] *add.* τὸ N 203/4 ἡμέρα - τῇ] *om. per homoeoteleuton M^{a.corr.} et M^{p.corr.}*
 204 *om.* M^{p.corr.} καὶ] *om.* P 207 τῶν] τὸν MN 208 ἐθνικὰ P καὶ] *scripsi om.* MNP
 μῆδαι P 212 Ἀραβες MN^{p.corr.} πάντες MN 217 καὶ] *om.* P

teachings and doctrines of the peoples and nations in them! On account
 of these, God commands in a loud voice saying: "*Let the water under*
heaven be gathered into one congregation of faith."¹

This was the voice of God the Christ. All the waters and the ends of
 the earth and the barbarian tribes heard it and then, just like the
 flowing waters at the creation of the universe, the currents and streams
 of the inhabited world began to rush forward, fearful and trembling.
 They were excited, they ran, they were quick, they did not delay. From
 the north, south, west, and east they moved and began to amass into one
 congregation. Brightly they outran one another, as if driven and
 compelled by some divine and powerful spirit bearing down upon them,
 so that all the waters of the earth might become one gathering and sea.

It is possible to see all the nations running together in this way and
 joining in one bond, the Church, on that first Pentecost.² The faithful
 Gentile water³ was brought together and unified in one congregation of
 faith⁴ by the strong voice of the Spirit, now borne above it. See how, not
 only in the events but also in the description itself, the unification first
 of those waters and then of these Gentile waters speak in harmony
 about the Spirit borne above the water. In the former, the Spirit's
 blowing drove together and united them into one congregation. In the
 latter, the Spirit itself came, inspired, and created the unification of the
 nations. There it was written that the Spirit rested;⁵ here it is written
 that *the Spirit rested on each one of them*.⁶ On that first day, after the
 light, God created fire.⁷ On this first day, a Sunday, the light of the Holy
 Spirit came in tongues of fire.⁸ There it was written that on the third
 day the water of the earth under heaven was gathered together.⁹ Here it
 is written that in the third hour¹⁰ *they, with one heart, were*¹¹ gathered
from every nation under heaven.¹² All the waters of the nations:
Parthians, Medes, Elamites; inhabitants of Mesopotamia, of Judea, and
Cappadocia; Pontus and Asia; Phrygia and Pamphylia; and Egypt and
the regions of Libya around Cyrene; Romans (both Jews and converts),
Cretans, and Arabs.¹³ All of them, hearing the voice that came from
 heaven, were brought together like the multitude¹⁴ of all waters into the
 house where the apostles were staying.¹⁵ Goodness gracious, such novel
 events!

2. There is no difference between these two statements: "*Let the*
water under heaven be gathered into one congregation"¹⁶ and "*the whole*
multitude of people was brought together, indeed it was poured together,

¹ Gen 1:9. ² Acts 2:1-2. ³ Cf Gen 1:2. ⁴ Cf Acts 2:5-6. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:2. ⁶ Acts 2:3.
⁷ Cf Gen 1:3. ⁸ Cf Acts 2:3. ⁹ Cf Gen 1:9. ¹⁰ Cf Acts 2:15. ¹¹ Acts 2:1. ¹² Acts 2:5.
¹³ Acts 2:9-11. ¹⁴ Cf Acts 2:6. ¹⁵ Cf Acts 2:2. ¹⁶ Gen 1:9.

Τὸ γὰρ συνεχύθη λίαν ἀρμόζει ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων λέγεσθαι καλῶς καὶ
 220 πρεπόντως. Τοῖς γὰρ λογικοῖς ὕδασι, τότε καὶ τοῖς Χριστοῦ ἀλιεῦσι καὶ
 ὕδασι, διὰ τὸ ἐν κήρυγμα κοινὸς ὁ βίος, κοινὴ ἡ ζωὴ. Οὐκοῦν μάλα τῷ
 Χριστῷ δεσπότη ἀρμόδιον τὸ λέγειν· Ἰ. *Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκά-* 883A
τω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν. Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ, τοὺς ἀλιεῖς
 γὰρ ἡντρέπισε. Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ, ὁ γὰρ Πέτρος ἤδη τὸν σταυρὸν ὡς
 225 κώπην ἐμβάπτει κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς κοσμικῆς. Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ,
 ἢ γὰρ σαγήνη τοῦ λόγου ἡτοίμασται. Ἀθροίζεσθω τὸ ὕδωρ, τὸ γὰρ
 ἀμφίβληστρον ἄρρηκτον. Ταχυνέτω τὸ ὕδωρ, τὰ γὰρ σκάφη παρίσταν-
 ται. Συνελθέτω τὸ ὕδωρ, οἱ γὰρ βαπτίζοντες σπεύδουσιν. Ἀγιασθήτω
 τὸ ὕδωρ, ὁ γὰρ πρόδρομος ἔφθασε, πρὸς ὃν καὶ τὰ ὕδατα τῶν λαῶν
 230 ἔτρεχον καὶ περιέτρεχον τῷ συναγεσθαι καὶ ἀθροίζεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

3. Ἐκεῖνος ὁ πρόδρομος τῶν ἀρχαίων ὑδάτων πρόδρομος καὶ τούτου
 τοῦ προδρόμου καὶ πρόγραμμα ἐτύγχανε καὶ τῶν πρὸς Χριστὸν
 τρεχόντων καὶ προστρεχόντων καὶ πιστευόντων λογικῶν ὑδάτων
 τύπος καὶ ὑπόδειγμα. Δι' ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀρχαίου προδρόμου τῶν ὑδάτων
 235 συνέστησαν αἱ πηγαὶ τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ ἀνεκαλύφθη τὰ θεμέλια τῆς οἰκου-
 μένης διὰ τούτου τοῦ προδρόμου τῶν ἐθνικῶν ὑδάτων ἐστερεώθη καὶ
 ἐκτίσθη τὰ θεμέλια τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς οἰκουμένης. Ἐκεῖνα τὰ ὕδατα
 τρέχοντα ἀπεκάλυψαν διὰ τοῦ σφοδροῦ δρόμου πάντα τὰ ὄρη τὰ πρὶν
 κεκαλυμμένα, προμηνύοντα τὸν δρόμον τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἀποκαλύπτοντα καὶ
 240 ἐμφανίζοντα τὰ ὄρη τῶν Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν πρὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ σκότους
 καλυπτομένων καὶ συμπνιγομένων πρὸ ἐκείνου τοῦ πρώτου δρόμου τῶν
 ὑδάτων. Πέτρα ἐπὶ γῆς οὐκ ἐγνωρίζετο, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δρόμου τῶν ἐθνι-
 κῶν ὑδάτων Χριστὸν τὴν πέτραν οὐκ ἐγνώκαμεν. Ἐκεῖνα τὰ ὕδατα
 συναχθέντα τὸ φῶς τῇ γῇ ἐνεφάνησαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ συνδρομῇ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὁ
 245 τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀνέτειλεν ἥλιος. Πρὸ ἐκείνου τοῦ δρόμου τῶν ὑδάτων
 πετεινὸν ἐπὶ γῆς οὐ κατεσκήνωσε, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐπισυναγωγῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν
 τοῦ δρόμου τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἡ περιστέρα ἐν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐνέκησε.
 Πρὸ ἐκείνης τῆς συναγωγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος οὐδόλως καρπὸν ἡ γῆ ἔδειξεν,
 ὥσπερ οὐδὲ πρὸ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῆς Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας καρπὸν ἡ γῆνη
 250 φύσις ἐκέκτητο, τὰς ἀρετάς φημι. Διὰ τῆς συναγωγῆς τοῦ πρώτου
 ὕδατος ἄρτον ἄνθρωπος ἔφαγε, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπισυναγωγῇ ἡμῶν τῶν
 ἐθνῶν ὁ οὐράνιος ἄρτος εἰς βρωσιν ἐπέφανεν. Οὐράνια ταῦτα πάντα τὰ
 ἀγαθὰ τῇ γῇ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γίνονται.

VII 1. Προφητικῶς εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· *Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω*
 255 *τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν καὶ ὀφθήτω ἡ ξηρά.* Τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ
 ἐκ βυθοῦ ἀναφέρει τὴν γῆν ὁ Θεὸς σαφῶς τὴν τριήμερον τοῦ Χριστοῦ

in the house of the apostles."¹ *Was poured together* can also be harmoni-
 cally applied to the waters and be beautifully appropriate. And through
 that one proclamation, life in general was given to the waters, and the
 way of Life was given in common to the rational waters² and also to the
 fishermen of Christ.³ *"Let the water under heaven be gathered into one*
*congregation."*⁴ Therefore this statement is perfectly suited to Christ the
 King. *Let the water be gathered*, for he has prepared the fishermen.⁵ *Let*
the water be gathered, for Peter is already dipping the cross, like an oar,
 down into the sea of the world.⁶ *Let the water be gathered*, for the net of
 the Word is ready.⁷ Let the water be amassed, for the casting net is
 unbreakable.⁸ Let the water make haste, for the fishing boats are
 present.⁹ Let the water come together, for the baptizers are eager. Let
 the water be sanctified; for the forerunner has already come, and the
 waters of the peoples have run forward and encircled him, to be rallied
 and unified.¹⁰

3. That running forward of the ancient waters was a forerunner and
 proclamation of this running forward; it was a type and model for the
 rational waters rushing to Christ and joining and believing him. When
 the ancient waters ran forward, *the fonts of waters* became united, *and*
*the foundations of the habitable world were revealed.*¹¹ And when the
 Gentile waters ran forward, the foundations of the habitable Church
 were built and strengthened. Those other waters, running in a headlong
 rush, exposed all the mountains, which had been covered before. This
 was a premonition of the Gentiles' rush, which revealed and made
 manifest the mountains of the Christian churches, which before that
 first surge of waters, had been covered and smothered by darkness.

Rock was not known on the face of the earth. Likewise, before the
 rush of the Gentile waters, we did not know about Christ the Rock.¹²

When those other waters had been gathered, the light appeared on
 the earth. When the nations rushed together, there dawned the sun of
 righteousness.¹³ Before that other rush of waters, no bird made its nest
 on the earth.¹⁴ Before the rush of the gathering nations,¹⁵ the dove of the
 Holy Spirit¹⁶ did not dwell among us.¹⁷ Before that other congregation of
 water, the earth showed no harvest at all.¹⁸ Before the congregation of
 the Church of Christ, our earthly nature had never produced a harvest—
 of virtues, I mean. Because of that gathering of the first water, man
 could eat bread. And when we the nations assembled, heavenly bread
 appeared, so as to nourish us.¹⁹ It is from heaven that all good things
 come for the earth of man.

VII 1. God said this as a prophecy: *"Let the water under heaven be*
*gathered into one congregation, and let the dry land be seen."*²⁰

On the third day, God raised the earth from the deep, so that it would
 no longer remain arid. Here clearly he was describing beforehand
 the resurrection of Christ after three days, who rose from the Hades of

221 κοινός] κοινῶς P 222 τό? add. συναχθήτω τὸ per dittographiam M^acorr. 223 τὸ ὕδωρ]
 om. N 224 ἡντρέπισε] scripsi ἡντρέπισα MN ἡντρέπησαν P 228 γὰρ] add. οἱ γὰρ per
 dittographiam P 230 τῷ] τὸ P 231 τούτου καὶ P 236/7 διὰ - οἰκουμένης] om. per
 homoeoteleuton P 240 ἐμφανίζοντα P 242 ἐγνωρίζετο N 244 ἐνεφάνησαν] MN^acorr. P
 ἐνεφάνισαν N^pcorr. 245 add. ὑ ἀδ lineae finem P 248 οὐδ' ὅλως N 252 ὁ] om. N

¹ Acts 2:6. ² The early communities of Christians; cf Acts 2:44; 4:32. ³ Cf Mt 4:18-19;
 Mk 1:16-17; Lk 5:2. ⁴ Gen 1:9. ⁵ Cf Mt 4:19; Mk 1:17. ⁶ Cf Lk 5:3. ⁷ Cf Mt 13:47.
⁸ Cf Lk 5:4-7. ⁹ Cf Lk 5:2. ¹⁰ Cf Acts 2:1-11. ¹¹ Ps 17(18):16. ¹² Cf 1 Cor 10:4.
¹³ Cf Mal 3:20. ¹⁴ Cf Ps 103(104):12. ¹⁵ Cf Acts 2:5-11. ¹⁶ Cf Mt 3:16; Mk 1:10;
 Lk 3:22; Jn 1:32. ¹⁷ Cf Acts 2:2-4; Rom 8:11; 2 Tim 1:14. ¹⁸ Cf Gen 1:9-12. ¹⁹ Cf Jn
 6:31-35, 41, 48-51, 58; Acts 2:42. ²⁰ Gen 1:9.

προδιαγράφων ἐξ ἄδου ἀνάστασιν τῆς γῆνης ἡμῶν φύσεως, ἵνα μηκέτι
 μείνη ξηρά. Ὁφθῇτω καὶ ἀποκαλυφθῇτω ἡ ξηρὰ καὶ ἄκαρπος ἐθνικὴ
 ἐκκλησία ἢ ποτε κρυβεῖσα ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς γυμνὴ γινομένη ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ
 260 διαβόλου συμβουλῆς. Ὁφθῇτω ἡ ξηρὰ καὶ ἔρημος ἡ διψῶσα, ὅτι ἐρράγη
 ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ὕδωρ, ἵνα μηκέτι μείνη ξηρά. Ὁφθῇτω καὶ ἐλθέτω ἡ ξηρὰ
 πρὸς τὴν πηγὴν τῆς ζωῆς. Ἐλθέτω ἡ ποτε ἐθνικὴ Σαμαρεῖτις φέρουσα
 τὴν ὑδρίαν τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς τὸ φρέαρ τὸ ζῶν, καθέζεται γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς
 περιμένων αὐτήν. Ὁφθῇτω ἡ ξηρὰ καὶ αἰμορροοῦσα κακῶς τῇ εἰδωλο-
 265 λατρίᾳ, ἵνα ξηρανθῇ ἡ τοῦ αἵματος ρύσις ὅπερ κατέθυε, καὶ ἀναβλύσῃ ἡ
 τοῦ βαπτίσματος βλύσις.

2. Ὁφθῇτω ἡ ξηρὰ περιαιρεῖται τὸ πονηρὸν κάλυμμα τῆς αἰσχύνης
 τῆς ψυχῆς· λύεται τὸ μεσότοιχον τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν τὸ διαχωρίζον τὸν
 Θεὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς. Ὁφθῇτω ἡ κεκαλυμμένη μηκέτι τυφλώττουσα, ἀλλ'
 270 ὁρῶσα ὅτι ὦφθη ὁ Θεὸς τῶν θεῶν ἐν Σιών. Ἀνανευσάτω λοιπὸν καὶ ἀν-
 ελθέτω ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ τῆς ἀγνοίας ἢ ποτε ξηρὰ ἐκκλησία, ἵνα τὰς ἀκτῖνας
 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἡλίου δέξεται, ἵνα τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν θεάσῃται, ἵνα τὴν
 ἀκτῖνα τοῦ Πνεύματος εἰσκομίσῃται, ἵνα τὸν κατερχόμενον ὡς ὑετὸν
 πλουτήσῃ. Ἀποκαλυφθῇτω ἡ ξηρὰ, ὅτι φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθνῶν
 275 ἐπεδήμησε.

3. Καὶ καιρὸς λοιπὸν αὐτὴν ἀποδύσασθαι καὶ ἀποθέσθαι τὸ σκότος τὸ
 ἐπικείμενον ἐπάνω αὐτῆς, τῶν ἐπικειμένων πονηρῶν καὶ ἀγόνων
 ὑδάτων δαιμόνων, ὅπως ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἐπικείμενον αὐτῇ ὑποκείμενον καὶ
 καταπατούμενον ὑφ' αὐτὴν κτήσεται παραπεμπόμενον ὑποκάτω αὐτῆς
 280 ἐν τῇ ἀβύσσῳ, καὶ ἀκούσασθαι· Ἰδοὺ ἔδωκά σοι ἐξουσίαν πατεῖν ἐπάνω
 τοῦ ποτε ἐπικειμένου καὶ ἀντικειμένου, νῦν δὲ κάτω ὑποκειμένου σοι
 σκότους. Τῇ γὰρ βεβιασμένη ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑποβρύχια καὶ ὑποπόδια ὑποτάξω
 πάντα τὰ ἐπίγεια καὶ ἐπουράνια ὕδατα τὴν ξηρανθεῖσαν φύσιν καὶ
 σάρκα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ ἐξορίᾳ καὶ στερήσει τῆς πηγῆς τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ
 285 παραδείσου ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς ἀναφέρων καὶ πάσης ἐξουσίας, ἐν τῷ
 θρόνῳ τῷ Χερουβικῷ ἐμφανίζων αὐτὴν τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ δὲ
 αὐτὴν ἐπιδημήσας Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ λέγων· *Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ*
ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν καὶ ὁφθῇτω ἡ ξηρὰ, ὅπως
 290 *πρὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καλλωπισθῇ ἡ ξηρὰ*. Δι' αὐτὴν γὰρ *ἐξηλθεν ὁ σπείρων*
τοῦ σπείραι καὶ ποτίσαι καὶ κοσμησαι τὴν ξηράν. Ὁ γὰρ σπόρος ἔτοιμος
 τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. Ὁ σπορεὺς πρόθυμος ὁ Χριστός. Οἱ ἐργάται ἔτοιμοι οἱ
 ἀπόστολοι. Οἱ θερισταὶ δόκιμοι οἱ διδάσκαλοι. Οἱ βόες· δοκνοὶ οἱ τὸν
 σταυρὸν ἔλκοντες. Ὁ ζυγὸς ἐπιτήδειος, οὐ γὰρ τρίβει τὸ περιαισχύνιον.
 295 Τὰ φυτὰ εὐθαλῆ, τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀρετῶν προβλέπει ὑψίκομον. Αἱ χῶραι
 τῶν ἐθνῶν λευκαὶ καὶ καθαραὶ τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θερισμοῦ

our earthly nature. Also, let the dry and infertile Church of the Gentiles
 be revealed and seen. She, as though she were naked under advice from
 the devil, once hid herself from God.¹ Let the dry wasteland be seen: she
 thirsting for water to burst forth in the desert, so that she would no
 longer remain arid.² Let the dry one be seen and let her come forward to
 the spring of life.³ Let her come, the Gentile woman, the Samaritan,⁴
 bearing the pitcher⁵ of her soul to the living well. Christ will sit down
 and stay beside her.⁶ Let the dry one be seen: indeed afflicted with the
 evil hemorrhage of idolatry.⁷ Let the flow of blood that poured down
 become dry,⁸ and let the spring of Baptism bubble up.

2. *Let the dry land be seen.*⁹ The evil veil, concealing the soul's shame,
 is stripped away.¹⁰ The wall of sins that separated her from God is dis-
 mantled.¹¹ Let the veiled one be seen. No longer is she blinded, but sees
 that the God of gods is manifest on Mount Zion.¹² Let her finally raise
 her head. Let her rise up from her deep ignorance, the once desolate
 Church, so that she might receive the rays of the heavenly sun, so that
 she might gaze upon the true light,¹³ so that she might receive the
 Spirit's beam inside, and so that she might be enriched by Him, coming
 down like rain. Let the dry land be revealed, so that *the light* might
 come to stay, *for the revelation of the nations.*¹⁴

3. It was finally time that she undress and put away the darkness
 that clothed her,¹⁵ the evil and infertile waters, the demons that lay
 upon her. What had been lying atop her might now be held beneath her:
 put down, trampled, and dismissed to the abyss below her.

It was finally time for her to hear: "Look. I gave you the power to
 trample on the darkness,¹⁶ which once had been lying upon you and
 oppressing you. Now it is lying beneath you.

"For I will put down all the waters, on earth and in heaven, far down
 under the feet of the Church, which had been violated. And I am lifting
 up and raising above every power and every authority¹⁷ the body of
 withered human nature, which had been exiled and deprived of the
 fountain of life in Paradise.¹⁸ I, Christ, who came down for her, am
 presenting her on the Cherubic throne to the face of God.¹⁹ It is I, God,
 who says: *'Let the water under heaven be gathered into one congregation.*
*And let the dry land be seen.'*²⁰ I want the dry land to be shown in all her
 beauty before heaven."

So for her, *the sower went out to sow*²¹ and to irrigate and cultivate
 the dry earth. The seed was ready: it was the Good News.²² The sower
 was eager: for he was Christ. The workers were ready: his apostles.²³
 And the harvesters are proven true: the teachers.²⁴ The oxen are
 determined as they drag the cross.²⁵ The yoke fits just right and does not
 chaff the collar.²⁶ The firstlings flourish and predict a high yield of

¹ Cf Gen 3:1-8. ² Cf Is 35:1, 6-7. ³ Cf Jn 4:10-11. ⁴ Cf Jn 4:7. ⁵ Cf Jn 2:6-7; 4:28.

⁶ Cf Jn 4:6, 27. ⁷ Cf Mt 9:20. ⁸ Cf Mk 5:25, 29; Lk 8:44. ⁹ Gen 1:9. ¹⁰ Cf 2 Cor 3:16.

¹¹ Cf Eph 2:14. ¹² Cf Ps 83(84):8. ¹³ Cf Jn 1:9. ¹⁴ Lk 2:32. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 1:2. ¹⁶ Cf Lk

10:19. ¹⁷ Cf Gen 3:23. ¹⁸ Cf Eph 1:21-22. ¹⁹ Cf Ez 10:1; Heb 9:24. ²⁰ Gen 1:9.

²¹ Mk 4:3; Lk 8:5; cf Mt 13:3. ²² Cf Lk 8:11. ²³ Cf Mt 9:37-10:4. ²⁴ Cf Mt 13:30, 39.

²⁵ Cf Mt 10:38, 11:29, 16:24; Mk 8:34; Lk 9:23, 14:27. ²⁶ Cf Mt 11:29-30.

257 γῆνης] γηγενούς MN 258 ἐθνικὴ P 259 γυμνὴ] add. καὶ P 261 ἢ] om. P
 262 ἐθνικὴ P 265 ἀναβλύσει 268 μεσότοιχον MN 273 κατερχόμενον ὡς] κατερχο-
 μένων N^a.^{corr.} κατερχόμενον(ον) ὡς N^p.^{corr.} κατεχόμενον ὡς P 280 ἀκούσασα P
 281 ὑποκείμενου σοι] ὑποκείμενους P 284 στερήσει P 287 ὁ] om. P 290 ἔτοιμος] om. P

συγκομιδὴν. Ἡ ἄλως τῆς ἐκκλησίας εὐρύχωρος. Αἱ αὐλακες καλλιέργει, ὁ γὰρ Βαπτιστὴς αὐτὰς προανατέμνει. Αἱ ἄρουραι καρποφόροι, *Ποιήσατε* γὰρ φησιν ὁ αὐτὸς *καρπούς ἀξίους τῆς μετανοίας*.

4. Λοιπὸν ἀποκαλυφθῆτω καὶ ὀφθῆτω ἡ ξηρά, ὅπως οἱ θεμέλιοι αὐτῆς
300 τεθῶσιν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς ἁγίοις τῆς πίστεως οἱ σαθρωθέντες ἐκ τῶν περικλυζόντων αὐτὴν περιρρύτων ὑδάτων, ὅπως στερεώσω αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων τῆς κολυμβήθρας, ὅπως ἐν ταῖς τοῦ βαπτίσματος σταγόσιν αὐτῆς εὐφρανθήσεται ἀνατέλλουσα ἡ πάλαι ξηρά οὐσα καὶ ἀνικμος θείας ἐπιρροῆς, ὅπως ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κατασκευῇ τὰ μὲν ὄρη τῶν χωρῶν
305 ἀγαλλιάσονται, οἱ δὲ βουνοὶ τῶν πόλεων σκιρτήσωσιν, αἱ δὲ ἀγέλαι τῶν λαῶν εὐφρανθήσονται, ἡ δὲ θάλασσα ἡ ἐναντία φευξεῖται ἡ πονηρὰ ἀλμυρὰ ἀπιστία, ὁ δὲ Ἰορδάνης τοῦ βαπτίσματος τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀποστραφῇ εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω τοὺς τοῦτον φεύγοντας καὶ μὴ δεχομένους τὸ βάπτισμα.

5. Ὅθεν φησὶ περὶ Θεοῦ ὁ προφήτης· Ὁ συνταράσσων τὸ κύτος τῆς
310 θαλάσσης· ἤχους κυμάτων αὐτῆς τίς ὑποστήσεται; Ἀλλὰ σὺ δεσπόζεις τοῦ κράτους τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸν δὲ σάλον τῶν κυμάτων αὐτῆς σὺ καταπραύνεις. Σὲ γὰρ προτυπῶν Ἰωνᾶς ὁ προφήτης, ἡνίκα κατὰ θαλάσσης ἐρρίφη, γαλήνην ἐποίησε | τοῦ θανατώσαντος κλύδωνος, ὡς σὺ τῆς
315 εἰδωλολατρίας τῆς παγκοσμίου θαλαττίας φθορᾶς. Τὸν σὸν γὰρ θάνατον καὶ τὴν σὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐξεικονίζων ὑπνώσεν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ, ὡς περ ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ τοῦ σταυροῦ σὺ, καὶ μετὰ τὸν ὕπνον ἀπερρίφη ἐν τῷ βυθῷ ὡς ἐν λάκκῳ κατωτάτῳ τοῦ ἄδου καὶ τοῦ τάφου τοῦ κήτους, ὃ δὴ σοι γέγονε μετὰ τὸν σταυρόν, καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῖς ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας συμπλέουσι προτυπῶν τὸ λειοκυμονεῖν τῇ τότε νηὶ ἐδωρήσατο. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ
320 ὁ κελεύων καὶ λέγων· *Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν, καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως*.

VIII 1. Καὶ συνήχθη τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὰς
325 συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν. Ἰδοὺ οὐκ ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸ γράμμα, οὐδὲ συνήχθη τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ ὕδατα συνήχθησαν εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν, φησὶν, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ξηρὰν γῆν καὶ τὰ συστήματα, τουτέστι τὰς συναγωγὰς, τῶν ὑδάτων ἐκάλεσε θαλάσσας. Τί μοι λέγεις πρὸς ταῦτα, ὦ Ἑβραῖε; Ὅσον γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ἐγένετο καὶ οὐχὶ καθὼς ἐπέτρεπεν ὁ Θεός. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ μία συναγωγὴ ἦν, μία θάλασσα, ἐν πέλαγος, εἰς βυθός,
330 ἐν ὕδωρ, ὁμοῦ ὅλον τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν, ἀδιαίρετον, ἡνωμένον, ἄσχιστον, ὅτε δὲ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· *Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν*, διηρέθη μᾶλλον τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰς πολλὰ ὕδατα γενόμενον, ὡς ἤδη προεῖπον. Πολλὰ συστήματα, πολλαὶ συναγωγαί, πολλαὶ

virtues. The fields of the Gentiles are clear and clean to the soul, ready for harvesting.¹ The threshing floor of the Church is broad.² The furrows are straight, for the Baptist had opened them up. "Bring forth fruit," he said, "worthy of your change in heart."³ And the acres are prodigious.⁴

4. "And so, let the dry land be uncovered and seen.⁵ Only then can her foundations, enfeebled by torrents that had raged and crashed around her, be firmly fixed by the holy mountains of faith.⁶ Only then can I strengthen her with the waters of Baptism.⁷ Then she, who once was arid and deprived of divine irrigation, will rise up and rejoice in the rain of her Baptism.⁸ Then at this her adornment, the mountains in the countryside will move for joy.⁹ The hills in the cities will skip.¹⁰ The herds of peoples will be glad. And the opposing sea will flee. Oh that evil, bitter, faithless sea! But the Jordan River, which baptizes the nations, will send back in retreat those who flee it and will not receive its Baptism."¹¹

5. For this reason, the prophet says of God: *When he shakes the basin of the sea, who will endure the roar of its waves?*¹² But you rule the strength of the sea. You calm the fits of its waves.¹³

Jonah the prophet was your prototype. When he was hurled down below the sea, he brought tranquility to the raging storm, which was hungry for death.¹⁴ So also you brought tranquility in place of idolatry, which was the shipwreck of the whole world. Jonah also created an image of your death and resurrection, by falling asleep in the ship, as you on the wood of your cross.¹⁵ And after his sleep, Jonah was pulled down to the deep, as to the bottom of the pit of Hades, and into the tomb of the whale.¹⁶ The like happened to you, after the crucifixion.¹⁷ And Jonah then bestowed smooth sailing on the craft, thus showing a symbolic type of the salvation offered to those sailing aboard the ship of the Church. For it was you that called out and said: "Let the water under heaven be gathered into one congregation."¹⁸

And so it happened.¹⁸

VIII 1. And the water under heaven was gathered into their congregations.¹⁹

Look! It did not happen according to the letter. The water under heaven was not gathered into one congregation. Instead, it says that many waters were gathered into their congregations. And God called the dry part "earth", and he called the gatherings of waters—that is, the congregations—"seas".²⁰

What are you, O Hebrew, going to say to me about these things? How much in the narrative happened not as God had ordered, but the opposite? First there was one congregation, one sea, one ocean, one depth, one water, all the water under heaven together: unseparated, unified, without division. But when God said: "Let the water be gathered into one congregation,"²¹ the water under heaven separated and became

303 αὐτῆς] MNP cf Ps. 64(65):11 lege αὐτῇ 306 εὐφρανθήσονται N 307/8 ἀποστραφῇ] ἀπογραφῇ P 310 τις P 310 δεσπόζεις P 311/2 καταπραύνεις P^{con}. 313 θανατώσαντος M 314 εἰδωλολατρίας N 316 μετὰ] om. M^{con}. 319 εἶ] om. P 320/2 εἰς - οὐρανοῦ] om. per homoeoteleuton P 327 θαλάσας M 329 μὲν γὰρ] om. P

¹ Cf Jn 4:35. ² Mt 3:12; Lk 3:17. ³ Lk 3:8. ⁴ Mt 13:23; Mk 4:20; Lk 8:15. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:9. ⁶ Cf Ps 86(87):1. ⁷ Cf Ps 135(136):6. ⁸ Ps 64(65):11. ⁹ Cf Ps 97(98):8. ¹⁰ Cf Ps 113(114):4. ¹¹ Cf Ps 113(114):3. ¹² Ps 64(65):8 (in codex Sinaiticus manu correctoris). ¹³ Ps 88(89):10. ¹⁴ Cf Jon 1:15. ¹⁵ Cf Jon 1:5; Mt 8:24; Mk 4:38; Lk 8:23. ¹⁶ Cf Jon 1:15, 2:1. ¹⁷ Cf Mt 12:40. ¹⁸ Gen 1:9. ¹⁹ Gen 1:9. ²⁰ Gen 1:10. ²¹ Gen 1:9.

θάλασσαι, καθὼς αὐτὴ ἡ λέξις τῆς γραφῆς μαρτυρεῖ λέγουσα ὅτι
 335 *Συνήχθη τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν.*
Αὐτῶν τίνων; Πρόδηλον ὅτι τῶν πολλῶν ὑδάτων εἰς πολλὰς συναγω-
γὰς διαιρεθέντων. Διὸ φησιν ὅτι Καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ξηρὰν γῆν καὶ
τὰ συστήματα τῶν ὑδάτων ἐκάλεσε θαλάσσας.

2. Οὐκοῦν φέρε πάλιν τὸ καταπέτασμα καὶ συγκάλυμμα τοῦ
 340 γράμματος. Διανοίξαντες πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ νοήσωμεν τὰ τοῦ
 Πνεύματος λόγια λέγοντες ὅτι συναγωγή μία καὶ ἀδιαίρετος ὕδατος
 ἐστὶν ἡ ὀρθὴ καὶ ἀμώμητος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰς Θεὸν εὐσέβεια,
 συναγωγαὶ δὲ ὕδατος εἰσὶν αἱ κατὰ τόπον τῶν χωρῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν
 ἐκκλησίαι, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Παῦλος διδάσκει λέγων· *Ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ.*
 345 *Τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Ῥωμαίων· ἰδοὺ Θεοῦ συναγωγή. Τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Κορίνθου· ἰδοὺ*
καὶ ἄλλη συναγωγή. Τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεσσαλονικέων· ἰδοὺ καὶ ἄλλο σύστη-
μα ὑδάτων. Ὡσπερ γὰρ μία βασιλεία οὐρανῶν ἐστὶν, ἔχει δὲ πολλὰς
μονάς, ὥς φησιν ὁ Χριστός, οὕτω καὶ μία κοινὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία, εἰσὶ
δὲ κατὰ μέρος ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ κόσμου τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως.

3. Ἐπισημῆνασθαι δὲ κατὰ τόπον καὶ τοῦτο χρή, ὅτι, ὅτε σὺν τῷ
 οὐρανῷ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν γῆν, οὐκ ἐκαλεῖτο ξηρὰ, καρποφόρον γὰρ
 ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ οὐ ξηρόν, ὅτε δὲ συνεπνίγη ὑπὸ τοῦ
 ἐπικειμένου σκότους καὶ ὕδατος, τότε ἐγένετο ξηρὰ καὶ νεκρά. Εἴτα
 355 *καλῶν αὐτὴν ὁ Θεὸς πάλιν εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον φωτισμὸν μετονομάζει καὶ*
ἀποδίδωσιν αὐτῇ τὸ πρῶτον ὄνομα, ἡνίκα ἀπαλλαγεῖσα τοῦ σκότους
ὡφθη τῷ Θεῷ. Εὐθέως γὰρ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὴν γῆν, καθὼς φησιν ἡ ἱστορία
ὅτι Καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ξηρὰν γῆν, ὡς ἐξ ἀκαρπίας εἰς καρποφόρον
διὰ Χριστοῦ καλουμένου λοιπὸν καὶ ἀνακαινομένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

4. Μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ὁ προφήτης ἐν τῷ ἐνενηκοστῷ
 360 *τετάρτῳ ψαλμῷ | ξηρὰν ὀνομάζων τὸν ἄνθρωπον, λέγων περὶ Θεοῦ* 886A
Ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ θάλασσα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν αὐτήν, καὶ τὴν ξηρὰν αἱ
χεῖρες αὐτοῦ ἐπλάσαν, τουτέστι τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν λέγοντα· Αἱ χεῖρες
σου ἐποίησάν με καὶ ἐπλάσαν με. Οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν κτισμάτων ὁ Θεὸς τῶν ἐν
οὐρανῷ ἢ ἐπὶ γῆς ἰδιοχείρως ἐπλάσεν, εἰ μὴ τὸν κατ' εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ
 365 *ἄνθρωπον, περὶ οὗ φησι Μωυσῆς ὅτι Ἐκάλεσεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ξηρὰν γῆν.*

5. Ὅρα τῶν μυστηρίων τὰ παράδοξα. Συμπνιγομένην τὴν γῆν ἐν τῷ
 βυθῷ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων μᾶλλον ξηρὰν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζει, ἀπαλλαγέντων
 δὲ καὶ διαιρεθέντων ἐξ αὐτῆς τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ ξηρανθείσης αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔτι
 αὐτὴν ὀνομάζει ξηρὰν, ἀλλὰ γῆν, ὥστε ἀναμφιβόλως τῶν ὁμολογουμέ-
 370 *νων ἐστὶν ὅτι τοὺς τύπους καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ καινῆς κτίσεως*
προδιεωγράφη καὶ προδιεσχημάτιζεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἐξαήμερῳ
κτίσει.

341 ὕδατος] *om.* N 343 δὲ] *add.* τοῦ P 346 θεσσαλονικαίων P ἄλλο] ἄλλων P
 346/7 σύστημα] M^{pcorr.} NP συναγωγή· τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ *per homoeoteleuton* M^{acorr.} 349 κατὰ]
add. τὸ P 350 ἐπισημῆνασθαι N^{acorr.} 356 γὰρ] *om.* N 358 ἀνακαινομένου M
 359 μου] μοι P 363 ἐν] *om.* M 364 αὐτοῦ] *om.* P 368 ἔτι] ἔστι N^{acorr.} 371 τῇ] *om.* N

many waters—as I have already said. Many gatherings, many congregations, many seas: the text of Scripture gives evidence of this when it says: *The water under heaven was gathered into their congregations. Their? Whose? It is obvious: of the many waters, separated into many congregations. And on account of this, it says: And God called the dry part "earth", and he called the gatherings of the waters "seas".*¹

2. Do not continue holding onto the literal meaning, which is a curtain, a covering!² Let us open wide and contemplate the spiritual expressions of the Spirit with our spiritual faculties!³ Let us say that the one and undivided congregation of water is the correct and undefiled reverence for God by the universal Church. But the congregations of water are the churches in various places in the countries of the Gentiles. This is what Paul teaches when he says: *The churches of God.*⁴ The church of the Romans:⁵ look, a congregation devoted to God. The church of Corinth:⁶ look, another congregation. The church of the Thessalonians:⁷ look, yet another gathering of waters. Just as there is one heavenly kingdom, which has many places—as Christ says⁸—so too there is one common Christian Church, but there are churches of the correct faith in every part of the world.

3. It should also be pointed out, that when God made the earth with the heaven, it was not called *dry*.⁹ This is because God did not make human beings barren, but fruitful. When the earth was choked by water and by the darkness that lay upon her,¹⁰ then she became a dried-out corpse. But God called her back to the original light. And when she was freed from the darkness and appeared to God, he changed her name. He gave her back her original name, for he immediately called her *earth*. Just as the story says: *And God called the dry part earth.*¹¹ Mankind was finally called from infertility to fertility through Christ, and was made new again.

4. The prophet supports my thesis in his ninety-fourth psalm. He calls the dry part *man* when he says about God: *For the sea belongs to him, and he created it. And his hands molded the dry land.*¹² That is: man. He is the one that says: *Your hands made me and molded me.*¹³ Nothing of creation was molded by God with his own hands—not in heaven nor on earth—except that which was according to his own image: man.¹⁴ And about him, Moses says: *And God called the dry part "earth".*¹⁵

5. Just look at the paradoxes of the mysteries! The earth is drowned in the depth of the waters, yet God prefers to call her *dry*.¹⁶ But when the waters were removed and separated from her, when she was dried, God no longer called her *dry*, but *earth*.¹⁷ This was done so that we might accept without hesitation that God, in all his six-day creation, was sketching and designing beforehand types and images of the new creation in Christ.¹⁸

¹ Gen 1:10. ² Cf 2 Cor 3:14. ³ Cf 1 Cor 2:13. ⁴ 2 Th 1:4. ⁵ Cf Rom 1:7. ⁶ Cf 1 Cor 1:2; 2 Cor 1:1. ⁷ Cf 1 Th 1:1; 2 Th 1:1. ⁸ Cf Jn 14:2. ⁹ Cf Gen 1:1. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 1:2.
¹¹ Gen 1:10. ¹² Ps 94(95):5. ¹³ Ps 118(119):73. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 1:27, 2:7. ¹⁵ Gen 1:10.
¹⁶ Cf Gen 1:2, 9. ¹⁷ Cf Gen 1:9-10. ¹⁸ Cf 2 Cor 5:17.

IX 1. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῇ κοσμικῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν πρώτοις ταῦτα λέγομεν, οὐδὲν ἄτοπον ἵνα καὶ διὰ πραγμάτων ὥσπερ καὶ διὰ ῥημάτων αὐτῇ
 375 τοὺς τύπους τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως καὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς τῶν πονηρῶν καὶ σκοτεινῶν ὑδάτων τῆς πλάνης τῶν πρὶν ἐπικειμένων αὐτῇ ὑποδείξωμεν. Μόνη γὰρ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἐκ πασῶν τῶν τοῦ κόσμου χωρῶν ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς νοουθεσίαν θεοσεβείας ὑπόδειγμα καὶ ὑπόμνημα ἀνεξάλειπτον ἐχαρίσατο. Καθέκαστον γὰρ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐκείνων τῶν ἐκ παραδείσου τῶν ποτε
 380 ὅλον τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς κατακαλυπτόντων διὰ τοῦ Γεὼν ποταμοῦ ἡ γῇ Αἰγύπτου καλύπτεται, ὥστε καὶ περὶ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας χώρας δυνατόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀναβάσεως τῶν ὑδάτων καιρὸν ὅτιπερ ἡ γῇ Αἰγύπτου ἐστὶν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος καὶ ἄκαρπος καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστος, καὶ σκότος ὁμίχλης καὶ θυέλλης ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου τῶν
 385 τοιούτων ὑδάτων, καὶ πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, τουτέστιν ἡ τοῦ ἀνέμου κίνησις, ἐπιφέρεται ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος. Οὕτω γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν ἡρμήνευσαν καὶ τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐπάνω τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον ἐπ' αὐτά. Οὐ γὰρ εἶπε, φασίν, ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι Καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ Καὶ πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, τουτέστιν ἐν ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων
 390 πνευμάτων ἀνέμων, ἐπέρφετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος. Τὸ δὲ ἐπάνω ἐπιφέρεσθαι οὐκ ἔστι τῆς ἀπεριγράπτου φύσεως τῆς θεότητος ἴδιον.

2. Τὸ δὲ παράδοξον ἐκεῖνό ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τῶν ὑδάτων ἀναβάσεως καὶ ἐπικαλύψεως καὶ τοῦ σκοτισμοῦ τῆς ὁμίχλης καὶ τῆς ἄκαρπίας καὶ <τοῦ> συμπνιγμοῦ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς, ὅτιπερ οὐ μετὰ τὸν μῆνα
 395 ἢ τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἐνσάρκου ἐν Βηθλεὲμ γεννήσεως καὶ ἐπιφανείας Χριστοῦ γίνεται, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τῆς τῶν αὐτοῦ γενεθλίων καὶ ἐπιφανειῶν τοῦ φωτίσματος ἡμέρας καλύπτεται καὶ συσκοτοῦται τοῖς ὕδασι καὶ ταῖς ὁμίχλαις ἡ Αἰγυπτὸς. Ἡνίκα δὲ Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου ἐτέχθη καὶ ἐκ τῆς φάτνης Βηθλεὲμ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μετὰ τῆς οἰκείας μητρὸς
 400 φευγούσης ἀπὸ Ἡρώδου ἐπεδήμησεν, εὐθέως ἡ γῇ Αἰγύπτου ἀποκαλύπτεται, τὸ σκότος ἀποτίθεται, τὴν ὁμίχλην τῆς πλάνης ἀποδύεται, τοῦ ἡλίου τῆς δικαιοσύνης τὸ φῶς ἐνδύεται (ἐπεδήμησε γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου δίσκου τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τὸν ζόφον ἔλυσε), καὶ ὥσπερ τι παραπέτασμα ἀπέρριψεν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου προσώπου τὸ τοῦ ὕδατος κάλυμμα, καὶ Χριστῷ
 405 ἐνητένισε, καὶ τοῦτον ἐπέγνωκε προσκυνοῦσα καὶ προσπίπτουσα, ὃν τὸ πρὶν διὰ τὸ ἐπικείμενον αὐτῇ τῆς πλάνης τοῦ σκότους οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων τῆς ἀγνωσίας καλυπτομένη.

3. Ὑπεξίσταται δ' ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ὁ Νεῖλος καὶ ἀποτρέχει μηνῶν ἡμέρας Δεκεμβρίου τε καὶ Ἰαννουαρίου. Ἀρχεται γὰρ καταρρεῖν μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ
 410 καὶ δι' ὅλου αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐπαύξει, ἤτοι Ἰουλίου. Κατὰ δ' Αὐγουστὸν τε καὶ Σεπτέμβριον ὅλον καταθαλαττίζει τὴν ὅλην

373 πρώτως P^a.corr. 376 ἐπικειμένων] ὑποκειμένων P 378 ἀνεξάληπτον MN^a.corr.
 380 καλυπτόντων P 387 τὸ] om. M 390 πνευμάτων] add. τῶν M 404 καὶ] add. ἐν P
 405 ἐνιτένισε P 407 τῆς ἀγνωσίας] om. N 409 δεκεβρίου MN 410 Ἰουλί P
 411 σεπτέβριον MN

IX 1. Since we are saying these things to geographical Egypt first, it would not be out of place for us to point out, in the events as well as the statements about her, the symbolic types of the revelation and deliverance from the dark and evil waters of sin, which once oppressed her.

Of all countries in the world, in Egypt alone God graciously gave a sign, a continuous reminder, to admonish us to be reverent. Once upon a time, the waters issuing from Paradise covered up the whole face of the earth.¹ The river Geon covered the land of Egypt.² And now it is possible to say about Egypt that during the season of inundation, the land of Egypt is *invisible and unfinished*, and infertile and unadorned. A darkness caused by the misty turbulence is *upon the deep* of such waters. And a *breath of God*—that is, the motion of the wind—is borne *upon the water*.³

Indeed, many exegetes have interpreted the darkness upon the waters and the Spirit that was borne upon them in this way. They argue that Scripture did not say: "And the Spirit of God," but rather: *And a breath of God*. That is: one of the four blowing winds *was borne upon the water*.⁴ For the phrase *was borne upon* is not characteristic of the nature of divinity, which permeates everything.

2. With respect to the rising of the Egyptian waters and their flooding, the misty darkness, the infertility, and the drowning of the land, the following is especially marvelous. All of this does not happen *after* the days or the month of the birth and epiphany of the incarnate Christ in Bethlehem.⁵ Instead, Egypt is covered by waters and is darkened by mists *before* the brilliant day of Christmas and the Epiphany. But when Christ, God, the Light of the World, was born,⁶ he left his crib⁷ in Bethlehem and went to live in Egypt with his mother, who was fleeing Herod.⁸ And immediately, the land of Egypt was uncovered. The darkness was removed. Egypt stripped off the mist of wandering and put on the light of the sun of righteousness.⁹ For Christ had come visiting with his own sphere—his mother—and dissolved the gloom. And Egypt ripped away, like a curtain, the veil of water from her face and gazed at Christ. Because of the oppression of dark deceit as she had lain wrapped beneath the waters of ignorance, she did not know him. But when she came to know him, she threw herself at his feet and worshipped him.

3. During the days of December and January, the Nile River withdraws and gives up all claims on the land of Egypt. In the month of June, however, it begins to rush down; and throughout this month and the next, July, it swells. During August and the whole of September, it

¹ Cf Gen 2:6, 10. ² Cf Gen 2:13. ³ Cf Gen 1:2. ⁴ Gen 1:2. ⁵ Cf Mt 1:25-2:1, 11.
⁶ Cf Jn 8:12, 9:5. ⁷ Cf Lk 2:7, 12, 16. ⁸ Cf Mt 1:25-2:1, 13-14. ⁹ Cf Mal 3:20 (4:2).

Αἴγυπτον, καὶ πλωτὴν τὴν πρὶν ἀρώσιμον κατεργάζεται. Ἀρχεται δὲ ὑπολήγειν, ὡς εἶρηται, κατὰ Ὀκτώβριον καὶ Νοέμβριον, κατὰ δὲ τὸν Δεκέμβριον μῆνα καὶ τὸν ὅλον Ἰαννουάριον εἰς τὸ πρῶην ρεῖθρον ἀποκαθίσταται.

415 4. Οὐκοῦν, ὅταν ἴδωμεν πρὸ τῆς Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως κατάστυγον αὐτὴν καὶ ὀμιχλώδη καὶ ἄκαρπον καὶ βεβυθισμένην καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστον, εἴτα μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ τόκον καὶ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ πρὸ παντός τόπου ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γενομένην εὐθέως τὰ ὕδατα ὑποχωροῦντα καὶ τὴν
420 γῆν καλλωπιζομένην καὶ ἀρδευομένην, τὰς χώρας χλοαζούσας, τὰ ἄλση πυκάζοντα, τοὺς ἀγρούς θάλλοντας, καὶ τὰς κώμας ὡς ἐκ βυθοῦ ὑδάτων ἀποκαλυφθείσας καὶ ὑψωθείσας, καὶ τὰ ὕδατα συναχθέντα εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς καὶ τοὺς διώρυγας καὶ ποταμούς αὐτῶν, νοήσωμεν ἀκριβῶς, ὅταν ταῦτα οὕτως γινόμενα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἴδωμεν, ὅτι ὁ Λόγος τοῦ
425 Θεοῦ ὁ σαρκωθείς αὐτός ἦν ὁ ἐν ἀρχῇ τὴν κτίσιν δημιουργῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ αὐτός ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ σαρκί ἐπιδημήσας καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὴν σκοτεινὴν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ συμπινομένην ἐφώνησε κατ' ἐξουσίαν ὡς Θεός, ὥσπερ ποτὲ τοῖς κοσμικοῖς ὕδασι, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτιακοῖς κατ' ἔτος καὶ ἕως τῆς συντελείας λέγων μετὰ τὴν τοῦ
430 Νείλου ἀνάβασιν· *Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πάσης τῆς γῆς Αἰγύπτου εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν πάλιν, καὶ ὀφθήτω ἡ ξηρά*, πάλαι μὲν τοῖς πνεύμασι τοῦ σκότους ἐπιτιμήσας καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἀποδιώξας, νῦν δὲ κατὰ καιρὸν τὰ ὕδατα αὐτῆς μετὰ τὸ πλημμυρῆσαι, ὅπως αὐτὴν καὶ ἡμᾶς κατὰ καιρὸν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν ἄγῃ ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ
435 κόσμου ποιητὴς ὁ καὶ τοῦ σκότους καὶ τῆς πλάνης ἐλευθερώσας αὐτήν. Εἰ γὰρ πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησεν ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐδὲν ἀκαίρως οὐδὲ ἀσκόπως ἐποίησε, καὶ εἰ πάντα δύναται, οὐκ ἦν ἐν τῷ παντοδυνάμῳ Θεῷ ἀδύνατον, ὥσπερ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐξ οὐρανίων ὀμβρῶν ἀρδεῦσαι καὶ ποτίσαι, ἣν καὶ κοιλοτέραν πάσης τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανὸν ἐποίησεν, ὡς οἱ τὰς ἐν κόσμῳ γεωμετρίας ἀναγράψαντες ἐκδιδάσκουσιν.

445 Χ 1. Ἀλλὰ μὴ γελάτω τὰ λεγόμενα ὁ ἀφρονέστατος ἀκροατής, πειθέσθω δὲ τῷ λέγοντι ὅτι *Πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ* ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός. Πάντως γὰρ συνομολογήσει μεθ' ἡμῶν ὅτι πρὸς νοουθεσίαν θεοσεβείας καὶ πρὸς πίστῳσιν τῆς ἀρχαίας κοσμοποιίας ὁ Θεὸς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τὸ τοιοῦτον θαῦμα τῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ ἀποκαταστάσεως τῶν ὑδάτων ἐστήσεν, ὥσπερ δὴ πάλιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς πλησιοχώροις αὐτῆς τοῖς ἐν Πενταπόλει τῇ βαρβαρικῇ λεγομένοις Ἀδύτοις ὕδασι ἐνθα ἡ τῶν λίθων φύσις ἀνωφερῆς

covers all of Egypt like a sea. And the land, which once was arable, becomes navigable. Then during October and November, as I have said, the water begins to gradually subside. And during the month of December and all of January, the Nile is restored to its normal course.

4. So we see that before the birth of Christ, Egypt was wearing a sad face: misty-eyed, barren, depressed, and not very pretty. Then after Christ's birth and his stay in Egypt (before any other place), the waters immediately withdrew. And the earth was made beautiful and irrigated. The fields sprouted, the groves were garlanded, and the farms flourished. The villages were revealed and arose, as from the bottom of the sea. And the waters gathered into their congregations and channels and streams.¹

When we see that these things happen so in Egypt, surely we would be correct to think the following. The Word of God, in the beginning, was the creator of heaven and earth.² Then he himself became incarnate and, in the flesh, visited Egypt.³ When he saw her darkened and choked by evil, he cried out in his authority as God. And as once to the universal waters, so now also to the Egyptian waters each year until the end of time, he says after the flooding of the Nile: "*Let the water—which is on the surface of all the land of Egypt—be gathered into their congregations again, and let the dry land be seen.*"⁴ Back then, he had censured the spirits of darkness and chased them from Egypt. Now every season, after the inundation, he chases away the waters, so that he might remind her and us, each season, that he is the creator of the world and the one who had freed Egypt from darkness and deceit.

If the Word of God created *all things in wisdom*,⁵ then he created nothing out of season or without due consideration. And if he is capable of everything,⁶ then it would not be impossible for God the all-powerful to irrigate and quench Egypt with rain from the sky, as he does all the rest of the earth. Why, God had even made her more concave than all the rest of the earth under heaven—or so we are taught by those who have written about the geometry of the world.

X 1. Let the mindless reader not laugh at what is being discussed. Let him rather trust the one who said: "God created *all things in wisdom*."⁷ For he will then agree completely with us that God established such a marvel as the rise and ebb of the waters in Egypt in order to admonish us to revere God and to have faith in the ancient creation account.

Similarly, in the regions adjacent to the Nile, at Pentapolis, in the waters that are called in a foreign language "The Sanctuary", the stones float on the waves. By their nature, they are suspended and unsinking.

¹ Cf Gen 1:9. ² Cf Jn 1:1, 3. ³ Cf Mt 2:14. ⁴ Gen 1:9. ⁵ Ps 103(104):24.
⁶ Cf Wis 7:27. ⁷ Ps 103(104):24.

412 ρώσιμον M 413 ὀκτωβρίου M 414 δεκέβριον MN ὅλλον P 419 γινομένην P
420 καλλωπιζομένην P 421 βυ N^{corr.} βυθῶν NP^{corr.} 422 ἀποκαλυφθείσας N
συναχθέντα] add. ἀποκαλυφθείσας M 425/6 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ] τοὺς οὐ(ρα)νοὺς M 430 τῆς] om. MN 431 ἀφθῆτω N 434 ἄγει P 435 ὁ καὶ] καὶ ὁ P 439 ὀμβρον P τῆς] MNP
lege τῆς γῆς

καὶ ἄδυτος ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπιφέρεται ἐλέγχουσα τοὺς ἀπίστους ὅτι ἐπὶ
 450 τῶν ὑδάτων ὑπὲρ φύσιν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν γῆν τὴν βαρεῖαν ἐκρέμασε, καὶ ὅτι
 λίθος ἐξ ὄρους τμηθεὶς, αὐτὸς ὁ ἀκρογωνιαίος Χριστὸς, τὴν γηγενῆ ἡμῶν
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐσίαν ὑπεράνω τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐπάνω δηλαδὴ τῶν
 οὐρανῶν, παραδόξως ὑψώσει. Ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις Λυκίας
 455 ὄρεσι τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὁμοῦ συνίασι τὴν ἀδιαίρετον ἔνωσιν τῆς
 θεότητος καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμῶν ἐκδιδάσκοντα. Εἰ
 γὰρ φύσει σοφία καὶ σοφοδότης ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν σοφίᾳ τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν ὁ
 Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς ἰδὲ προεῖπον, διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς τὴν ἄρρητον
 αὐτοῦ σοφίαν μαθάνομεν. 888A

2. "Ὅθεν, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑδάτων ἰστάμενος
 460 καὶ ἐξιστάμενος, οὐδὲ τὰ πονηρὰ καὶ πικρὰ καὶ μεταλλικὰ ὕδατα τὰ
 ἄποτα τὰ τε ἀσφαλτίζοντα ἢ χαλκευθίζοντα ἢ ἄλλο τι μετάλλων
 ἔχοντα ἀπρόσιτον τῇ αἰσθήσει ἐκτὸς μυστηρίου Θεοῦ γενέσθαι πειθόμαι,
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὑπόδειγμά τι βαθὺ ἀφορῶντα καὶ ἡμᾶς διδάσκοντα ὅτι ὅλον
 μὲν τὸ ὕδωρ ἦγουν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ὕδωρ
 465 ἀγαθὸν ἐποίησε μίαν φύσιν, μίαν ἐνέργειαν, μίαν δύναμιν ἔχον ὁμοίαν καὶ
 ἀδιαίρετον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἡ κατὰ τόπον τοῦ ἀέρος ἐνέργεια καὶ ἡ τῆς γῆς
 διάφορος κράσις καὶ ποιότης εἴτε ἀλμυρίζουσα εἴτε δὲ καὶ χαλκίζουσα εἴτ'
 ἄλλο τι μετάλλων ἔχουσα ἀηδὲς πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῆς ιδιότητα τὸ ὕδωρ
 ἡλλοίωσεν, οὕτως καὶ ἡ τῶν κατὰ τόπους διαφορότης ἡθῶν τὸ ἐν
 470 ἀνθρώπινον γένος εἰς πολλοὺς διέτεμε μερισμούς. Νόησον δέ μοι θεό-
 κτιστον ὕδωρ τὴν καθολικὴν πίστιν τῆς ἀληθείας, ἣν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὁ Θεὸς
 ἐποίησε, πονηρὰ δὲ ὕδατα πάλιν τὰ τῶν ἀκαθάρτων αἰρέσεων
 μαθήματα, ἅπερ ὁ ἀήρ, τουτέστιν ὁ πονηρὸς ἄρχων τοῦ ἀέρος διάβολος,
 καὶ ἡ πικρίζουσα ἢ τε ἀσφαλτίζουσα καρδία τῶν γηγενῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ
 475 τὰ γῆϊνα φρονοῦσα ἐγέννησε καὶ ἐστρεψε καὶ ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ εἰς κακὴν πίστιν
 ἡλλοίωσεν, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων τῆς θαλάσσης γέγονε. Γλυκὺ μὲν
 γὰρ ὕδωρ καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Θεὸς ἐποίησεν ἐν ἀρχαῖς, ἡλλοιώθη δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἀέρων καὶ τῶν στοιχείων κατὰ θείαν συγχώρησιν ἀλμυρὸν
 γενόμενον, τὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης θαλάσσης προδιαγράφον τῆς
 480 ἐξ ἀρετῆς τραπέισης εἰς ἐξαλμον κακίαν, ἣν ὁ Χριστὸς πάλιν ἡλλοίωσεν
 ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης τοῦ βαπτίσματος.

XI 1. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Βλαστησάτω ἡ γῆ βοτάνην χόρτου, σπεῖρον
 σπέρμα κατὰ γένος καὶ καθ' ὁμοιότητα.

Καὶ ἐν τούτοις πάλιν ἀνακόλουθος καὶ οὐ συστοιχοῦσα ἑαυτῇ κατὰ τὸ
 485 γράμμα ἡ λέξις τῆς γραφῆς φαίνεται. Πρὸς γὰρ θηλυκὸν γένος κατὰ
 γραμματικούς λαλοῦσα πρὸς οὐδέτερον κατέληξε. Βλαστησάτω γὰρ
 φησιν ἡ γῆ βοτάνην χόρτου. Εἰ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὴν βοτάνην κλίνεται,

450 τὴν] om. P 451 ὄρους M 451 τὴν] τῇ P 453 οὐρανῶν] add. οὐσίαν M^acorr.
 454 τὸ] om. P 455 ἐκδιδάσκατα M 460 μεταλλικὰ] N^pcorr. μεταλλικὰ MN^acorr. P
 465 ἔχον] scripsi ἔχοντα MNP 466 ἡ] ὁ N 467 ἀδιάφορος P 469 τῶν] om. P
 473 τουτέστιν M 478 κατὰ] add. τὴν P 484 ἀκόλουθος P 487 βοτάνην] βοτάνιν P

This is a refutation against those who do not believe that God suspended the heavy earth, beyond its nature, upon the waters. And the rock cut from the mountain,¹ the corner stone,² Christ himself, will elevate the earthly nature of us humans in a miraculous way above the waters and yes, up to the heavens.³ Similarly, in the so-called Lycian Mountains, water and fire merge, and so teach us about the inseparable unity of Christ's divinity and humanity.

If the Son of God is, in essence, Wisdom and the giver of wisdom, and if he created all things in wisdom⁴—as I said before—then we learn about his ineffable wisdom through all things upon the earth.

2. Therefore, I do not at present halt in amazement at this account of the waters. Nor do I believe that the foul, bitter, metallic waters, which are undrinkable because they smell like asphalt, or are full of copper, or contain some other metal that cannot be perceived—I do not believe that these are external to the mystery of God. They look toward some deep pattern. They teach us that in the beginning God made all water—indeed, the human race—one wholesome water. It had one nature, one activity, one power, the same and inseparable. The air in each place had an effect, however, and the quality and composition of the land were different. Either it was salty, or coppery, or it had some other distasteful metal. And this altered the water toward its own nature. So also, the differences of abodes from place to place divided one human race into many varieties. Imagine with me that the water created by God is the true catholic faith, which God created in the beginning. The brackish waters are the creeds of impure heresies. They were given birth by the air—that is, the evil archenemy in the air⁵—in union with earth-born men whose bitter, tar-black hearts contemplate their earthly possessions.⁶ They were turned and changed from good water to an evil belief.

The same also happened to the waters in the sea. For in the beginning, God made this water and the faith sweet. But it was changed in time by the air and the elements and became salty—according to divine consent. And this was a rough sketch of the sea of human fickleness, which turned from virtue to a briny evil. But this evil was changed once more by Christ, through the sea of Baptism, into something even better.

XI 1. And God said: "Let the earth put forth a pasture for food, producing seed according to its kind and according to its likeness."⁷

Here again the literal reading of Scripture appears to be inconsistent and to lack internal agreement. According to the grammarians, the direct object is a noun in the feminine gender, but the sentence closes with a reference to a neuter noun. The text reads: *Let the earth put forth a pasture for food*. If therefore it is emphasizing *pasture*, then the correct

¹ Cf Dan 2:45. ² Cf. Ps 117(118):22; Is 28:16, Mt 21:42; Eph 2:20; et al. ³ Cf Dan 3:60; Eph 2:5-6. ⁴ Cf Ps 103(104):24. ⁵ Cf Eph 2:2. ⁶ Cf Phil 3:19. ⁷ Gen 1:11.

σπείρουσαν σπέρμα ἔχει ἡ ὀρθότης, εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ χόρτου, σπείροντος
 ἀρμύζει λέγειν τὸ σπέρμα. Καταλιποῦσα γοῦν τὴν ἀκολουθίαν ταύτην ἡ
 490 γραφή φησιν· *Σπείρον σπέρμα κατὰ γένος*. Δοκεῖ μοι ὅτι ὡς εἶναι τὴν
 ἀκολουθίαν τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων τοιαύτην· τὸ μὲν *βλαστησάτω ἡ*
γῆ βοτάνην χόρτου πρὸς τὰς ἀκάρπους ψυχὰς λεγόμενον παρὰ Θεοῦ,
 τὸ δὲ *Σπειρόμενον σπέρμα κατὰ γένος* δοκεῖ μοι ὅτι τῷ χορῷ τῶν ἀπο-
 στόλων τοῦτο ὁ Χριστὸς διακελεύεται.

2. Ὅθεν καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐξοδὸν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀχώριστον τὴν ἐκ τοῦ
 Πατρὸς ἔλεγε περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι *Ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείραι τὸν*
σπόρον τοῦ λόγου κατὰ γένος καὶ κατ' ἔθνος καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἐν πάσῃ
τῇ γῇ τῇ πρώην καλουμένη ξηρᾷ. Νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἔτι ξηρὰ, ἐφ' ἧς κατήλθεν ἐν
 αὐτῇ ὡς *ὑετός ἐπὶ πόκον ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ κατασπείρων αὐτὴν καὶ*
 500 *λέγων· βλαστησάτω ἡ γῆ* τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης καρδίας, μηκέτι μείνη ἐν τῇ
 προτέρᾳ ἀκαπρίᾳ ξηρὰ, ἀλλὰ βλαστησάτω λοιπὸν καὶ ἀνθείτω ὡς
κρίνον, μὴ συμπνιγέτω τὸν σπόρον τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀκανθῶν. Τὸ σκότος
 ἀπῆλθε τὸ πρὶν ἐπάνω αὐτῆς. Τὰ ὕδατα συνήχθησαν εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς
 αὐτῶν. Ὁ ποταμὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου ἐπληρώθη ὑδάτων ἀρδεύων τὸν
 505 παρὰ δεισον τοῦτον τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰ ὀρήματα εὐ-
 φραίνονται τὴν πόλιν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ. Βροχὴν ἐκούσιον
 ἀφώρισεν ὁ Θεὸς τῇ κληρονομίᾳ αὐτοῦ τῇ τῶν ἐθνῶν, τουτέστι τὴν τοῦ
 Πνεύματος παρουσίαν, ἥτις τὰς αὐλακάς αὐτῆς μεθύσκει, καὶ πληθύνει τὰ
 γεννήματα αὐτῆς ἐν τριάκοντα καὶ ἐν ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἐν ἑκατόν, καὶ τὸν
 510 χειμάρρουν τῆς Ἑδέμ τρυφῆς ποτιεῖ αὐτούς, ὅτι παρ' αὐτῷ πηγὴ ζωῆς.

3. Λοιπὸν οὕτως νῦν ἀρδευομένη ἡ ποτὲ ξηρὰ βλαστησάτω ὡς γῆ
 Θεοῦ βοτάνην χόρτου τροφὴν τοῖς πρὶν ἀλόγοις ἔθνεσιν, ὅτι ἔγνω
 ἀροτὴρ βοῦς, ὁ ταῖς βουθυσίαις ἐνειθισμένος λαός, τὸν κτησάμενον αὐτὸν
 εἰς λαὸν περιούσιον, ἐξελέξατο γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸν εἰς κληρονομίαν ἑαυτοῦ,
 515 καὶ ὄνος ἄγριος εἰδωλολάτρης τὴν φάτνην τοῦ Κυρίου αὐτοῦ ἐν Βηθλεὲμ
 τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ αὐτὸν βρεφωθέντα διὰ τῆς Μαγικῆς ἀπαρχῆς
 εἶδε. Διὸ *βλαστησάτω ἡ γῆ βοτάνην χόρτου*, εἰς τόπον γὰρ χλόης τοῦ
 παραδείσου ἐκεῖ ἡμᾶς κατεσκίωσεν καὶ ἐπὶ ὕδατος ἀναπαύσεως ἐξέθρεψε
 καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν ἀποφορτίσας τὸ σκότος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ
 520 ποιήσας τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς ἀναπαύσεως τοῦ βαπτίσματος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ φορτίον
 τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀποτιθέμενοι ἀναπαυόμεθα.

4. Λοιπὸν τοσούτων ὑδάτων παρόντων καὶ πλημυρούντων καὶ
 ποταμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν κροτούντων χειρὶ ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ λεγόντων·
 Ἁγαλλιασώμεθα ἐπὶ τῷ Σωτῆρι ἡμῶν· *ἐνέδυσε γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἱμάτιον*
 525 *σωτηρίου* τὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ὡς χιτῶνι σωτηρίας καὶ

participle would be feminine: σπείρουσαν σπέρμα. If however the
 emphasis is on *food*, then the correct participle would be in the genitive
 case: σπείροντος τὸ σπέρμα. But neglecting correct grammatical
 agreement, Scripture says: σπείρον σπέρμα κατὰ γένος.

It seems to me that the consistency in these things is this: the *let the
 earth put forth a pasture for food* was spoken by God to the infertile
 souls, but the *producing seed according to its kind*—I think that Christ
 spoke this to encourage his band of apostles.

2. For this reason, after his exodus—which did not separate him from
 the Father¹—he said about himself: *The sower went out to sow the seed*
 of the word,² race by race, nation by nation, country by country,
 throughout the earth, which previously was called dry. She was dry no
 longer, ever since the Word of God came down to her *like rain on fleece*.³
 And the Word of God planted her and said: “*Let the earth of the human*
heart put forth. No longer will she remain dry and in her former
 destitution. Hereafter, let her put forth *and blossom like a white lily*.⁴
 Let the abundance of thorns not choke the seed.”⁵

And the darkness, which had been upon her before, departed;⁶ and
 the waters were gathered into their congregations.⁷ Then the river of
 God the Word swelled with waters and irrigated the garden of the
 Church.⁸ *The rush of the river pleases the City of God*,⁹ the transcendent
 Jerusalem.¹⁰ And God granted to his inheritance, the nations, a willing
 rain, which is the presence of the Spirit. It intoxicates the furrows of the
 earth, and multiplies her yield thirty times, sixty times, a hundred times
 over.¹¹ And God gives them drink from the rushing torrent of Eden's
 delight, because the spring of life is from him.¹²

3. In this manner, that which once was arid is now irrigated.¹³ As
 God's earth, let it put forth a pasture of food as nourishment for the
 nations,¹⁴ that were once without the Logos. The ox that pulls the
 plough, the people accustomed to sacrificing oxen, knows that the one
 who had procured them as his own special people is present.¹⁵ For God
 chose these people as an inheritance for himself.¹⁶ Why, even the wild
 ass of idolatry recognized the crib of his Lord in Bethlehem of Judea.¹⁷ It
 recognized him through the first offering of the Magi, though just a babe
 in a crib.¹⁸

Therefore, *let the earth put forth a pasture of food!*¹⁹ He has settled us
 there in a place of springtime green, in Paradise. He has turned his
 attention to us and nurtures us at the tranquil water.²⁰ He has expelled
 the ancient darkness from the water²¹ and has created the water of rest,
 which is Baptism. In it, we remove the burden of our sins and find
 peace.

4. Such waters are here in abundance. And the rivers of the nations
 are applauding with one heart²² and saying: “Let us rejoice in our
 Savior! *For he has clothed us up in the mantle of deliverance*, which is
 Baptism.²³ He has adorned us with the same, as in a tunic of

488 σπείρουσαν] scripsi σπείρουσα MNP 490 φησιν] om. P 493 χορῷ] N^o.corr. χωρῷ
 MN^o.corr. P 496 αὐτοῦ] scripsi αὐτοῦ MNP 497 κατὰ] add. τὸ P 498 τῇ] om. N
 500 γῇ] add. βοτάνην χόρτου P 504 Θεοῦ] add. τοῦ MN 510 χειμάρρουν] N^o.corr.
 513 κτισάμενον MP 516 βρεφωθέντα P 519 ἐπέστρεψεν P 521 ἀποτιθέμενοι] add.
 ἀποτιθέμενοι per dittographiam P^o.corr. 522 πλημυρούντων] scripsi πλημυρούντων MNP

¹ Cf Jn 16:28. ² Lk 8:5. ³ Ps 71(72):6; cf Heb 6:7. ⁴ Is 35:1. ⁵ Mt 13:22; Mk 4:7, 18-
 19; Lk 8:14. ⁶ Cf Gen 1:2. ⁷ Cf Gen 1:9. ⁸ Cf Gen 2:10. ⁹ Ps 45(46):5. ¹⁰ Cf Gal 4:26;
 Heb 12:22; Rev 21:2. ¹¹ Cf Ps 64(65):11; Mk 4:8. ¹² Cf Ps 35(36):9-10. ¹³ Cf Gen 1:9.
¹⁴ Cf Gen 1:11. ¹⁵ Cf Is 1:3; Ps 134(135):4. ¹⁶ Cf Ps 32(33):12. ¹⁷ Cf Is 1:3; Lk 2:7, 12,
 16. ¹⁸ Cf Mt 2:11. ¹⁹ Gen 1:11. ²⁰ Cf Ps 22(23):2. ²¹ Cf Gen 1:2. ²² Cf Ps 97(98):8.

ἀφθαρσίας ἐκόσμησε, καὶ πηγῶν γραφῶν ἀναβλυζουσῶν καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ
 εὐλογούντων τῶν ἐθνῶν τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐκ πηγῶν
 ἀποστολικῶν Ἰσραὴλ, ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ τὸ γένος αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρέων
 τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἱσταμένων ὑδάτων, λαῶν βεβαπτισμένων, βλαστησάτω
 530 ἡ γῆ τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἣν πόρρωθεν εὐαγγελίζεται λέγων· Ἀλήθεια ἐκ τῆς γῆς
 ἀνέτειλε, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἡμῶν δώσει τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῆς, ὅτι εὐδόκησας Κύριε
 τὴν γῆν σου τὴν ἀκούσασαν καὶ ὑπακούσασάν σου τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαντος
 αὐτῇ καὶ εἰπόντος· Βλαστησάτω ἡ ἐκκλησία | ἡ ἀγαθὴ γῆ πρῶτον μὲν
 535 βοτάνην χόρτου τὴν ἀπλουστέραν καὶ τρυφερὰν τοῦ λόγου καρπο-
 φορίαν τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν ταῖς Ἰουδαϊκαῖς ἀλογωτέραις τῆς Χριστοῦ
 ποιμνης ψυχαῖς εἰς βρῶσιν νηπιωτέραις καὶ γάλακτος δεομέναις. Τελείων
 γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡμῶν τῶν πιστῶν ἡ στερεὰ τροφή, ἣν οἱ τέλειοι καρποφοροῦ-
 σι, περὶ ὧν εἴρηται μετὰ τὴν βοτάνην τοῦ χόρτου· Καὶ ξύλον κάρπιμον
 540 ποιοῦν καρπὸν, οὗ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ. Ἀειθαλὲς γὰρ καὶ ἄφθιτον
 τὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καρποφόρον ξύλον κάρπιμον, ὅτι πᾶν δένδρον μὴ
 ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται.

5. Ξύλον κάρπιμον ἔχον τοὺς καρπούς τοῦ Πνεύματος, οἷον ἦν τὸ
 λέγων· Ἐγὼ δὲ ὡσεὶ ἐλαία κατάκαρπος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἐνθα εἰσὶν
 οἱ πεφυτευμένοι ἐν οἴκῳ Κυρίου, ἐν ταῖς αὐλαῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐξανθί-
 545 ζοντες, ὅτι δίκαιος ὡς φοῖνιξ ἀνθήσει μεταδιδούς καὶ ἐτέροις σπόρου
 καρποφορίας ὡς καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ ὡσεὶ κέδρος ἡ ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ
 πληθυνόμενος καὶ εὐφρανόμενος, ὅτι εὐφρανθήσονται τὰ τοιαῦτα ξύλα
 τοῦ Κυρίου μετὰ τῶν κέδρων τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ Λιβάνου, τῶν οὐρανίων
 δυνάμεων, ἃς ὁ Κύριος ἐφύτευσε καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος.

550 6. Σὺ δὲ, ὅταν ἀκούσης ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἀπλουστέραν καὶ τρυφερὰν
 τροφήν τῆς τοῦ λόγου βοτάνης, ἣν ἡ γῆ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῖς ἐκ περιτομῆς
 πεπιστευκόσιν ἀρμόζουσαν γεωργεῖν ἐκελεύσθη, εἴτα καὶ ξύλον κάρπιμον
 ποιοῦν καρπὸν, οὗ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀναβλαστάνειν
 555 ἐντελλομένη, μηδὲν ἄλλο νοήσης ἢ τὸ πάθος τὸ σταυρικὸν τὴν Μωσαϊκὴν
 προφητείαν ἡμῖν προτεινομένην εἰς μίμησιν. Διὸ καὶ φησι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
 ξύλον βλαστάνειν τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἀλλὰ κάρπιμον μόνοις ἡμῖν, τοῖς δὲ
 Ἰουδαίοις σκάνδαλον καὶ τοῖς ἀπίστοις μωρίαν, ποιοῦν δὲ καρπὸν
 560 ὥραϊον εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρῶσιν, τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον Χριστὸν, ὃν
 τρυγῶμεν ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ δικαίου ληστοῦ αἰωρούμενοι, τὴν βλασφημίαν
 καταβάλλοντες, αὐτοὶ τ' εἰς τὸν σταυρὸν ἀναβαίνοντες, ἵν' ἐξ ἐκατέρων
 Χριστοῦ τὸ αὐτοῦ κηρύττωμεν θεολόγημα κατὰ καιρὸν ἀθανατιζόμενοι,
 οὗ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ τοῦ καρποῦ δηλονότι. Ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ
 σπέρμα τὸ εὐαγγελικόν ἐστι κήρυγμα ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ καρποῦ γεγονός καὶ

incorruptible salvation." And the springs of Scripture are gushing forth. And from the apostolic springs of Israel, from which they are descended, Gentiles in assembly are praising their Lord and God, Jesus Christ.¹ And pools of people that have been baptized are congregated on the mountaintops.² So finally, let the earth of the Gentiles put forth.³ Their earth was proclaimed long ago, when it was said that *truth arose from the earth*. And our earth will bestow her fruit,⁴ because you, Lord, were pleased with your earth.⁵ She heard and obeyed you, when you had turned to her and said:

"Let the Church, the good earth, put forth. First, a pasture of food⁶ that is simpler and softer than the Word, a harvest suitable for the Jewish souls, who were more irrational than the flock of Christ.⁷ Let it be like food for infants, who need milk."⁸ The solid food for the perfected ones belongs to us, the faithful.⁹ And it is food that is produced by the perfected,¹⁰ about whom, after the statement about the pasture of food, the following was said: *And the fruitful tree producing fruit, the seed of which is in it*.¹¹ The fruitful tree that yields the fruit of the Good Word will flourish always and will never decay. But every orchard tree that does not yield good fruit is cut down and thrown into the fire.¹²

5. The fruitful tree is that which has the fruits of the Spirit. Such was the one who said: "I am like a fruitful olive tree at the house of the Lord."¹³ They also are there, who have been planted at the house of the Lord, who are blossoming in the courtyards of our God,¹⁴ because the just person will bloom like a palm tree¹⁵ and give a share of the fruitfulness of his seed to others. So also the clean in heart is there,¹⁶ reaching his full stature in happiness, like a cedar in Lebanon.¹⁷ Such trees of the Lord will rejoice with the cedars of high Lebanon,¹⁸ who are the heavenly powers and whom the Lord—and not man—planted.¹⁹

6. The earth, which is the Church, was ordered to cultivate simpler and softer nourishment than the pasture of the Word. It was just right for those that were believers through circumcision. Then it was commanded to thrust above the earth a fertile tree, to bear fruit that held the seed of the tree.²⁰ When you hear this, you should think nothing else than this was a Mosaic prophecy,²¹ presenting the passion of the cross for us to imitate. Through this, it says to the Church that the tree of the cross is growing—but it bears fruit for us alone. For the Jews, his cross is scandalous. And for the unbelievers, it is foolish.²² But it does bear fruit, pleasing to look at and good to eat:²³ the crucified Christ.²⁴ We can pick this fruit when we are raised opposite the just thief, when we overthrow blasphemy and ourselves ascend the cross, so that on each side of Christ the divine statement of the thief might be proclaimed. And in season, we too will become immortal.²⁵

The seed of this was obviously from the fruit of Christ. The seed of the fruit is the announcement of the Good News, which arose from his

532 ἐπιστρέψαντος P 533 αὐτῆς N ἡ' om. M 537 τῶν om. N 541 εἰς ei P
 543 λέγων P 544/5 ἐξανθίζοντες] ἐξανθίζοντ· N^acorr ἐξανθίζοντ· et ~ supra linea et ~ in
 margine sinistra N^pcorr. 545 ἀνθήσει N^acorr. 546 καθαροὶ P 550 ἀκούης MP
 553 ἀναβλαστάνειν P 554 νοήσεις P 555 προτεινομένη NP 557 δὲ om. M

²³ Is 61:10; cf Is 25:9. ¹ Cf Ps 67(68):27; Jn 20:28. ² Cf Ps 103(104):6. ³ Cf Gen 1:11.
⁴ Ps 84(85):12-13. ⁵ Ps 84(85):1. ⁶ Gen 1:11. ⁷ Cf Jn 21:16-17; Acts 20:28; 1 Pet 5:2.
⁸ Cf Heb 5:12-13. ⁹ Cf Heb 5:14. ¹⁰ Cf Mt 13:23; Mk 4:20; Lk 8:15. ¹¹ Gen 1:11.
¹² Mt 3:10, 7:19; Lk 3:9. ¹³ Ps 51(52):10. ¹⁴ Ps 91(92):14. ¹⁵ Ps 91(92):13. ¹⁶ Cf Mt 5:8.
¹⁷ Cf Ps 91(92):13. ¹⁸ Cf 1 Chr 16:33; Is 2:13. ¹⁹ Cf Heb 8:2; Gen 2:8. ²⁰ Cf Gen 1:11-12.
²¹ Cf Dt 18:15. ²² Cf 1 Cor 1:23. ²³ Cf Gen 2:9. ²⁴ Cf 1 Cor 1:23. ²⁵ Cf Lk 23:39-43.

565 προῖόν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τε ἐφηπλωμένον καὶ κατεσπαρμένον, ὅταν τοῖς
 μαθηταῖς ἐνετέλλετο· Πορευθέντες κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πάσῃ τῇ
 κτίσει. Αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. Ἰ

fruit. It was sown far and wide upon the earth, early in the season, when
 he gave to his apostles this command: "*Go forth and proclaim the Good
 News to every creature.*"¹

The glory is his forever. Amen.

¹ Mk 16:15.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀκολουθῶς εἰς τὴν τετάρτην ἡμέραν
τῆς ἑξαήμερου κτίσεως λόγος τέταρτος |

I. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Γενηθήτωσαν φωστῆρες ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς φαῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τοῦ διαχωρίζειν ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς νυκτός.

Εὐλογον καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιον καὶ ὠφελείας λογιζομαι τὸ διὰ
5 πάσης τῆς ἑξαήμερου ἡμῶν ἐξηγήσεως ὑπαναμνησκειν τοὺς ἀκροατὰς
ὡς οὐ καταλύοντες τὴν κατὰ τὸ γράμμα τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ποιημάτων |
ἱστορίαν πνευματικῶς τὰ σωματικὰ κτίσματα ἀλληγοροῦμεν, οὐδὲ τὰς
τῶν πατέρων ἐξηγήσεις ἀνατρέποντες, ἀλλ' ἀκούοντες τοῦ φωστῆρος
τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ λύχνου λαμπροτάτου τῆς ἐκκλησίας Παύλου ὅτι σκιὰ
10 ἡ παλαιὰ καὶ νόμος ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀληθείας τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ
ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ὅτι | πάντα διὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν συντείνοντα
ἐγένετο τὰ τε ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς, τούτου χάριν ἀποδύοντες τὸν
στάχυν τῆς γραφῆς τοῦ ἐπικειμένου ἐκτὸς περικαλύμματος, τοῦ Μωσα-
ϊκοῦ πρώτου λόγου φημί, τὸν ἐγκεκρυμένον ἔνδον τοῦ αἵτου κόκκον
15 Χριστὸν ἐπιζητοῦμεν. Πράγματα πάντα τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ
ἐκκλησίαν προετύπουν, λέγω δὴ αὐτὸς Μωϋσῆς καὶ αἱ πλάκες αἱ
πρότεραι καὶ αἱ δευτεραι καὶ ἡ σκηνὴ καὶ τὸ ὄρος καὶ ἡ βάτος καὶ τὸ πῦρ
καὶ τὸ μάννα καὶ ἡ στάμνος καὶ ἡ κιβωτός καὶ ὁ ἀμνὸς καὶ αἱ περιστρεφά
καὶ αἱ τρυγόνες καὶ αἱ θυσίαι καὶ τὸ αἷμα καὶ ὁ ῥαντισμὸς καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ
20 τὸ ἱλαστήριον καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ τὰ δύο καταπετάσματα καὶ ἡ
πέτρα καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος καὶ τὸ ὕσσωπον καὶ τὸ κόκκινον, καὶ συνόλως εἰπεῖν
πάντα τὰ πράγματα τὰ νομικὰ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ οὕτω καὶ πάντα τὰ νομικὰ
ῥηθέντα τοῦ Μωϋσῆ εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ διὰ Χριστὸν ἐρρήθησαν καὶ ἐγρά-
φησαν κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ φωνὴν τὴν λέγουσαν· Ἰῶτα ἐν ἡ μία
25 κεραία οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, ἕως ἂν πάντα τὰ εἰς αὐτὸν γένων-
ται καὶ πληρωθῶσιν. Εἰ γὰρ τὸ οἰκτρότερον πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων
τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀτιμότερον, λέγω δὴ ὁ σκώληξ ὁ ἀσπόρως γεννώμενος ἐκ
τῆς πιότητος τῆς γῆς, τὸν ἄσπορον τόκον τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸν ἐκ τῆς
πιότητος τῆς γῆς τῆς μήτρας τῆς πανενδόξου Θεοτόκου ἐκπαλαι προδιέ-
30 γραφεν, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ ὁ Δαυὶδ ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Χριστοῦ λέγων ὅτι Ἐγὼ
εἰμι σκώληξ καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, τουτέστιν ἀσπόρως γεννηθεὶς κατὰ τὸν
σκώληκα καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνως κατὰ σπερματικὴν ἀφορμὴν, ὄνειδος
ἀνθρώπων Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐξουθένημα λαοῦ ἐθνικοῦ, μὴ ἀμφιβάλλῃς μοι
λοιπὸν μηδὲ ἀπιστήσης περὶ τῶν τιμιωτέρων κτισμάτων ὅτι πάντα εἰς

titulus Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀκολουθῶς εἰς τὴν τετάρτην ἡμέραν τῆς ἑξαήμερου κτίσεως λόγος
τέταρτος] scripsi; cf. titulus librorum 1, 2, 5 τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀκολουθῶς λόγος τέταρτος· εἰς τὴν
τετάρτην ἡμέραν τῆς κτίσεως MNP 12 ἀποδύοντες] scripsi ἀποδύοντα MNP 19 ἔρεις M
21 βαῦδος M ὕσσωπον] N^{p.opp.} ὕσσωπον MN^{p.opp.} P 27 ἀτιμώτερον P 29/30 διέγρα-
φεν M 32 οὐκ] οὐ κατὰ P 33 ἐθνικοῦ P

This is the fourth book in the series by the same author.
It is about the fourth day of the six-day creation.

I. And God said: "Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven to illuminate the earth in order to separate the day from the night."¹

I consider it reasonable, deserving full acceptance, and helpful to remind the readers throughout our exegesis of the Hexaëmeron that, when we allegorically interpret² the physical creations for their spiritual significance,³ we do not destroy the literal story about the works of God. And we are not overturning the exegeses of the Fathers. Rather, we are listening to Paul, the light of the inhabited earth and the most brilliant lamp of the Church, who said that the Old Testament and the Law were a shadow of the truth about the things of the Church of Christ.⁴ And all things in the heavens and on earth came into being through Christ and lead to Christ.⁵ Therefore we strip the corn of its husk, which is the literal meaning, covering the outside—I am speaking about the superficial sense of the Mosaic writings—and we seek the kernel of grain that is concealed within: that is, Christ.

All things were a prototype of Christ and his Church. I am speaking about Moses himself,⁶ and the first and second sets of tablets,⁷ the tent,⁸ the mountain,⁹ the bush, the fire,¹⁰ the manna,¹¹ the jar, the ark,¹² the lamb,¹³ the pigeons, the turtle doves, the burnt sacrifices,¹⁴ the blood, the sprinkling,¹⁵ the priests, the Seat of Mercy,¹⁶ the altar, the two veils,¹⁷ the rock,¹⁸ the rod,¹⁹ the hyssop, and the scarlet.²⁰ To speak universally: all things relating to the Law of Israel, so also all matters proclaimed by Moses concerning the Law, were spoken for Christ and through Christ.²¹ They were written in accordance with the statement of Jesus himself, which said that *not one line or one dot will be erased from the Law until all things* relating to him come into being and are fulfilled.²²

I might mention the most worthless and pitiable of all God's creations: the worm. It was born without intercourse, from the richness of the earth. And from of old, it foreshadowed the virgin birth of Christ from the richness of the earth, from the womb of the all-worthy Mother of God.²³ David testified to this when he said, in the person of Christ: *I am a worm and not a man.*²⁴ That is, he was engendered not from sperm,²⁵ but like a worm. Unlike other human beings, he did not come by infusion of sperm. And so he became *an object of reproach* by Judean men and despised by the Gentile people.²⁶

Since this is true, do not doubt the rest. Do not be unbelieving about the more honorable creations. They too all arose as early types relating

¹ Gen 1:14. ² Cf Gal 4:24. ³ Cf 1 Cor 2:13-15. ⁴ Cf Heb 10:1. ⁵ Cf Jn 1:3; Col 1:15-16.

⁶ Cf Dt 18:15; Acts 3:22-23; 7:37. ⁷ Cf Ex 25:16, 21, 32:15-19, 34:27-29; Heb 9:4. ⁸ Cf Ex 25:9, 26:30; Heb 9:2-3. ⁹ Cf Ex 24:12-18; Gal 4:24-27. ¹⁰ Cf Ex 3:2; Mk 12:26; Lk 20:37.

¹¹ Cf Ex 16:14-16; Jn 6:48-51; Heb 9:4. ¹² Cf Ex 25:10; Heb 9:4. ¹³ Cf Ex 12:3-13, 46; Is 53:6-12; Jn 1:29, 36, 19:36; Acts 8:32-35; 1 Pet 1:17-21. ¹⁴ Cf Lev 5:7-10, 12:6-8; Lk 2:24.

¹⁵ Cf Ex 12:7, 13, 22-23; 24:6; Heb 12:24; 1 Pet 1:2. ¹⁶ Cf Ex 24:8, 25:17-22; Heb 9:5.

¹⁷ Cf Ex 26:31-35; Heb 6:19, 9:1-3, 6-7, 10:20. ¹⁸ Cf Ex 17:6; 1 Cor 10:4. ¹⁹ Cf Num 17:16-25; Heb 9:4. ²⁰ Cf Lev 14:4, 6, 49, 51-52; Num 19:6; Heb 9:19-20. ²¹ Cf Col 1:16;

Heb 10:1. ²² Mt 5:18. ²³ Cf Lk 1:30-38. ²⁴ Ps 21(22):7. ²⁵ Cf Jn 1:13. ²⁶ Ps 21(22):7.

35 Χριστὸν προεγένοντο τυπώματα, ἐξ ὧν εἰσι καὶ οἱ τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ γεγεννημένοι φωστῆρες.

II 1. Πρὸ δὲ τῆς λέξεως χρῆ ἐκεῖνο ἐπιζητῆσαι τί δὴ ποτε τρεῖς ἡμέραι ἀτελεῖς καὶ ἐλλιπεῖς ἐγένοντο φῶς μὲν ἔχουσαι, ἥλιον δὲ καὶ σελήνην ἢ
40 αὐταῖς κατάζοφον καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν ἀτελῇ καὶ οὐκ ἔμφωτον. Οὐ γὰρ ἔσχον τὸν ἥλιον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς φωστῆρα ὑπάρχοντα καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα καταλάμπαντα. Τί οὖν μανθάνομεν καὶ ἐν τούτοις, καὶ τί δὴ ποτε ἡ τετάρτη ἡμέρα πρώτη ἡμέρα τελεία καὶ ἀνελλιπὴς καθέστηκεν, ἀκούσωμεν, παρακαλῶ.

45 2. Τρεῖς τινες ἐν ἀνθρώποις πρὸ τῆς ἐπιδημίας καὶ ἀναλάμπεως Χριστοῦ γεγόνاسι θεοσεβείας καὶ θείας νομοθεσίας νόμοι καὶ τρόποι. Ἐν ἀρχαῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ κτίσει ὁ Θεὸς δέδωκε φῶς ἀμυδρὸν γνώσεως τῷ Ἀδὰμ τὸν νόμον τῆς ἐντολῆς. Εἴτα κατὰ δευτέραν τάξιν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἀνακτίζων τὴν κτίσιν καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων τὴν γῆν
50 πάλιν ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων δίδωσι δεύτερον νόμον περὶ τινῶν ἐνταλμάτων καὶ προσταγμάτων τῷ Νῶε, ὥστε καὶ διαθήκην ὀνομάζει τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν νομοθεσίαν. Τρίτῃ δὲ λοιπὸν γέγονεν ἡμέρα ἡ ἐν Σινᾶ νομοθεσία, ὅθεν καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας προσετάγη καὶ ἡγνίσθη ὁ Ἰσραὴλ ὅτε τὸν νόμον ἐδέξατο. Ἐπειδὴ οὖν ἐκεῖναι αἱ τρεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαγωγαὶ
55 καὶ ζωαὶ, ἡ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ, λέγω δὴ, πρὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ Νῶε νόμῳ καὶ ἡ μετὰ τὸν Μωσέως νόμον, ἀτελεῖς ὑπῆρχον, καὶ σκότος βαθὺ νυκτερινῆς καὶ ζοφερᾶς ἀσεβείας ἔτι ἐπολιτεύετο πρὶν ἀναλάμπῃ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ διδασκάλων, φημὶ τῶν φαεινῶν ἀστέρων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ πρὶν ἢ ἀνατείλῃ ὁ ἥλιος τῆς δικαιοσύνης Χριστὸς
60 μετὰ τῆς συζύγου αὐτοῦ σελήνης τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τούτου χάριν τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἔμπροσθεν τῆς τετάρτης ἀτελεῖς καὶ ἀνηλίους καὶ ἀσελήνους ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός.

3. Ἡ δὲ τετάρτη ἡμέρα αὕτη πρώτη ἡμέρα τελεία τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τετάρτη φυλακῇ τῆς νυκτὸς ἦλθεν ὁ Χριστὸς τότε περιπατῶν ἐπὶ
65 τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπάνω τῶν ὑδάτων πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοῦ μαθητὰς χειμαζομένους καὶ μέλλοντας ἀπολέσθαι τούτους ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ τοῦ κόσμου, πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς αὐτοῦ μαθητὰς κινδυνεύοντας ἐκ τῶν πνευμάτων τοῦ σκότους καὶ τῶν κυμάτων τῆς ἀσεβείας. Ὅθεν καὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ τότε τῇ τετάρτῃ φυλακῇ τῇ ἐωθινῇ διέσωσεν εἰς τύπον
70 ἡμῶν. Ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐσμεν ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ, ὃν ἐρρύσατο ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ πονηροῦ διαβόλου Φαραὼ τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ πρώτῃ τελείᾳ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν τριήμερον αὐτοῦ ἀνάστασιν ἀνατείλας ἐκ νεκρῶν ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος, ὃν προεμήνυσεν οὗτος ὁ τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τότε ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ

to Christ.¹ And among these were the lights that came into being on the fourth day.

II 1. Before examining this passage, it is necessary to inquire how three days came about unfinished and deficient. On the one hand, they had light. On the other hand, they did not have the sun and moon, or the multitude of stars. There seemed to be some kind of deep, dark night on them; their day was not finished and not illuminated. They did not have the sun, which is the source of light for the heaven and earth and which shines down upon everything.

What therefore do we learn from these things? And why in the world was the fourth day established as the first perfect and complete day? Let us listen. Please.

2. Before Christ arrived and shone forth, three laws, three ways of life by holy and divine ordinance, arose among humanity. In the beginning, in the first creation, God gave to Adam a glimmer of understanding: the law of his command.² Then in the second arrangement, after the flood, when God had again uncovered the earth from the waters and recreated his creation, he gave a second law. This was to Noah, and it contained several commands and instructions. God even called the ordinance to Noah a covenant.³ Finally, on the third day, the ordinance on Mount Sinai came into being. For this reason, Israel was purified for three days and led forward, when it received the Law.⁴ There were, therefore, three sets of instructions and ways of life among humanity. First, the way of life in the law given to Adam (I mean before the Law); second, the way in the law given to Noah; and third, the way of life after the Law was given to Moses.

But all of these were imperfect. The deep shadow of impiety still governed, nocturnal and gloomy, before the multitude of apostles and teachers began to shine. I am talking about the stars shining down upon the earth. This was before the sun of the righteousness of Christ dawned,⁵ with the moon of the Church as his bride. On account of this, before the fourth day, God made three days that were imperfect: without sun and without moon.

3. This fourth day was the first perfect day for the world. On account of this, it was in the fourth watch of the night that Christ came walking on the sea, upon the waves, to his apostles.⁶ They had been hit by a storm and were about to perish in the sea of the world.⁷ And so he comes to us his disciples, when we are threatened by the spirits of darkness and the tempest of impiety.

And for this reason, as a type for us, God saved Israel in the sea early in the fourth watch of the morning.⁸ For we are his people, whom he rescued from the hand of the evil devil, the Pharaoh,⁹ on the fourth day, the first perfect day. This was after his resurrection on the third day, when he, the sun of righteousness,¹⁰ arose from the dead. It was he who was prophesied by this sun, prepared on the fourth day by God.

40 ἀτελεῖ P καὶ] om. P 47 δώδεκε P 49 κατὰ κλεισμόν P 53 προσετάγη] scripsi
προετάγη MNP 55 τοῦ] om. P 57 ἀναλάμπῃ] scripsi ἀναλάμπει MN^{corr.} P
ἀναλάμπειν N^{corr.} 59 τῆς] om. P πρὶν ἢ] scripsi πρὶν ἢ MNP

¹ Cf Col 1:16. ² Cf Gen 2:16-17. ³ Cf Gen 8:15-9:11. ⁴ Cf Ex 19:10-11, 19:16-20:17.
⁵ Cf Mal 3:20 (4:2). ⁶ Cf Mt 14:24-25; Mk 6:48; Jn 6:18-19. ⁷ Cf Mt 8:25; Mk 4:38;
Lk 8:24. ⁸ Cf Ex 14:24. ⁹ Cf Ex 14:30. ¹⁰ Cf Mal 3:20 (4:2).

κατασκευασθεὶς ἥλιος ξένον τι καὶ ἄξιον ἐρεύνης δεικνύων ἡμῖν μυστήριον
75 διότι κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην ἡμέραν ἐγένετο.

4. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ φῶς τῶν προλαβουσῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐφηπλωμένον
καὶ διακεχυμένον ὃν ἐφ' ὅλον τὸ σύμπαν τὸ τῆς ἀκτίστου Τριάδος
παριστᾷ φῶς φθάνον πανταχοῦ καὶ μηδὲνα τόπον κενὸν αὐτοῦ κατα-
λείπον. "Ὅτε δὲ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ δίσκος δημιουργεῖται ὁ ἡλιακὸς
80 καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐκείνο τὸ πανταχοῦ παρὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ὑποτίθεται, τοῦτο
δηλοῦται ὅτι τὸ θεῖον ἐκείνο φῶς ὡς ἐν δίσκῳ τινὶ σκοτεινῷ μὲν πρῶτον
ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμαρτίας τοῦ Ἀδάμ, φωτεινῷ δ' ὕστερον διὰ τὴν ἐν Θεῷ καθ'
ὑπόστασιν ἔνωσιν ἀποτίθεται, ἐν τῷ ἡτιμωμένῳ δηλονότι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ,
ὃν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκ τῆς ὅλης ζοφερᾶς ἀνθρωπότητος προσλήφεται
85 ἑαυτῷ, πλὴν καὶ οὕτως ἀστενοχωρήτως καὶ οὐκ ἐμπεριγεγραμμένως.
"Ὡςπερ γὰρ τὸ φῶς πάλιν μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην
ἡμέραν ἀπόθεσιν πάρεστι παρὸν πανταχοῦ καὶ ἐφ' ὅλης τῆς γῆς ἐξαπ-
λούμενον, οὕτω καὶ τὸ τῆς θεότητος φῶς καὶ μετὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν οὐκ
ἐμπεριγεγραμμένον καὶ συνεσταλμένον. Ἀλλὰ πάλιν καὶ οὕτω Θεὸς ὁ
90 Χριστὸς ἅπαντα ἐφορᾷ καὶ διαυγάζει καὶ ζωογονεῖ, ἡ γὰρ ὑπόστασις
τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου ἐκείνη καὶ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ κέκρυπται, ἐκείνη καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς
σαρκὸς τὸν κόσμον αὐγάζει.

5. Ἡ δὲ τετάρτη ἡμέρα καθ' ἣν ὁ τὴν σάρκωσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ
σημαίνων ἥλιος ἀπηρτίσθη ταῦτα δηλοῖ, ὅτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων ἡ
95 τελειότης τότε φανήσεται ὅτε ὡς ἐκ νεφέλης φωτεινῆς τῆς Παρθένου
ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον παμφαές τὸ ἐξ Ἰακώβ Ἐωσφόρον ἔχον ἀστέρα προ-
τρέχοντα, τὸν τοῖς ἐσκοτισμένοις Μάγοις τοῦτο μηνύοντα. Τὴν δεκάδα
γὰρ ἡ τετράς συμπληροῖ· μονὰς γὰρ σὺν δυάδι τριάδα πληροῖ, καὶ τὰ
τρία σὺν ταύτῃ ἐξάδα ποσοῖ, καὶ τετράς σὺν ταύτῃ τὸν δέκα τελειοῖ. Διὰ
100 τοῦτο καὶ ἀποτελεσματικὸν τὸν τέσσαρα ὀνομάζουσιν, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν
μορίων αὐτοῦ εἰς μονάδας ἀναλυομένων ὁ δέκα συνίσταται.

III 1. Φησὶν οὖν ἡ τετάρτη ἡμέρα ὅτι Ἐπειδὴ τὸν δέκα | μηνύω, 893A
σαφῶς παριστᾷ ὅτι καὶ ἡ τελειότης πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν τότε φανήσε-
ται καὶ ἀναλάμψει τῷ ἀνθρώπινῳ γένει, ὅτε Χριστὸς τῇ ἐσκοτισμένῃ
105 φύσει προσενωθῇ, καθὼς ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἐσκοτισμένου δίσκου προσηνώθη
τὸ φῶς. Πολλὰ σοι περὶ τοῦ τετάρτου ἀριθμοῦ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ἐν τῇ κτίσει
πράγματα, καὶ ὅτι διὰ τούτου τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, λέγω δὴ τοῦ τετάρτου,
πᾶσα ἡ ἐξαήμερος ἐπουράνιος κτίσις διοικεῖται καὶ συνίσταται,
110 διδάσκοντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ τοιοῦτου τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ διὰ τοῦ ὑποδείγματος ὅτι ἡ
μὲν ἁγία Τριάς ἀκτιστός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Τριάδα, τουτέστιν ὁ τῆς

Yes, because the sun came into being on the fourth day, it presents us
with a mystery that is strange and worthy of investigation.

4. The light, which had been spread over the three preceding days
and had been diffused throughout the whole universe, represents the
light of the uncreated Trinity, which came first. It was everywhere: it
left no place bereft of its presence.

Then on the fourth day, the solar disk was crafted. And that earlier
light, which was present everywhere, was subjoined to it. This reveals
that that divine light was put away, as in a disk, at first shadowy
through the sin of Adam, but later resplendent through its unification
with God in person. Obviously, this was human kind, which had been
dishonored. The Son of God took it out of all its dark humanity and
embraced it; yet even so, he was not constricted and was beyond
circumscription. Just as the light, after it had been put away in the sun
on the fourth day, was still present everywhere and spread over all the
earth, so also the light of divinity, even after the Incarnation, did not
become circumscribed and did not shrink. God the Christ looks upon and
illuminates and gives life to all things. Even if the essence of God the
Word was concealed in a body, yet from that body it brightens the world.

5. The fourth day saw the completion of the sun, which symbolizes
the Incarnation of Christ. This day made clear that the perfection of all
good things would be seen when the star, as from a shimmering cloud,
arose from the Virgin: the all-illuminating morning star of Jacob,¹ the
star that had a star running out in advance, to stir the Wise Men's hazy
minds.²

The tetrad fills up the decade. For the monad with the diad completes
the triad. And three with this amounts to the hexad. And the tetrad
with this completes the number ten. Thus the number four is called
productive. From its parts dissolved into units [one, two, three, four], the
number ten is put together.

III 1. The fourth day therefore says this:

"Since I bring to mind the number ten, I clearly suggest that the
perfection of all good things will become manifest and will shine on
humanity when Christ is united with man's darkened nature, just as the
light was unified with the darkened disk in me."

I have much to discuss with you,³ things that concern the number
four in creation, because the entire creation of heavenly bodies is put
together and organized through this number: I am speaking about the
fourth. Through this model, such a number teaches us that the Holy
Trinity was uncreated, but that which came after the Trinity—the

¹ Cf Num 24:17. ² Cf Mt 2:1-2, 9-11. ³ Cf Jn 16:12.

74 τί M 81 σκοτεινῷ] *scripsi* σκοτεινὸν MNP 82 φωτεινῷ] *scripsi* φωτεινὸν MNP
84 ἡτιμωμένῳ P 88 οὕτως MN 89 οὕτως MN 90 ἡ] *scripsi* εἰ MNP
97 ἐσκοτισμένοις P^acorr. 98 διάδι P 102 μηνύων M^acorr. 107/9 τούτου - ἡμᾶς] *om.* P
109 τοῦ τοιοῦτου] MN^pcorr. PP^{corr.} τοῦ τοιοῦ- N^acorr. τούτου P^acorr. τοῦ] *om.* M

σαρκώσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐνὸς τῆς Τριάδος τῆς ἁγίας τρόπος καὶ λόγος, οὗτος ἐστὶν ἡ πηγὴ καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ ρίζα καὶ ὑπόθεσις καὶ ἀσφάλεια πάντων τῶν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐξαήμερῳ κτίσει γεγεννημένων ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀγαθῶν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Παύλου φωνὴν τὴν λέγουσαν ὅτι
 115 πάντα εἰς τύπον Χριστοῦ προεκτίσθησαν τὸν λόγον καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς αὐτοῦ σαρκώσεως προμηνύοντα, ὅστις μετὰ τὸν τριαδικὸν λόγον διὰ τῶν τεσσάρων Εὐαγγελίων ὡς τετάρτη τις ἡμέρα ἐν τοῖς τέσσαρσι πέρασι τῆς οἰκουμένης κηρύττεται, ἐν ᾗ ἀνέτειλε τῷ κόσμῳ ὁ οὐράνιος ἥλιος.

120 2. Οὐκοῦν διὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ μυστήριον τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἐποίησε· διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ τεσσάρων στοιχείων τὰ πάντα ἔκτισε, πυρὸς καὶ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ τέσσαρα τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν εἰς τέσσαρα θεωρεῖται· τὸ μὲν πῦρ εἰς φῶς καὶ ἀστέρας καὶ σελήνην καὶ ἥλιον· τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ εἰς στερέωμα καὶ
 125 ἄλλο ὕδωρ ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος καὶ ἐπίγειον ὕδωρ καὶ ἀβύσσιον· τὸν ἀέρα εἰς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους καὶ τέσσαρας τροπὰς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ διεῖλε· τὴν γῆν εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα πέρατα ἐμέρισεν, ὥσπερ καὶ εἰς τέσσαρας γενέσεις, λέγω δὴ χλόης καὶ καρπῶν καὶ ζώων καὶ ἀνθρώπου.

3. Ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰ ζῶα εἰς τέσσαρα γένη πάλιν ὀνομάζει κτῆνη
 130 καλῶν αὐτὰ καὶ ζῶα καὶ θηρία καὶ ἐρπετά. τὰ δὲ πετεινὰ μίᾳ προσηγορίᾳ καλεῖ· τύπος γάρ εἰσι τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῶν νοερῶν δυνάμεων μηδεμίαν διαίρεσιν γνώμης ἢ πίστεως ἢ πολιτείας ἔχοντων. Ὁμοίως καὶ τέσσαρα σπέρματα ἐν τῇ κτίσει ἐπὶ γῆς γνωρίζεται· βλαστῶν καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ ζώων καὶ ἀνθρώπων. Ταῦτα γὰρ μόνον ἐν γῇ
 135 καὶ ἀπὸ γῆς γεννᾶται τῶν τεσσάρων σπερμάτων τῆς διδαχῆς τοῦ Λόγου τύπος ὑπάρχοντα, τουτέστι Θεοῦ. Ὡς γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοφυῶς ἀπὸ γῆς, οὕτω καὶ ὁ τῆς διδασκαλίας λόγος φυσικῶς ἐκ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀγγέλων (οὓς ἐτύπου τὰ πετεινὰ) καὶ ἀνθρώπων (ζῶα γάρ) καὶ γραφῶν (ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γάρ). διὰ γὰρ τούτων τῶν τεσσάρων τρόπων ἡ γῆ τῆς
 140 ἐκκλησίας σπεύρεται.

4. Οἱ δὲ ἰχθύες σπóρον τῇ γῇ οὐ καταβάλλουσι, πλὴν ὅτι ἀσπόρως ἐξ ὕδατων τίκτονται. Τίνος δὲ χάριν ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ λέξομεν. Ὁμως οὐδὲ οἱ ἰχθύες ἐστέρηνται τοῦ τετραμεροῦς σχήματος σταυροειδεῖς ὑπάρχοντες, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ, μεθ' ὧν καὶ ἐγένοντο· καὶ αὐτοὶ γὰρ
 145 δυοὶ πτερυγίοις καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῇ οὐρᾷ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι φέρονται. Καὶ τὰ κτῆνη δὲ τετράποδα ὄντα τέταρτον τὸν ἀριθμὸν διαγράφουσιν. Ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος σταυροειδῶς σχηματιζόμενος τὴν εἰκόνα, ὡς κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ σταυρωθέντος Χριστοῦ τυγχάνων, |

message and the way of the incarnate Christ, who is one of the Holy Trinity—was the spring, the beginning, the root, the foundation, and the assurance of all good things in heaven and on earth, which came into being through God in the six-day creation.¹ This is in accordance with the words of Paul, when he says that all things were created as a type of Christ and predicted the message and the way of his Incarnation.²

And after the Word of the Triad, he was proclaimed through the four Evangelists to the four ends of the earth—like the fourth day, in which the heavenly sun rose over the earth.

2. Surely then, on account of this way and this mystery, God created the sun on the fourth day.³ And on account of this, he created all things from four elements: fire, earth, water, and air. And on account of this, each of these four elements is perceived as four. *Fire* is thought of as the light, stars, moon, and sun.⁴ *Water* is thought of as the firmament, the water above the firmament, the terrestrial water, and the deep.⁵ He divided the *air* into four winds and the four seasons of the year. And he partitioned the *earth* into four ends—so also, four kinds of life: plants, fruits, animals, and humans.

3. Likewise, he groups even animals into four classifications: he calls them cattle, animals, wild beasts, and reptiles.⁶ He uses only one appellation, however, in naming birds.⁷ For these are a type of the winged creatures of heaven, although they have no share in the understanding, faith, or citizenship of the noetic powers.

Similarly, four seeds are recognized in the creation on earth: those of vegetation, birds, animals, and humans.⁸ Only things on the earth and from the earth begot these seeds, which offer a type of the four seeds of the teaching of the Word—that is, of God.⁹ As the seed arose naturally from the earth, so too the message of the teaching came naturally from Christ, from the angels (of whom the birds were types), from humans (for they are animals), and from Scripture (for they came from humans). In these four ways, the earth of the Church was impregnated.

4. Fish do not cast their seed on the earth, but without impregnation they spawn from the waters. However, we will discuss fish on the fifth day. But in keeping with this discussion, fish have not been deprived of a shape that consists of four parts: they look like a cross, similar to birds, with which they came into being.¹⁰ Fish and birds move with two wings and a head and a tail, through air and water.

And cattle add to our list of the number four, because they are four-footed.

Similarly, man too was shaped in the image of a cross, so that made according to the image of the crucified Christ,¹¹ he was an archetype

¹ Cf Mt 6:10. ² Cf Col 1:16. ³ Cf 1 Cor 2:7. ⁴ Cf Gen 1:3, 14-18. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:2, 7.

⁶ Cf Gen 1:21, 24-25. ⁷ Cf Gen 1:20-21. ⁸ Cf Gen 1:11-12, 29, 3:15. ⁹ Cf Jn 1:1.

¹⁰ Cf Gen 1:20-21. ¹¹ Cf Gen 1:27.

113 τῶν] *om.* M 118 πέρασι] *add.* πέρασι *secundum* P *per dittographiam* οἰκουμένοις P
 122 πυρὸς καὶ γῆς] *scripsi* πυρὸς γῆς MNP 126 ἐνιαυτοῦ P 128 ἀνθρώπων P
 131 εἰσὶ MN οερῶν M 133 τέσσα P ἐπὶ] τῆς *add.* M 134 ζώων καὶ] *om.* N
 137 οὕτως M 145 ἐν] *om.* MN 146 τὸν] *om.* MN 147 σχηματιζόμενος P

150 τεσσάρων κεράτων τοῦ σταυροῦ προετύπωσε τοῦ καὶ ξύλου λεγομένου
 τῆς ζωῆς, τοῦ γὰρ Χριστοῦ ὁ σταυρὸς ἦν. Δι' αὐτὸν γὰρ τῇ περιγλυφίδι
 ἀπεσμιλεύθη ξύλου ἀληθῶς τοῦ πεφυτευμένου παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν
 ὑδάτων, τῶν τεσσάρων Εὐαγγελίων φημί.

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5. Οὐδὲν δὲ ἀτοπον εἰ κάκεινου τοῦ τετάρτου τὴν ὄρασιν, τοῦ ἐν
 καμίνῳ τῶν παίδων ὀφθέντος ἐν ὁμοιώματι υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰς τύπον
 155 ταύτης τῆς τετάρτης ἡμέρας καὶ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ δειχθέντος ἡλίου
 νοήσωμεν. Συγγενὲς γὰρ ἐκείνο τὸ πῦρ τούτου τοῦ ἡλίου καθέστηκεν, εἴτε
 τὸ σωματικόν ἐκείνο καὶ καυστικόν τοῦδε τοῦ σωματικοῦ ἡλίου, εἴτε τὸ
 δροσιτικόν καὶ τῶν παίδων φυλακτικόν τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν ἡλίου Χριστοῦ,
 ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ κάμιнос τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς Παρθένου προδιέγραφε.

160 6. Ταῦτα δέ μου τὰ ἐπίγεια διεξερχομένου εἰς τὴν τετάρτην ἡμέραν
 περὶ τοῦ τετάρτου ἀριθμοῦ ὁ θεὸς Ἰεζεκιήλ ὁ προφήτης, ὥσπερ ἐπιστάς,
 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προφητείας καὶ ἐκστάσεως ἡμᾶς ὑπανέμνησε, τετράμορφα
 ζῶα ἐκεῖνα τῶν ἀνωτάτων νοερῶν δυνάμεων ἡμῖν ὑποδεικνύων, ἃ
 165 ἐθεάσατο τὸ μυστήριον Χριστοῦ προσημαίνοντα καὶ διαγράφοντα, ἐν οἷς
 ἐθεώρει ὁ προφήτης πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου καὶ βοὸς καὶ λέοντος καὶ
 ἀετοῦ, διδάσκοντα ἡμᾶς ὡς ὁ τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς
 ἄγγελος ἀσώματος ὢν καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην μορφήν ὑποδύς ὡς
 ἀνθρωπος μὲν ἐπὶ γῆς ὀφθῆσεται καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναναστραφή-
 170 σεται, ὡς δὲ βοῦς ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου σωτηρίας τυθήσεται, ὡς δὲ λέων
 πεσὼν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος ὑπνώσει (πλὴν ἀνεωγότας ἔξει τοὺς
 ὀφθαλμούς τῆς θεότητος· οὐ γὰρ ὕπνου πάθει ἢ τινὸς ἄλλου θεότης
 ἀλίσκεται), ἀναπηδήσας δ' ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστήσεται, καὶ ὡς ἀετὸς βασι-
 λεὺς εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀναληφθήσεται, ὥστε θεοφρόνως ὁ Παῦλος ἐβόα
 175 ὅτι εἰς Χριστοῦ τύπον ἐκτίσθησαν τὰ ἐπίγεια καὶ τὰ ἐπουράνια, ἐξ ὧν
 μάλιστα εἰσι καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ ταύτῃ καὶ πρώτη ἡμέρᾳ τέλεια λεγό-
 μενα, περὶ ὧν εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· *Γενηθήτωσαν φωστῆρες ἐν τῷ στερεώματι
 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς φαῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.*

IV 1. Καλὴν ἀντικαταλλαγὴν τὸ στερέωμα τὸ ἐξ ὑδάτων τῆς
 ἐκκλησίας παρὰ Θεοῦ ἐδείξατο. Ἐνόησον γὰρ ὅτι, πρὶν ἢ στερέωμα
 180 γένηται, ὕδωρ ἦν ἀστερέωτον, ἄβυσσος καλούμενον διὰ τὸ σκότος τὸ
 πονηρὸν τῆς πλάνης τὸ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ ἐπικείμενον, ὅπερ ἐξορίσας ὁ Θεὸς
 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀντίθρονον αὐτῷ ἐχαρίσατο λέγων· *Γενηθήτωσαν φωστῆρες
 ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς φαῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.* Οἱ γὰρ μακάριοι
 ἄγγελοι οὐχ ὑπὸ κτιστοῦ τινὸς φωτίζονται, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ.
 185 περὶ ὧν φησὶν ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι *Φῶς δικαίοις διὰ παντός.*

2. Οὐκοῦν εἰς φαῦσιν τῆς γῆς οἱ φωστῆρες ἐγένοντο, οὐκ εἰς φαῦσιν καὶ

of the cross with four ends, also called the Tree of Life,¹ because the cross was of Christ. Therefore, because of Christ, the cross was stripped of its bark, that tree that truly was planted beside the outpourings of waters²—the waters of the four Evangelists, I mean.

5. It would not be out of place for us to consider here the apparition of that fourth person, who was seen in the furnace with the three young men and who looked like the Son of God,³ as a type of the fourth day and of Christ the sun, who was made known in the fourth day. In fact, that fire was related to the sun. Since it was physical and capable of burning, it was like the physical sun; but since it formed dew and protected the young men, it was similar to the sun among us, Christ. And just so, the furnace offered a prophetic description of the image of the Virgin.

6. While I was going through these terrestrial things about the number four with respect to the fourth day, the divine prophet Ezekiel, as if appearing, reminded us of his ecstatic prophesy.⁴ He pointed out to us those creatures with four forms:⁵ the highest noetic Powers, whom he saw proclaiming and describing the mystery of Christ. The prophet had perceived in them the faces of a man, a bull, a lion, and an eagle.⁶ They were teaching us about the Messenger of the Father's Great Counsel.⁷ Although not physical, he would put on an anthropomorphic shape. He would be seen upon the earth as a *man*, and would associate with men.⁸ He would be sacrificed, however, like a *bull*, for the salvation of the world. He would sleep like a *lion* that has fallen into a tomb. (Yet he would have the open eyes of divinity. For divinity does not suffer sleep, nor does it succumb to anything else.) Then leaping up, he would rise from the dead. And like an *eagle*, the king would be taken up into the heavens.

So Paul, in his divine thinking, proclaimed that both terrestrial and heavenly things were created as a type of Christ:⁹ above all, the things in this fourth and first day, which are called perfect. About them *God said: "Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven to illuminate the earth."*¹⁰

IV 1. It has been shown that the firmament rising from the waters is beautifully equivalent to the Church of God.¹¹ Now consider this: before the firmament of heaven came into being, the water was without a firmament. It was called an abyss, because the evil darkness of sin lay upon it.¹² But God banished this darkness and enthroned its rival, with which he blessed the firmament, saying: *"Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven to illuminate the earth."*¹³ The blessed angels are not illuminated by any creation, but by God himself. On account of this, Scripture says: *There will always be light for the righteous.*¹⁴

2. Surely the lights came into being to illuminate the earth, and not

151 ἀπεσμιλεύθη] N^{pcorr.} ἀπεσμιλεύθη MN^{a.corr.} P 157 σωματικοῦ] σώματος M^{a.corr.}
 158 δροστικόν M 161 ἀριθμοῦ M 162 Ἰεζεκιήλ MNP 163 αἶ P 166 ὁ] om. P τῆς] om. P
 167 μόρφωσιν P 174 οὐ(ρά)νια P 179 ἐδείξατο] scripsi ἐδέξατο MNP
 ἐνώησον N^{a.corr.} ἐνόησον P^{a.corr.} 182 ἀπ'] ἐπ' M αὐτῷ] φῶς add. M Γενηθήτωσαν M
 184 τινός] MNP lege τινος 185 φησὶν] MNP lege φησιν

¹ Cf Gen 2:9. ² Cf Gen 2:10. ³ Cf Dan 3:92. ⁴ Cf Ez 1:1, 10:1. ⁵ Cf Ez 1:5-6, 10:9-15.

⁶ Cf Ez 1:10, 10:14. ⁷ Cf Is 9:5 (6). ⁸ Cf Bar 3:38; Phil 2:7. ⁹ Cf Col 1:16.

¹⁰ Gen 1:14. ¹¹ Cf Gen 1:6-7. ¹² Cf Gen 1:2. ¹³ Gen 1:14. ¹⁴ Prov 13:9.

τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀβύσσῳ δαίμονες παραπεμφθέντες
ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ, ὧν τύπος οἱ ἰχθύες οἱ βρωμοῦντες ὑπάρχουσιν, ἀμέτοχοι
τῆς ἐλλάμψεως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φωτὸς καθεστήκασιν καὶ ἀλλότριοι. Εἰ δὲ
190 περὶ αἰσθητῶν ἀστρῶν εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς μόνον τὸ *Γενηθήτωσαν φωστῆρες*,
ἄρ' ἂν εἶπεν *εἰς φαῦσιν τῆς γῆς* καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. Ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοὺς ἐν γῇ
διατρίβοντας χρησιμεύει τὰ ἀστρα πολλοῖς τοῖς ἐν θαλάσῃ πλέουσιν.

3. Οὐκοῦν σωματικῶς μὲν φησιν ἡ γραφὴ περὶ τῶν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν
κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ γράμμα γεγεννημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ κτισμάτων, προμηνύει
195 δὲ δι' αὐτῶν ἀ|ψευδῶς ὅλον τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησί-
ας. Εἰ δὲ ἀντιλέγεις πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ σαρκικός 'Ιουδαῖος ἢ ὁ ἀκροατής, εἰπέ
μοι σύ, τί δὴ ποτε ποιήσας ὁ Θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα οὐκ ἐποίησε σὺν αὐτῷ
εὐθέως καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην, ὥσπερ, ἡνίκα
ἀπεκάλυψε τὴν γῆν, εὐθέως κατεκόσμησεν αὐτὴν βοτάναις καὶ τοῖς
200 καρποῖς καὶ τοῖς δένδροις τῶν ξύλων. Διὰ τί δὲ τοὺς ἐλαχίστους ἐποίησε
πρὸ τῶν δύο φωστήρων τῶν τελείων, καὶ πῶς πάλιν ἐν τοῖς δυα-
τείλειοις οὐ τὸν ἐλάσσονα ἐδημιούργησε πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ τὸν μέγαν; Κατὰ
τι δ' οἶμαι πάντως φοβερὸν καὶ ἀπόκρυφον μυστήριον. Τοὺς μὲν ἀστέρας
ἄνω ἐν τῷ στερεώματι διὰ προστάγματος ἔκτισε, τὸν δὲ ἥλιον καὶ τὴν
205 σελήνην ἐπὶ γῆς δι' ἑαυτοῦ, ὥσπερ τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ τὴν Εὕαν δημιου-
ργήσας, μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοὺς ἀνενέγκας ἄνω ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τέθηκε.

4. Διὸ ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ γνωστικός ἀκροατής μὴ ἀναβάλλου, ἀλλὰ
μετάβηθι καὶ δεῦρο εἰσέλθωμεν πάλιν εἰς τὰ ἐνδότερα τοῦ γραφικοῦ
καταπετάσματος, εἰς τὰ "Ἁγία καὶ ἅδυστα τῶν Ἀγίων νοημάτων. Τοῦτο
210 γὰρ διδάσκει ἡμᾶς καὶ περὶ Μωσέως ἡ γραφὴ λέγουσα εἰσελθεῖν αὐτὸν
ἔσωθεν τοῦ γνόφου, ὅπου ἦν ὁ Θεὸς λέγων· *Γενηθήτωσαν φωστῆρες ἐν*
τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς φαῦσιν τῆς γῆς. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐποίησε
καὶ ἔπηξε τρισσὸν φωτισμὸν ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, διὰ ἀστέ-
ρων, καὶ διὰ ἡλίου, καὶ διὰ σελήνης. Δι' ἀστέρων, ὅτι οἱ ἅγιοι προφηταὶ
215 πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ δίκαιοι προεκήρυξαν καὶ προέδραμον καταγγέλλοντες τῷ
κόσμῳ τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ ἡλίου Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς συζύγου
αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας· εἶτα μετὰ τὴν αὐτῶν συστολήν ὁ ἥλιος ἠύγασε
Χριστός, καὶ ἡ σύζυγος αὐτοῦ σελήνη ἐκκλησία. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ σελήνη
πληρεστάτη οὖσα φαίνεται ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ βοήδρομει καὶ αὐτὴ τὸν ἄερα,
220 τοῦ ἡλίου ταῖς ἀκτῖσι τὴν ἡμέραν φωτίζοντος. Εἰ μὴ γὰρ τὴν ἅμα τοῦ
Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνέλλαμψιν ὑπενέφαινον, οὐκ ἂν καὶ αὐτὴ ἐν
ἡμέρᾳ συνεφέρετο τῷ ἡλίῳ ὅτε πληροσέληνος ἐστίν. Ἔως μὲν γὰρ
ἀτελής ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκκλησία, ὥς ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν 'Ιουδαίων συναγωγῆς, ἐν νυκτὶ
λάμπει μόνον, τῇ αὐτῶν βιοτῇ φημί. Ὅτε δὲ τελειωθῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ
225 τελειοῦντος τὰ πάντα Θεοῦ, τότε συναναφαίνεται τῷ ἡλίῳ Χριστῷ καὶ

to illuminate the things in the sea, because the demons were expelled by
Christ into the abyss.¹ The fish that stink are types of these. They have
no share in the shining light of heaven—indeed, they are alien from it. If
God had been speaking only about the perceptible stars when he said:
"Let there be lights," he would have added: "to illuminate the earth and
the sea."² In addition to those that are busy on land, the stars are useful
to many that sail the sea.

3. Surely Scripture is speaking in a physical way when it describes
the creations that, literally and factually, came into being through God.
But it also foreshadows through them, in a truthful way, the whole
mystery of Christ and the Church. The Jew that focuses on the physical
meaning—or you the reader—might argue against this. If so, tell me:
when God made the firmament, why did he not immediately make the
stars and the sun and the moon with it? Compare it to this: at the time
when he uncovered the land, he immediately decorated it with pastures
and fruits and the trees of the woods.³ And why did he create the
smallest lights before the two perfect lights of heaven? And again, why
did he then not fabricate first the smaller of the two perfect lights—but
instead, the greater?⁴

I am sure that it was according to some hidden and completely awe-
inspiring mystery. He created the stars in the firmament above *by a*
command.⁵ Yet he created the sun and moon on the earth *by himself* ⁶
—just as he created Adam and Eve⁷—and having carried them up, he
placed them in the firmament.⁸

4. Hearing these things, you the wise reader should not push them
aside, but you should change your way of thinking. Come on, let us go
again inside the scriptural veil, into the Holy of Holies and the
innermost sanctuary of the mind.

The passage teaches us this about Moses: it says that he went inside
the darkness,⁹ where God was saying: "Let there be lights in the
firmament of heaven to illuminate the earth."¹⁰ Having said these things,
God made and fixed a three-fold light in the firmament of the Church:
through the stars, the sun, and the moon. Through the stars, it is meant
that the holy and righteous prophets came first. They preceded with
their predictions, announcing to the world the arrival of the sun, which
is the Anointed One of God, and his bride the Church. Then after the
stars' waning, there shone Christ the sun, and then his bride the moon,
which is the Church. For this reason, the moon, when she is full,
appears during the daytime. And while the sun with his rays brightens
the day, she herself hurries through the air to help.

If these things did not suggest the shining of the Church together
with Christ, she (when a full moon) would not hover with the sun during
the day. As long as the Church was incomplete—as a congregation of
Jews—it shone only at night. And here I am speaking about the life of
the Jews. But when it was perfected by God, who brings all things to
completion, then the moon appeared with the sun Christ in the splendid

187 παραπεμφθέντος N 188 βρωμοῦντες] *scripsi* βρωμοῦντες MNP 192 χρημεύει M^{corr.}
194 τοῦ] *om.* N 196 ὁ] *om.* P 199 εὐθέως] *οὐ add.* P 204 τὴν] *om.* P 205 αὐτοῦ P
206 τέθεικε MN 208 δεῦρο M^{corr.} 214 διὰ] *om.* P 217 ἠύγασε M 218 ἐκκλησία -
σελήνη] *om.* N *per homoeoteleuton* 220 ἀκτῖσι] ἀκτὶ M 221 ἀνέλαμψιν N 224 βιωτῇ MP

¹ Cf Mt 8:31-32; Mk 5:12-13; Lk 8:32-33. ² Gen 1:14. ³ Cf Gen 1:9-12. ⁴ Cf Gen 1:14-16.
⁵ Cf Gen 1:14. ⁶ Cf Gen 1:15. ⁷ Cf Gen 1:27. ⁸ Cf Gen 1:17. ⁹ Cf Ex 20:21.
¹⁰ Gen 1:14.

ἐν τῇ φαεινῇ μέρᾳ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ἡμῶν τῶν πιστῶν βιοτῆς.

5. Δέχου καὶ ἄλλην θεωρίαν περὶ τούτων. Τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ δι' ἐνός
 τινος μοναδικοῦ φωτὸς ἀδιαιρέτου τὴν κτίσιν προκατεφώτισεν ὁ Θεὸς
 230 πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων,
 τουτέστι τὸν φωτισμὸν τῆς μοναρχίας τῆς θεότητος ἀποκαλύψας καὶ
 ἀναδείξας ἐν κόσμῳ. Ἐπὶ ταύτης δὲ τῆς τελείας πρώτης τετάρτης
 ἡμέρας, ἐν ᾗ ἡ παρουσία τοῦ ἡλίου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πρὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,
 ἐπέφανε τρισσὸν φωτισμὸν καὶ τρισσὸν φῶς τριαδικὸν εἰς τύπον τῆς
 235 ἁγίας Τριάδος ὁμοούσιον ὁ κόσμος ἐγνώρισεν. Ἐν ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ τῷ
 πρώτῳ φωτὶ τὸ μοναδικὸν διδασκόμεθα τῆς θεότητος· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ
 τριλαμπεῖ τὸ τριαδικὸν τῶν ὁμοουσίων προσημαίνεται.

V 1. Εἰ δὲ σκληρόν σοι καὶ βεβιασμένον τὸ εἰρημένον φαίνεται, ἐροῦμεν
 πάλιν καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ καθ' ἕτερον τρόπον. Ἴσως γὰρ τὸ ἄνωθεν ἐν αὐτῷ
 τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τοὺς ἀστέρας αὐτόχθονας γενέσθαι τύπον
 240 | ἔχει τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς δημιουργηθέντων ἁγίων ἀγγέλων. Διὸ καὶ
 πρῶτους αὐτοὺς ἔταξε τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
 ἀναλάμψεως, ἐπειδὴ καὶ οἱ θεότατοι νόες πρὸ τοῦ ἡλίου Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς
 σελήνης τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατεδεδούχουν τοὺς ἐπὶ γῆς ποικιλοτρόπως
 ἐφιστάμενοι. Ὅτι γὰρ ἐπὶ γῆς τοὺς δύο τούτους μεγάλους φωστῆρας ὁ
 245 Θεὸς κατεσκεύασε, καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τέθηκεν
 αὐτοὺς, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν τῆς γραφῆς ῥημάτων μανθάνομεν. Φηοὶ γὰρ ὁ
 νομοθέτης Μωσῆς ὅτι Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Γενηθήτωσαν φωστῆρες ἐν τῷ
 στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τούτους τοὺς αἰσθητοὺς, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τοὺς
 νοητοὺς τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων φωστῆρας κατὰ πρόσταξιν ποιήσας.
 250 Αὐτὸς γὰρ εἶπε καὶ ἐγενήθησαν· αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν. Τοὺς δὲ
 δύο φωστῆρας οὐχ οὕτως, οὐ γὰρ εἶπε· Γενηθήτωσαν φωστῆρες, ἀλλὰ·
 Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς δύο φωστῆρας τοὺς μεγάλους, καὶ ἔθετο
 αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Πρῶτον ἐποίησε, καὶ τότε ἔθετο
 αὐτοὺς ἄνω. Ποῦ δὲ εἶχε ποιῆσαι καὶ αὐτοὺς, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; Οὐ γὰρ
 255 ἦν ἕτερος τόπος ἐκτὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, εἰ μὴ ἡ γῆ, ὅπου ἐγένετο ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
 τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως ἀνήχθησαν ἄνω.

2. Ὅρα μοι πάλιν καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν γῆν πρὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ
 ἡλίου καταφωτιζομένην, καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως τῷ οὐρανῷ Χριστὸν τὸν ἡλίον
 ἀναπέμπουσιν μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ σύνθεσιν καὶ κατασκευὴν τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς
 260 γεγεννημένην. Μὴ λανθανέτω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ὅτι ἐκ πάντων τῶν φωστήρων
 μόνος ὁ ἥλιος σύνθετός ἐστιν ἐκ δύο τινῶν γενῶν συγκείμενος εἰς τύπον
 Χριστοῦ, τουτέστιν ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ πρώτου οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀρχαίου φωτὸς
 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα γεγονότος πυρὸς καὶ ἐν αἰθέρι ἐναπολειφθέντος
 καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς δι' ἀποσπάδος ἐναπορριφέντος καὶ ὑπηρετούντος ἡμῖν. Φῶς

daylight of the lifestyle of the Good News, the lifestyle of us the faithful.

5. Here is yet another consideration about these things. On the first
 day, before the advent of the sun and moon and stars, God illuminated
 creation through one unique and undivided light.¹ That is, in the world
 he revealed and displayed the illumination of the sole rule of the Divine.
 Then on this the fourth day, the first complete day, when the sun
 arrived on earth from heaven, a triple illumination appeared. And the
 world recognized this triple, three-part, consubstantial light as a type of
 the Holy Trinity. By that first light, we are taught the oneness of the
 Divine; but by this tri-light, the three-fold nature of the consubstantials
 is proclaimed.

V 1. If this is difficult for you, or if the argument seems forced, we
 will talk about this again in another way. In like manner, the stars came
 into being above in the firmament of heaven and are indigenous to it.
 This offers us a type of the holy angels, who were created in heaven. For
 this reason, God placed the stars first, before the sun and moon
 illuminated the earth, since the most divine Minds carried their torches
 before Christ the sun and his Church the moon, while in various ways
 taking care of things upon the earth.

God created these two great luminaries, the sun and the moon, upon
 the earth, and then placed them in the firmament of heaven. We learn
 this from these very passages in Scripture. Moses the lawmaker says:
*And God said: "Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven."*² He
 created the tangible lights, as also the noetic lights, the holy angels, by a
 command. *He spoke and they came into being. He commanded and they
 were created.*³ But he did not create the two luminaries in this way. He
 did not say: "Let there be lights." Rather: *God made the two great
 luminaries and placed them in the firmament of heaven.*⁴ First he made
 them, and then he placed them above. And what place did he have to
 make them—except on earth? There was no other place outside of
 heaven, except the earth. There they were made by God himself, and
 then they were carried above.

2. See, once again here also, before the heaven the earth was
 illuminated by the sun. Then thus it sent up the sun, Christ, into
 heaven, after his coming together and constitution had taken place upon
 the earth.

And do not delude yourself: of all the lights, only the sun was put
 together, a composite from two natures, as a type of Christ. That is, the
 sun arose both from that first heavenly and original light, and from the
 fire that came into being afterwards. And the sun, though left in the
 upper air, is cast upon the earth through its rays and serves us.

¹ Cf Gen 1:3. ² Gen 1:14. ³ Ps 32(33):9. ⁴ Gen 1:16-17.

226 βιωτῆς M 232 ἐπὶ - οὐρανοῦ] om. P 236 τριαδικόν] τριλαμπεῖ P 238 καὶ] om. MN
 αὐτοῦ] καὶ add. MN 241 τῆς] om. MN 242 θεότατοι P 243 ποικιλοτρόπους PN^a corr.
 245 τέθεικεν MN 254 τῆς] om. P 258 τῷ] ἐν add. P Χ(ριστο)ῦ P^a corr.

265 τὴν θεότητα τοῦ Λόγου μοι νόησον, ἦν γὰρ καὶ πρῶτη ἐν ἀρχῇ τὸ φῶς
τὸ ἀληθινὸν τὸ φωτίζον πάντα ἄνθρωπον, πῦρ δὲ πάλιν τὴν αἱματώδη
καὶ πυρίζουσιν ἡμῶν σάρκα, τὸ γὰρ φῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡλίου τὸ πῦρ προσελά-
βετο, τουτέστιν ὁ φωτίζων Λόγος ἐγένετο σὰρξ. Τὸν γὰρ Ἀδὰμ ἐνεδύ-
σατο ὁ Κύριος καὶ περιεζώσατο, Ἀδὰμ δὲ πυρρὰ γῆ καὶ αἱματώδης
270 ἐρμηνεύεται.

3. Ἐπειδήπερ τὰ παιδιά κεκοινωνήκε σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ὁ
ἐπὶ γῆς συντεθεὶς καὶ φανείς Χριστὸς ἡλίου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ
αὐτοῦ σελήνη ἐκκλησία ἐν τοῖς Ἀισμασι λέγει· Ἀδελφιδοῦς μου λευκὸς καὶ
πυρρὸς, ἡγουν Θεὸς καὶ Ἀδὰμ, λευκὸς διὰ τὴν θεότητα, πυρρὸς διὰ τὴν
275 ἀνθρωπότητα, οἷον ὁρῶμεν ὑπάρχοντα καὶ τὸν σύνθετον ἡλίου λευκὸν
καὶ πυρρὸν εἰς εἰκόνα Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἡλίου τῆς δικαιοσύνης, περὶ οὗ φησιν ὁ
Θεὸς διὰ Μαλαχίου τοῦ προφήτου· Ἀνατελεῖ τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸν
Κύριον ἡλίου δικαιοσύνης τοῦ ἐπιφᾶναι τοῖς ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ καθημένοις
θανάτου. Οὗτος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἡλίου ὁ λέγων· Ἐγὼ φῶς εἰς τὸν κόσμον
280 ἐλήλυθα, τουτέστι λεπτὸς ὢν ὡς φῶς διὰ τὴν θεότητα ἐπαχύνθη διὰ τὸ
εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐλθεῖν. Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἡλίου, περὶ οὗ καὶ Σολομὼν
προφητεύει λέγων· Ἀνατελεῖ ὁ ἡλίου, τουτέστι Χριστὸς ἐπὶ γῆς, καὶ δύνη
ὁ ἡλίου, τουτέστι πρὸς τὰ κάτω χωρεῖ, καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ
ἔρχεται, δύσας γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ ἅδῃ καὶ ἀναστὰς ἀνῆλθε πρὸς τὸν
285 Πατέρα καθὰ καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἐγὼ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐξηλθον ὡς Θεὸς | καὶ
πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα μου ὑπάγω ὡς Θεὸς καὶ Ἀδὰμ. Καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ὄνομα
τοῦ ἡλίου Ἑβραϊδὸς ὑπάρχον λέξεως Θεὸς ἐρμηνεύεται. Διὸ καὶ ὁ
Χριστὸς ἐκ τοῦ σταυροῦ Ἠλὶ Ἠλὶ ἐκράξεν, ὅπερ ἐρμηνεύων ὁ εὐαγ-
γελιστὴς φησὶ· Τουτέστι, Θεέ μου Θεέ μου. Τύπος γὰρ ἦν τοίνυν τοῦ
290 Χριστοῦ ὁ ἡλίου.

4. Ὅθεν, ἐπὶ ἀνὺποχωρήσει ἡ ἐνέργεια τῆς θερμῆς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου,
εὐθέως καὶ ἡ ζωὴ χωρίζεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ θανάτῳ παραπέμπεται,
διδάσκοντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ ὑποδείγματος ὅτι ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὕτη τὰ
πάντα ζωοποιεῖ, καὶ ὁ χωριζόμενος ἀπ' αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον,
295 ἀλλὰ νεκρὸς τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ γίνεται. Διὸ καὶ οἱ τὰς φυσιολογίας τῶν
κτισμάτων ἐξερευνήσαντες ἄρρητον καὶ ἀκατάληπτον εἶναι τὴν
σύγκρασιν καὶ σύνθεσιν τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ ἡλίου εἰρήκασιν, ὡς τύπον
ὑπάρχουσιν τῆς ἀρρήτου ἐνώσεως τῆς μοναδικῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ
Χριστοῦ, ἐξ ὧν ὑπάρχει καὶ ὁ θεοφόρος Βασίλειος. Εἰ γὰρ φῶς ἐστὶν
300 ἀπλοῦν ὁ ἡλίου, πῶς ὑπὲρ τὸ φῶς καταθερμαίνει τὴν γῆν; Εἰ δὲ πῦρ
ἄκρατον καὶ ἀμιγῆς ὑπάρχει, πῶς οὐ συγκαίει τὰ δένδρα καὶ τὴν χλόην;

5. Πολλὰ ὑποδείγματα καὶ προτυπώματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ ἡλίου

Consider the light as the divinity of the Word.¹ For he was the true light shining upon everyone long ago in the beginning.² Consider the fire, however, as our blood-filled flesh, which is full of fire. The light took upon itself the fire from the sun: that is, the shining Word became flesh.³ The Lord put on and wrapped himself up in Adam. The word *Adam* means "the fiery and blood-red earth".

3. Since siblings share the same flesh and blood,⁴ from which Christ the sun was composed and appeared upon the earth, his sister, the Church moon, says in the Song of Songs: "*My beloved is white and red.*"⁵ That is to say, God and Adam: white on account of his divinity, red on account of his humanity. In like manner, we see also the composite sun is white and red, as an image of Christ, the sun of righteousness. Through the prophet Malachi, God said about him: "*The sun of righteousness will rise for those who fear the Lord,*"⁶ in order to appear to those sitting in the darkness and shadow of death."⁷ This is the sun that said: "*I have come as a light to the world.*"⁸ That is, although through his divinity he was delicate as light, he became thick through his advent into the world. This is the sun about whom Solomon prophesied: *The sun will rise* (that is, Christ on the earth) *and the sun sets* (that is, he goes to the region below).⁹ And then it returns to its place: because Christ, having gone down to Hades and then having arisen, went up to the Father. This was in accordance to what he had said: "*As God I have come from the Father,*"¹⁰ and as God and Adam *I return to my Father.*"¹¹

And this is why the name of the sun (*Helios*) means "God" in the Hebrew phrase. Christ cried out from his cross: "*Eli! Eli!*" The Evangelist explains what this means: *That is: "My God, my God!"*¹² Here once again, the sun was a type of Christ.

4. Whenever the energizing heat departs from a man, his life immediately leaves him and he is sent to death. This paradigm teaches us that the power of Christ gives life to all things.¹³ And he that is removed from this power does not have eternal life, but is dead in sin.¹⁴

Therefore, they who examine the nature of things have stated that the mixture and composition of the essence of the sun cannot be expressed in words or even understood. This acts as a type of the inexpressible unity of the unique essence of Christ. Among those who have stated such things was the God-bearing Basil. For, if the sun is plain light, how is it that in addition to light, the sun also warms the earth? Yet if it is unmixed and unqualified fire, how is it that the sun does not completely burn the trees and the grass?

5. The sun provides many models and types relating to Christ. For

¹ Cf Jn 1:1. ² Cf Jn 1:9. ³ Cf Jn 1:14. ⁴ Cf Heb 2:14. ⁵ S of S 5:10. The terms ἀδελφὴ and ἀδελφιδοῦς (or -δός), which Anastasius uses here, can refer to a relative or one who is beloved. ⁶ Mal 3:20 (4:2). ⁷ Lk 1:79; cf Ps 106(107):10. ⁸ Jn 12:46. ⁹ Ec 1:5. ¹⁰ Jn 16:28. ¹¹ Jn 16:10. ¹² Mt 27:46. ¹³ Cf 1 Cor 15:22. ¹⁴ Cf Rom 6:11.

266 φωτίζων P 267 πυρίζουσιν MP 268 λόγως M 269 ὁ] scripsi om. MNP
περιεζώσατο N^{2.corr.} πυρὰ P αἱματώδη P 271 ὁ] om. P 272 φανῆς P
273 Ἀισμασι] scripsi ἄσματος MNP μοι P 274 πυρρὸς] πυρὸς M^{2.corr.} P^{2.corr.} ἡγουν -
πυρρὸς] om. M per homocoteleuton 278 ἡλίου M^{2.corr.} 280 λεπτῶς 288 ἡλὶ ἡλὶ M
ἐρμηνεύην M 289 Θεέ μου] om. P 292 καὶ] om. N 294 ὁ] om. P 300 πῦρ] om. P

κέκτηται, καὶ γὰρ τὸ πῦρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ οὐκ οἶδαμεν πῶς ἔρχεται καὶ ἀνά-
 305 πτεται καὶ ποῦ ἀποσβεννύμενον πορεύεται, ἢ πῶς χωρὶς τινος ξύλου ἢ
 στύπης ἢ κηροῦ ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς τοιούτου παχυμεροῦς σώματος οὐδεὶς
 δύναται βλέπειν, ἢ κατέχειν δύναται πῦρ ἐπὶ γῆς γυμνὸν καθ' ἑαυτό,
 διδάσκοντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ ὑποδείγματος ὅτι γυμνὴν τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ
 θεότητα οὐδεὶς ἐώρακεν ἢ ἐψηλάφησεν ἕως οὗ τὴν σάρκα προσελάβετο.
 Πάλιν ἐντὸς πάσης τῆς κτίσεως ἔστι τὸ πῦρ, καὶ ἐν ξύλοις, καὶ ἐν λίθοις,
 310 καὶ ἐν ὕδασι, καὶ οὐδεὶς ὁρᾷ οὐδὲ καταλαμβάνει πῶς ἐν αὐτοῖς κατοικεῖ,
 ὡςπερ ὁ πανταχοῦ παρὼν καὶ τὰ πάντα πληρῶν Λόγος, περὶ οὗ φησιν
 ἡ γραφή ὅτι *Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν πῦρ καταναλίσκον ἐστίν.*

6. Εὐρίσκομεν δὲ πάλιν τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου
 χορηγουμένους τὸ φῶς, ὡς οἱ πατέρες διδάσκουσιν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἑξῶς μάλιστα
 315 σοφία ἐνδιατρίψαντες, δηλοῦντος ἡμῖν τοῦ πράγματος ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ τοῦ νοητοῦ ἡλίου ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ οἱ φωστῆρες τῶν ἁγίων
 καταλάμπονται. Αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστι τὸ φῶς περὶ οὗ ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ οἱ δίκαιοι
 λέγουσιν ὅτι *Ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν πυρὸς,*
 οἷς καὶ ἀντιφθέγγεται ὅτι *Ἦμεῖς ἐσμεν τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου,* περὶ ὧν πάλαι
 320 προτυπικῶς εἶπε· *Γενηθήτωσαν φωστῆρες ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ*
οὐρανοῦ τῷ ἀνελθόντι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ὥστε φαίνειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

7. Ὅθεν καὶ παραδόξως μανθάνομεν ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἐν τῇ γῇ
 προεγένετο, καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ μετεδόθησαν, ὥσανεὶ τῆς γῆς
 325 πρὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον καὶ τὴν παρουσίαν καταπλου-
 τησάσης, εἶθ' οὕτως μετὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῷ οὐρανῷ
 καὶ τοῖς ἐν οὐρανῷ νοεοῖς φωστῆρσιν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀναλήψει
 παραπεμπούσης. Ἐγὼ γοῦν ἀκούων Παύλου λέγοντος, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ ἐν
 αὐτῷ οἰκοῦντος ἁγίου Πνεύματος κηρύττοντος, ὅτι *Πάντα εἰς Χριστοῦ*
τύπον ἐγένετο *τά τε ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς,* | ὅτε εἶδον τὸν ἥλιον ἐπὶ
 330 γῆς κατασκευαζόμενον καὶ ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συντιθέμενον, τουτέστιν ἐκ
 φωτὸς προϋπάρχοντα καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα, εἶτα μετὰ τὴν
 τοιαύτην σύνθεσιν καὶ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἔνωσιν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀπὸ γῆς
 ἀνυψούμενον καὶ ἀποκαθιστάμενον, οὐδὲν ἄλλο τι βλέπω εἰ μὴ Χριστὸν
 335 τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ σαρκὸς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναλαμβάνομενον. Οὗτος
 γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἥλιος περὶ οὗ γέγραπται ὅτι *Ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ ἔθετο τὸ σκῆνωμα*
αὐτοῦ, τουτέστι τῇ θεότητι τοῦ Λόγου ἠνώσε τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ
αὐτὸς ὡς νυμφίος (ἐδέδοτο γὰρ εἰς γάμον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως
 παρὰ τοῦ τεκόντος αὐτὸν Πατρός) μετὰ τῆς ἀφθάρτου νύμφης σαρκὸς
 340 *ἐκπορευόμενος ἐκ παστοῦ αὐτοῦ,* τῆς μητρὸς δηλαδὴ, *ἀγαλλιάσεται ὡς*
γίγας ἀπὸ γῆς *δραμεῖν ὁδὸν* εἰς οὐρανοὺς. *Ἀπ' ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*
γέγονεν ἡ ἔξοδος αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξεληλυθότος, καὶ νῦν τὸ κατάντημα

304 ἀποσβεννύμενον N 305 τοιούτου P 310 καὶ] c M^{acc} αὐτῇ M 314 οἱ] om. P
 315 τοῦ] om. P 317 ἡ] om. P 319 ἡμεῖς] ἡμεῖς M ὧν M 327 ἀκούω P 330 καὶ] om. P
 337 ἐδέδοτο] *correci* ἔδοτο M δέδοτο NP 338 αὐτὸν] αὐτοῦ P

instance, its fire: we do not know how it comes and ignites things. And
 where, when extinguished, does it go?¹ And how is it that no one on
 earth is able to see or grasp naked fire, in and of itself, apart from some
 wood or hemp or wax candle or other such coarse body? This illustration
 teaches us that no one saw or felt the naked divinity of Christ, until he
 took on flesh.² Moreover, fire is inside of every created thing—even in
 trees, rocks, and water. Yet no one sees or understands how it dwells in
 them. Just so, the Word is present everywhere and fills all things.³
 About this, Scripture says: *Our God is a devouring fire.*⁴

6. We also find that the moon and the stars are given light from the
 sun—at least, we are taught this by our ancestors, who specialized in
 non-ecclesiastical wisdom. This relationship makes clear to us that the
 Church and the lamps that are the saints are illuminated by Christ, the
 noetic sun. He is the light⁵ about which the Church and the righteous
 say: *“From his fullness we all receive our fire.”*⁶ To them he replies: *“You*
*are the light of the world.”*⁷ And about them, once again symbolically, he
 said: *“Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven, which arose from*
*the earth, to illuminate the earth.”*⁸

7. From this passage we learn, contrary to our expectations, that all
 these things first came into being on earth and then were transmitted to
 heaven. It is as if the earth had been enriched by the mystery of Christ
 and his presence before heaven. Then after he was composed and
 prepared, the earth sent him, in his ascension, to heaven and the noetic
 lights in heaven.

I hear Paul say (rather, the Holy Spirit that dwells in him proclaims):
Everything in the heavens and on earth came into being as a type of
 Christ.⁹ And I know that the sun, prepared upon the earth, was put
 together from two things: from light that pre-existed and from fire that
 came later. And after such a blending and unification, according to its
 nature, the sun was lifted from the earth to heaven and there
 reestablished. And so I see nothing else but that Christ, the Son of God,
 with his flesh, was taken up into heaven.

Here is the sun about whom it was written: *He pitched his tent in the*
*sun.*¹⁰ In other words: he unified his corporal nature with the divinity of
 the Word. *And he was like a bridegroom,*¹¹ because his Father, who had
 borne him, gave him in marriage to human nature.¹² And with the flesh
 of his incorruptible bride, *he left the bridal chamber.* This was obviously
 his mother. And so, *like a giant, he will rejoice to run his way* from earth
 to heaven. When *he came to us,* he had departed *from the peak of*

¹ Cf Jn 3:8. ² Cf Jn 1:14, 18; 1 Jn 1:1, 3. ³ Cf Eph 4:10. ⁴ Dt 4:24. ⁵ Cf Jn 1:4-5, 7-9.
⁶ Jn 1:16. ⁷ Mt 5:14. ⁸ Gen 1:14. ⁹ Jn 1:3; Col 1:16. ¹⁰ Ps 18(19):6. ¹¹ Ps 18(19):6.
¹² Cf Mt 22:2.

αὐτοῦ ἕως ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ἀναδραμόντος.

8. Οὐκοῦν μάθωμεν προφητικῶς διὰ τούτου τοῦ ὑποδείγματος τὸν
 345 ἥλιον Χριστὸν οὐρανοδρομοῦντα, ὃν καὶ Ἡλίου ὁ προφήτης αἰθερο-
 δρομῶν προεσήμανε, τοὺς δὲ ἀστέρας ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ στερεώματος, λέγω
 δὴ τοὺς ἁγίους ἀγγέλους, ἀτενίζοντας καὶ ὁρῶντας αὐτὸν ἄνω πρὸς
 αὐτοὺς ἀνατρέχοντα καὶ θάπτον ἅπαντας προσυπαντῶντας καὶ
 προσκυνοῦντας καὶ χορεύοντας καὶ λέγοντας τοῖς ὑπερτάτοις αὐτῶν
 350 ἄρχουσιν· Ἄρατε πύλας οἱ ἄρχοντες ἡμῶν, καὶ ὁδοποιήσατε τῷ ἐπιβε-
 βηκότι ἐπὶ δυσμῶν, νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς
 ἡλίου, ἐπέβη γὰρ νῦν ἀπὸ γῆς ἐπὶ Χερουβίμ καὶ ἐπετάσθη πρὸς οὐρανούς.
 Ἐπετάσθη διπτέρυξ, Θεὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἐπὶ πτερύγων ἀνέμων,
 πνευμάτων ἀσωμάτων ἐξαπτερύγων. Καὶ ἔθετο σκότος ἀποκρυφῆν
 355 αὐτοῦ, ἄφραστος, ἄρρητος, ἀνευνόητος ὢν, δηλαδὴ διφυής. Τοῦτο γὰρ
 σημαίνει τὸ σκότος τὸ πῶς μηδένα διδάξας, εἰ καὶ κατὰ τόδε τὸ εἶδος τῆς
 σκοτεινῆς καὶ ἀφραδούς ἀφασίας, εἰσδύς καὶ καταδύς ἐν τοῖς κόλποις τοῦ
 Πατρός, κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ ἔχων ὡς Θεὸς καὶ Λόγος τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ σώμα-
 τος αὐτοῦ, ἐν ᾗ ἀπεριγράπτως ἐσκήνωσεν, οὐκ ἀποθέμενος αὐτήν, κἂν
 360 ἀπέστη ἀφ' ἡμῶν, ὡς τινες περὶ τούτου κακῶς διεσκέψαντο, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν
 σκηνῇ τινι διαφανεστάτῃ, δηλαδὴ τῶν φυσικῶν ἀπηλλαγμένη σκοτασμά-
 των καὶ παθημάτων, ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀπόστασιν κατοικεῖ.
 Καὶ ἔστι σκοτεινὸν ὕδωρ, ἀλλ' ἐν νεφέλαις ἀέρων.

9. "Υδωρ δ' ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν φησὶ κατὰ τό· Αὕτη ἡ
 θάλασσα ἡ μεγάλη καὶ εὐρύχωρος ἦγουν ἡ ἀνθρωπεῖα φύσις ἡ πλατεῖά
 365 τε καὶ πολυπληθής, ἐφ' ἧς εἴρηται τό· Αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε καὶ πλη-
 ρώσατε τὴν γῆν, ἐν ᾗ εἰσιν ἐρπετά, ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμός, ἦγουν ἔθνη ἐπὶ
 τῷ στήθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ πορευόμενα (δηλαδὴ τῷ θυμῷ δουλεύοντα διὰ
 τὸ αἰμοχαρὲς καὶ τὴν ἀδηφαγίαν) διὰ τὸ ἡδυπαθές. Καὶ πάλιν, ὡς ἄλλος
 προφήτης φησὶν· Ἐξελεύσεται ὕδωρ ἐκ Σιών, τὸ ἡμῖν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν θά-
 370 λασσαν τὴν πρῶτην καὶ τὸ ἡμῖν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ἐσχάτην.
 | "Υδωρ δὲ φησὶ τὸ κήρυγμα, θάλασσαν δὲ πρῶτην καὶ ἐσχάτην τοὺς
 προκεκλημένους Ἰουδαίους καὶ τοὺς ὕστερον Ἑλληνας. Μὴ γάρ φησιν ὁ
 Ἀπόστολος Ἰουδαίων μόνων ἔστι Θεός; Ναὶ καὶ ἐθνῶν. Σκοτεινὸν γοῦν
 φησιν ἔστι τὸ ὕδωρ ἦγουν ἀφώτιστον εἰς γινώσιν καὶ ἀμαθὲς τοῦ πῶς ὁ
 375 Θεὸς ἦν καὶ νῦν ἔστι μετὰ σώματος. Ἀδεῶς δ' ἔχει περὶ τούτου, ὡς καὶ αἱ
 νεφέλαι αἱ ἀέριοι ἔχουσιν ἦγουν οἱ ὑψιπετεῖς καὶ οὐράνιοι ἄγγελοι, οὐδὲ
 γὰρ ἐκείνοις τὸ πῶς τοῦ μυστηρίου ἀποκεκάλυπται. Διότι ἀπὸ τῆς
 τηλαυγίσεως αὐτοῦ αἱ νεφέλαι διήλθον αὐταί, ἀλλὰ παρήλθον καὶ

heaven; and now his goal was to run all the way up to the peak of heaven back to his Father.¹

8. Therefore let us learn in a prophetic way through this model that Christ the sun ("Ἡλιος) hastened to heaven: since Elijah ("Ἡλίου) the prophet foreshadowed it, by hastening to the upper air.² And the stars of the firmament above—I am talking about the holy angels—strained to see Christ, as he hurried up toward them. As soon as they all met him, they prostrated themselves and danced and sang; and they said to their highest leaders:

"You our leaders, raise the gates!³ And make way for him who walked upon the West.⁴ Now, like the rising sun, he enters the heaven of heaven.⁵ Now, from the earth, he has mounted upon the Cherubim and flown to the heavens.⁶ With two wings⁷—both God and man—he has flown on the wings of the winds,⁸ the incorporeal spirits with six wings."⁹

And he made darkness his hiding place,¹⁰ where he cannot be perceived, cannot be described, and cannot be imagined. He clearly had two natures; but the darkness indicates that he has explained how to no one. And in keeping with this image of the indescribable—dark and imperceptible—he came and sat in the embrace of the Father.¹¹ Yet as God and Word,¹² he had the tent of his body in a circle about him.¹³ In this he resides,¹⁴ without being circumscribed. In contrast to what some people have mistakenly concluded: although he stands above us, he did not remove it. In this, as in some very conspicuous tent—obviously free from physical darkness and suffering—even after his separation from us, he continues to dwell. And the water is dark, but in the clouds of the air.¹⁵

9. The water here means human nature, according to the statement: This sea is great and broad.¹⁶ Indeed, human nature is broad and very numerous. About this it was said: "Increase and multiply and fill the earth."¹⁷ And in this, there are serpents beyond counting.¹⁸ Indeed whole nations swim about on their chests and bellies in their pursuit of pleasure.¹⁹ Obviously, they are slaves to their desire, because of their delight in blood and their gluttony. What's more—as another prophet says—water will come out of Zion: half of it to the first sea, and half of it to the last sea.²⁰ The water here means the gospel. The first sea consists of Jews, who were called first; and the last sea consists of Gentiles, who were later. The Apostle does not say, does he, that God belongs to the Jews alone? No, but also to the nations.²¹

Therefore it says: the water is dark.²² That is, it is not illuminated by knowledge and does not understand how God was, and now is, with a body. It is, nevertheless, confident about this. So also the clouds in the air are confident—that is, the lofty angels of heaven—although the how of this mystery was not revealed to them either. And so, these clouds departed from his distant splendor.²³ They went past him, and

342 πρὸς] MN πρὸς) P 344/5 αἰθεριοδρομῶν P 347 ἀνατρέχοντας M
 354 ἀνευνόητος] M^{scpt} N^{scpt} ἀνευνόητος M^{scpt} N^{scpt} P δηλαδὴ διφυής M 355 τόδε] om. P
 362 ὕδωρ] φύσις φησὶ add. M^{scpt} 363 ἐνταῦθα P 364 ἀν(θρ)οπεῖα P 365 πολυπληθής]
 scripsi πολυπληθὺς MNP 371 θάλασσα P καὶ] om. M 373 γοῦν] οὖν P
 376 ὑψιπετεῖς N 377 τὸ μυστήριον P ἀποκαλύπτεται P

¹ Ps 18(19):6-7. ² Cf 4 Kg (2 Kg): 2:11. ³ Ps 23(24):7, 9. ⁴ Ps 67(68):5. ⁵ Ps 67(68):34.
⁶ Ps 17(18):11. ⁷ Cf 2 Chr 3:11-13. ⁸ Ps 17(18):11. ⁹ Cf Is 6:2. ¹⁰ Ps 17(18):12.
¹¹ Cf Jn 1:18. ¹² Cf Jn 1:1. ¹³ Cf Ps 17(18):12. ¹⁴ Cf Jn 1:14. ¹⁵ Ps 17(18):12.
¹⁶ Ps 103(104):25. ¹⁷ Gen 1:28. ¹⁸ Ps 103(104):25. ¹⁹ Cf Gen 3:14. ²⁰ Zech 14:8.
²¹ Rom 3:29. ²² Cf Ps 17(18):12. ²³ Ps 17(18):13.

πεφεύγασιν, ὑπεξέστησάν τε καὶ ὑποκεχωρήκασιν, κατακαλύπτοντα(ι),
380 καὶ γὰρ οὐκ εἶδέναι δυνάμεναι τὸ πῶς αἱ φύσεις ἄμφω εἰς ἓν.

10. Εἶτα καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπάγει τῆς ἀγνωσίας, ὅτι φησὶν ἐστὶ *Χάλαζα*
καὶ *ἄνθρακες πυρός*, ἡγουν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σὰρξ ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ
σὰρξ, ἵνα μὴ γνοίης τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα τι ἕτερον, καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ χάλαζα
ὔδωρ ἐστὶ καὶ οὐχ ὔδωρ, ὔδωρ ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνου, οὐχ ὔδωρ ὡς πεπηγός. Ἰνα
385 δὲ μάθης τὸ ἀλλοῖον καὶ οὐκ ἀλλοῖον τῆς τοῦ Λόγου σαρκός, ἄνθραξ
πυρός ἐστὶ φησιν ἐξημμένη ὑπὸ τῆς θεότητος, δηλαδὴ ὡς ἐκ περιχωρήσε-
ως, καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἄνθραξ, ξύλον καὶ οὐ ξύλον, ἐξηπτο γῆς περιχωρηθέντος
τοῦ πυρός ἐν αὐτῷ. Πύριον γὰρ φασὶ τὸν ἄνθρακα, οὗ τὸ ἀνθρακίζον
ἀνωφερὲς καὶ λεπτόν, τὸ δ' ἀνθρακίζόμενον ἐκ τῶν κάτω καὶ παχυμερές,
390 ὅτι καὶ ἡ θεότης ἐκ τῶν ἄνω, ἡ δ' ἀνθρωπότης ἐκ τῶν κάτω, κἂν ἐξηπτο.
Διὸ καὶ ὁ ἐν θεολογίαις πολὺς Γρηγόριος θαρρῶν τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου σάρκα
φησὶν ὁμόθεον. Εἰ δέ τι τοῦ μυστηρίου ἐγνώκαμεν, οὐκ οἴκοθεν οὐδ' ἀφ'
ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐρανόθεν ἡμῖν ἐκκαλυφθέν. Ἐπάγει γὰρ *Καὶ ἐβρόντησεν*
ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ὁ Κύριος, καὶ ὁ ὑψιστος ἔδωκε φωνὴν αὐτοῦ. Πότε δέ; "Ὅτε
395 τὰς πυρίνους γλώσσας μετὰ βροντῆς ἐξαπέστειλεν, ὧν γλωσσῶν τὴν
λαμπηδόνα καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ γεγονώς προεσήμανεν ἡλίου.

11. Περὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας, λέγω δὴ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ πρώτης
τελείας, ἐν ᾗ ὁ ἥλιος τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐγενήθη καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες καὶ ἡ σελήνη,
φαίνεται λέγων ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς τὸν γενναϊότατον Ἰωβ ὅτι "Ὅτε ἐγενή-
400 θησαν ἄστρα, ἤνεσάν με φωνῇ μεγάλῃ πάντες ἄγγελοί μου καὶ ὕμνησαν.
Καὶ διὰ τί, ὅτε ἐγενήθησαν ἄστρα, ἤνεσαν, καὶ μᾶλλον οὐχ ὅτε ἐγένοντο
αὐτοί, ἢ ὅτε γέγονεν ὁ οὐρανός, ἢ ὅτε παραδόξως ὑπέστη τὸ φῶς, ἢ ὅτε
ἐπήχθη τὸ στερέωμα, ἢ ὅτε ἡ γῆ ἐβλάστησεν, ἀλλ' ὅτε ἐγένοντο ἄστρα;
Οὐ διὰ τὰ ἄστρα γοῦν, ἀλλ' ἰδόντες τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατρέχοντα ἀπὸ γῆς
405 τὴν ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων Χριστοῦ σάρκωσιν καὶ ἀνάληψιν ἀπὸ γῆς
ἐμυσταγωγήθησαν. Διὸ καὶ ἰδόντες ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας Παρθένου αὐτὸν ὡς ἐξ
ἀβύσσου ἀνατείλαντα εὐθέως ἐβόησαν λέγοντες: *Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ*
καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, μεθ' ὧν ὁ ἀστήρ ὁ τοῦς Μάγους ὁδηγήσας ἔπεισεν
αὐτοὺς ἀνακράξαι τὸ *Ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία*. Οὕτως ἐμοί γε ἡ ἐπὶ γῆς
410 τοῦ ἡλίου σύνθεσις καὶ ἀπὸ γῆς πρὸς οὐρανούς ἀνάληψις νοεῖται καὶ
ὑπέρχεται τὸν νοῦν, ἐπεὶ τί ἦν τὸ κωλύον τὸν δημιουργόν, ἵνα, ὅπου τὸ
στερέωμα ἔπηξεν ἄνω, εὐθέως ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ποιήσῃ τὸν ἥλιον
καὶ τὴν σελήνην; |

VI 1. Τίνος δὲ χάριν μὴ καὶ μιᾶς ἐνεργείας καὶ μορφῆς καὶ ιδέας
415 τούτους τοὺς δύο φωστῆρας ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον καίοντα καὶ
φωτίζοντα, τὴν δὲ σελήνην καὶ αὐτὴν φωτίζουσαν καὶ ὑγραίνουσιν; Ἡ
πάντως εἰς τύπον Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ δικαίους

then fled. They went back and withdraw, concealing themselves, for they
were not able to know how the two natures exist as one.

10. The reason for their ignorance is then given. It says that he is
hail and coals of fire.¹ That is, the humanity of Christ is flesh, and is not
flesh. This was said so that you might not think his body is something
else. Indeed, hail is both water and not water. It is water, since it comes
from that. It is not water, because it is solid. And so that you might
learn the otherness and non-otherness of the flesh of the Word, the
"charcoal of fire" is said to be set alight by the divinity, that is as if by
circling around. And indeed the charcoal, which both is and is not wood,
remains joined to the earth, while the fire is made to circle inside it.

They say that the coal is fiery. That part which is burning is refined
and born upwards. That part which is being burned is coarse and
belongs to the things below. This is because divinity belongs to the
things above; and humanity, even if enkindled, belongs below.²

Thus Gregory of Nazianzus in his theological works said confidently
that the humanity of the Lord was wholly one with God. If we know
anything about this mystery, it was revealed to us neither from our own
efforts nor from those around us, but from heaven above. The psalm
says: *And the Lord thundered from heaven, and the Highest gave his*
voice.³ When did this happen? Then, when he sent out the fiery tongues
with thunder.⁴ And the sun, which came into being on the fourth day,
foretold the brilliance of these tongues.

11. God appeared and spoke to the very noble Job about this day—I
am speaking about the fourth, the first complete day—in which the sun
of righteousness was created and the stars and moon:⁵ *"When the stars*
came into being, all my angels praised me in a loud voice and sang to
*me."*⁶

And why did the angels give praise when the stars came into being?
Why not rather when they themselves came into being? Or when heaven
came into being? Or when the light, contrary to all expectations, arose?
Or when the firmament was fixed in place? Or when the earth bloomed?
But no, it was when the stars came into being.

Indeed, it was not on account of the stars. Rather, when they saw the
sun running up from the earth—the incarnation of Christ at the end of
time and his ascension from the earth—they celebrated their initiation
into the mystery.⁷ On account of this, when they saw him rising from the
Holy Virgin, as from the abyss, they immediately cried out and said:
*"Glory to God in the highest, and peace on earth."*⁸ With them was the
star that was guiding the Magi,⁹ and it persuaded them to proclaim:
*"Goodwill among men."*¹⁰

So in this way my mind is stirred and captured by the putting
together of the sun upon the earth and its ascension from earth to
heaven. For what prevented the creator, after he had fixed the firma-
ment above, from straightaway making the sun and moon in it and with
it?

VI 1. Why did he not make these two lights of one energy and shape
and kind? Why did he make the sun illuminating and burning, but the

379 κατακαλύπτονται] *scripsi* κατακαλύπτοντα MNP 387 ἐξηπτο γῆς] ἐξηπτο γῆς M⁴-corr
391 ἐν] *om.* P θαρρῶν] *scripsi* θαρροῦντος MNP 392 ἐγνώκαμεν] *scripsi* ἐγνώκειμεν
MNP 393 καὶ] *om.* P 399 γενναϊότατον] δικαιοτάτον P 400 πάντες] οἱ *add.* M 401
οὐχ] ὅτι *add.* P 402 ὁ] *om.* MN 407 εὐόησαν M 409 γῆς] τῆς P 412 ἀννω M

¹ Ps 17(18):13. ² Cf Jn 3:31, 8:23. ³ Ps 17(18):14. ⁴ Cf Acts 2:1-3. ⁵ Cf Mal 3:20 (4:2).
⁶ Job 38:7. ⁷ Cf 1 Pet 1:20. ⁸ Lk 2:14. ⁹ Mt 2:1-2, 7, 9. ¹⁰ Lk 2:14.

φωτίζει ὁ ἥλιος οὗτος, τοὺς δὲ χρήζοντας πυρώσεως καὶ καθάρσεως
 420 πταισμάτων καίει. "Οθεν ἔλεγε· Πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. Ἡ δὲ
 σελήνη ἡ ἐκκλησία φωτίζει τὴν Τριάδα κηρύττουσα καὶ ὑγραίνει τὸ βάπ-
 τισμα παρέχουσα.

2. Τινὲς δὲ φασὶ τὴν σελήνην τύπον εἶναι τῆς νομικῆς γραφῆς καὶ τῆς ἐν
 τῇ συναγωγῇ λατρείας, ἥτις πολλὰς ἐκλείψει τοῦ θείου φωτὸς καὶ
 ἐλαττώσεις ὑφίσταται καθ' ἡμέραν. Ἡμεῖς δέ, ἀκούοντες ὅτι ὁ ἥλιος
 425 κατεσκευάσθη πρῶτος, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡ σελήνη, μᾶλλον τύπον αὐτὴν
 τῆς Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας ὡς ὁμόζυγον Χριστοῦ νομίζομεν. Καὶ δι' αὐτῶν
 γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων τοῦτο διδασκόμεθα, τῇ γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ἣ τεσσαρεσ-
 καιδεκαταῖα ἐν ἀρχαῖς γέγονεν ἡ σελήνη, αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσετάγη ὁ
 'Ισραὴλ ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν πρῶτοις θῦσαι τὸ πάσχα εἰς τύπον Χριστοῦ.
 430 "Οθεν καὶ μέχρι τῆς δεῦρο τὴν αὐτὴν τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτην φυλάττουσιν
 οἱ 'Ιουδαῖοι μὴ γινώσκοντες τί φυλάττουσιν.

3. Εἰ οὖν ὁ ἀμνὸς τὸν Χριστὸν προδιέγραφεν, εὐδὴλον ὅτι καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα
 τῆς σελήνης ἡ πληροσέληνος τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας δηλοῖ, δι' ἣν
 ἐτύθη ὁ Χριστός. Καὶ αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς τὴν χάριν καὶ ἀναγέν-
 435 νησιν δηλοῖ τοῦ βαπτίσματος. Σελήνη γὰρ σέλας νηπίων ἐρμηνεύεται,
 αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν γεννωμένων ἀπάντων ὥσει βρεφῶν ὡς ἀπὸ μητρὸς
 ἄλλης τῆς κολυμβήθρας, τὸ γὰρ σέλας φῶς ἐστίν. Ἡ πάλιν σελήνη σέλας
 νηπιάζον διὰ τὴν ἀειγεννησίαν αὐτῆς καὶ ἀναγέννησιν διηνεκῇ, ἥτις ἐστὶν
 ἡ διηνεκὴς ἀναγέννησις τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ βαπτίσματος.

4. Διὸ καὶ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἡ σελήνη καθέστηκεν ἐκ τριῶν τελείων
 ἀριθμῶν ἡγουν δεκάδων συνισταμένη εἰς τύπον τῶν τριῶν καὶ τελείων
 καὶ ἀνελλιπῶν ὑποστάσεων τῆς ἀγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος, εἰς ἣν
 πιστεύομεν ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ὁ πάντων ποιητὴς
 'Ιησοῦς ὁ εἰς τῆς Τριάδος τριακονταέτης ἐβαπτίσθη, ἐπειδὴ ἔμελλεν ἐκεῖ
 445 τὸ μυστήριον τῆς Τριάδος φανεροῦσθαι τῷ κόσμῳ. Καὶ ὁ Δαυὶδ, ὃς κατὰ
 σάρκα τύπος καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τριακονταέτης εἰς βασιλεῖα ὥσπερ
 βαπτίσματι τινὶ προτυπικῶς τῷ μύρῳ ἐχρίσθη, ὥσπερ καὶ 'Ιωσήφ ἄλλος
 τύπος Χριστοῦ τριακονταέτης τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐκυρίευσεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ
 Χριστὸς τριάκοντα ἀργυρίων πρᾶξεις δι' αὐτῶν τὸν ἀγρὸν ὅλου τοῦ
 450 κόσμου τοῦ κεραμέως καὶ πλαστουργοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξηγόρασε καὶ ἠλευθέρωσε
 διὰ τῆς ἐν Τριάδι πίστεως τῆς αὐτοῦ συζύγου σελήνης ἐκκλησίας, ἣν
 πάλαι προέγραφε σαφῶς καὶ ἀναμφιβόλως καὶ ἡ κιβωτὸς τοῦ Νῶε
 τριακοσίων πήχεων κατασκευασθεῖσα τὸ μήκος καὶ τριάκοντα πήχεων
 τὸ ὕψος εἰς τύπον τῆς ὑψίστου Τριάδος, ἣν ἡμῖν ἀπεκάλυψεν ὁ εἰς τῆς
 455 Τριάδος Χριστός, ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος, τρεῖς ὑψώσεις ἐν ἑαυτῷ
 ἐνδειξάμενος.

420 κηρύττουσαν M 426 τῆς] τοῦ add. P 431 οἱ] om. M [Ιουδαῖοι - φυλάττουσιν] om.
 M^{corr} per homoeoteleuton 438 ἀειγεννησίαν N^{corr} 443 καὶ] om. M ποητής N 445 οἱ
 om. P 446 τριακονέτης M τριακονταέτης P 452 καὶ] om. N 453 πήχεων'] τὸ ὕψος
 add. M^{corr}

moon illuminating and moistening? This was certainly done as a type of
 Christ and the Church. This sun illuminates the just, but it burns those
 that need their flaws purified by fire. This was why he said: *"I have come*
*to hurl fire upon the earth."*¹ But the Church moon illuminates by
 preaching the Trinity, and it moistens by providing Baptism.

2. Some say that the moon is a type of the Law and of the worship in
 the synagogue, for it represents the many eclipses and the waning of the
 divine light each day. But we, hearing that the sun was prepared first,
 and afterwards the moon,² think rather that she is a type of Christ's
 Church as the bride of Christ. And we are taught this through the
 things that happened on that day long ago when the fourteen-day-old
 moon arose. Israel in the land of Egypt was commanded to sacrifice a
 lamb from among the firstborn, as a type of Christ. And from then till
 now, the Jews revere the fourteen-day-old moon, but they do not
 understand what they are honoring.³

3. If, therefore, the lamb foreshadowed Christ, it is quite obvious that
 the day of the full moon indicates the fullness of the Church,⁴ on whose
 account Christ was sacrificed.⁵ The name itself makes clear the grace
 and rebirth of Baptism. For *moon* [σελήνη] means "the glow of infants"
 [σέλας νηπίων]. The Church is their glow and for all that are born like
 infants from another womb, the baptismal font.⁶ Or again, the moon is
 the light that is always young through its constant birth and perpetual
 rebirth—which is the perpetual rebirth of the light of Baptism.

4. Thus the moon's cycle lasts for thirty days, which consists of three
 perfect numbers times ten. This is a type of the three perfect and
 complete persons of the holy and consubstantial Trinity, in which we,
 the baptized, believe. Therefore Jesus, the creator of all things, one of
 the Trinity, was baptized in his thirtieth year,⁷ since he was about to
 reveal to the world the mystery of the Trinity. And David, who was a
 type and ancestor of Christ in the flesh,⁸ was christened as king in his
 thirtieth year. He was anointed with ointment, as a prototype of
 baptism.⁹ So also Joseph, another type of Christ, became Lord over
 Egypt in his thirtieth year.¹⁰ And Christ was betrayed for thirty silver
 coins,¹¹ with which he purchased the field of the world of the potter and
 sculptor, God.¹² Christ then set it free,¹³ because of the belief in the
 Trinity by his bride, the moon, the Church. This Church was clearly and
 unambiguously predicted long ago by Noah's ark, which was constructed
 three hundred yards long and thirty yards high¹⁴ as a type of the Trinity
 on high.

Christ revealed the Trinity to us, when he, one of the Trinity, the sun
 of righteousness,¹⁵ showed three exaltations in his life.

¹ Lk 12:49. ² Cf Gen 1:16. ³ Cf Ex 12:6, 18. ⁴ Cf Eph 1:22-23. ⁵ Cf Eph 5:25.

⁶ Cf Gal 4:1, 3. ⁷ Cf Mt 3:15-17; Mk 1:9-11; Lk 3:21-23; Jn 1:32-34. ⁸ Cf Mt 1:1;

Rom 1:3. ⁹ Cf 2 Sam 5:3-4. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 41:46. ¹¹ Cf Zech 11:12-13; Mt 26:15.

¹² Cf Jer 32:6-10; Mt 27:6-10; Gal 4:4-5. ¹³ Cf Rom 8:21; Gal 4:30-31. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 6:15.

¹⁵ Cf Mal 3:20 (4:2).

5. Πρώτον μὲν γὰρ ὑψώθη ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ. "Ὅθεν τότε ὥσπερ τις
 τύπος ἀληθῆς Χριστοῦ ὁ ἥλιος | συνέπαθε Χριστῷ, καὶ ἐκλειψάσης τῆς 901A
 ἀχράντου αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος συνεξέλιπεν αὐτῇ καὶ ὁ
 460 ἥλιος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αὐτοῦ σώματος τοῦ στερεώματος, καὶ δύναντος ἐν
 τῷ ἔδῃ τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνέδυσεν αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἥλιος νυκτὸς ἐπιούσης. "Ὅθεν
 καὶ ἀνατέλλοντος καὶ ἀνισταμένου Χριστοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν λίαν πρωὶ τῇ μιᾷ
 τῶν σαββάτων συνανατέλλει αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἀπὸ γῆς ποιῶν ἡμέραν,
 αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἡ δευτέρα ὑψωσις Χριστοῦ. Τρίτη δὲ ἡ ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανόν,
 465 ἦν μάλα σαφῶς προεσήμανε καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ὁ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν τετάρτην
 τῆς κτίσεως ἡμέραν ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνερχόμενος. Ἐπίστησον γὰρ
 ὅτι καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τῇ τετάρτῃ δεκάδι, τουτέστι τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ,
 τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν ἀπὸ γῆς ἐποίησατο εἰς τὴν ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὴμ
 ἀνελθὼν, ἧς εἰσόδου τύπος ἦν ἀψευδῆς καὶ ἡ ἐν Βηθλεὲμ αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὸν
 470 τόκον τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰσόδος καὶ παρουσία εἰς τὴν ἐπίγειον
 Ἱερουσαλὴμ.

6. Καὶ πρόσχες, νουνεχέστατε, παρακαλῶ, μήπως τοῦτο ἔκπαλαι
 τυπικῶς προδιέγραφε καὶ ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ νόμος τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὴν
 475 τίκτουςαν γυναικα λέγων ἀποκαθαίρεσθαι τοῦ ρύπου τῆς ἀκαθαρσίας
 αὐτῆς καὶ εἰς ναὸν Κυρίου εἰσερχεσθαι, ὅτι ὁ τῷ τετάρτῳ ἀριθμῷ τοῦ
 τετάρτου νόμου, ὡς ἀνωτέρω εἴρηται, τῆς τετάρτης ἡμέρας τοῦ
 τεσσαρακοστοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἀποκαθάρας τῆς ρύσεως τῆς ἀκαθαρσίας τῶν
 αἱμάτων τῶν εἰδωλικῶν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν τὴν ποτὲ κακῶς
 αἱμορροοῦσαν, ταύτην ἀγνίσας καὶ ἀφθαρτίσας, ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι
 480 προπλύνας, ἄνω εἰς τὰ Ἁγία τῶν Ἀγίων ὡς μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς εἰσελθὼν
 ὁ Χριστὸς τῷ Πατρὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας προσήνεγκεν. "Ὅθεν καὶ ἐν
 τεσσαρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ νῆστις ὢν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ
 ἡμῶν ἀναγέννησιν τὸν διάβολον πειρασθεὶς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ποτὲ τῶν ἐθνῶν
 ἐκκλησίᾳ κατήργησεν. Εἰ οὖν ἐν τῇ ἐκ Παρθένου γεννήσει καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ
 485 βαπτίσματος ἀναγέννησει καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκ νεκρῶν πάλιν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀφθαρσί-
 ας ἀναπλάσει Χριστὸς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἐφύλαξεν ἡμε-
 ρῶν, μάθωμεν ἀκριβῶς καὶ πεισθῶμεν ὅτι πᾶς τεσσαρακοστὸς ἐν τῇ
 γραφῇ ἀριθμὸς τὸ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον, τουτέστι τὴν ἑνσαρκον αὐτοῦ
 οἰκονομίαν, προδιέγραφεν, ἥτις μετὰ τὸν τριαδικὸν λόγον ὥσπερ τις
 490 ἡμέρα τετάρτη φωτισμοῦ τῷ κόσμῳ ἐπέφανεν.

7. Οὐκοῦν διὰ τοῦτο ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ
 βρέχειν τὴν ἐξ ὕψους ἀπειλὴν τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἡσύχασεν
 εὐαγγέλια φιλανθρωπίας τῷ κόσμῳ μηνύουσα. Ὡσαύτως τὸν Χριστὸν
 προδιαγράφων καὶ Μωϋσῆς τῷ τεσσαρακοστῷ χρόνῳ τὸν πονηρὸν
 495 ἐκείνον εἰς τύπον τοῦ διαβόλου ἀποκτείνας, τὸν πολεμοῦντα τῷ
 ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ Ἰσραηλίτῃ, τοῦτον τῇ ᾄμῳ τῆς ἀβύσσου κατέχωσεν.

5. First, he was raised up on the cross.¹

And the sun, being a true type of Christ, suffered along with him. So, when Christ's immaculate soul suffered its eclipse and departed from his own body, the sun also departed from its heavenly body, the firmament.² And when Christ went down to the Underworld, the sun set with him³ and night came on. Then, when Christ arose from the dead and dawned very early at the first hour of the Sabbath, the sun came up with him from the earth and made the day.⁴ This was the second exaltation of Christ.

The third exaltation was from the earth to heaven. The sun predicted this quite clearly: it went up from earth to heaven on the fourth day of creation. Know this: Christ on the fourth day times ten—that is, on the fortieth day—made his departure from earth to the heavens,⁵ going up to the heavenly Jerusalem.⁶ And an accurate symbol of this journey was on the fortieth day after his birth: from Bethlehem his entrance and appearance in the terrestrial Jerusalem.⁷

6. Now you, intelligent one, consider please that perhaps the Law of God long ago symbolically foreshadowed the following. Scripture dictated that on the fortieth day after giving birth, a mother should be cleansed of the sordidness of her uncleanness and should go into the sanctuary of the Lord.⁸ This was done because in the fourth number of the fourth Law—as was said above—of the fourth day of the fortieth number, he cleansed human nature, which had been wickedly pouring blood. He cleansed it from the flow of uncleanness of the blood of idol worship.⁹ Having washed it clean in Baptism,¹⁰ he sanctified and immortalized it. Then as the great highpriest, Christ went above to the Holy of Holies and presented it to the Father on behalf of our salvation.¹¹

For this reason, on the fortieth day after the rebirth of his Baptism on our behalf, while he was fasting, he was tempted. And in the Church of the Gentiles, which was then a wasteland, he left the devil empty-handed.¹² If therefore in his birth from the Virgin,¹³ in his rebirth through Baptism, and in his recreation from death to incorruptibility, Christ preserved the number of forty days, we learn precisely and we believe that every fortieth number in Scripture foreshadowed the mystery of Christ:¹⁴ that is, his incarnate sovereignty. And this, after the third age, appeared to the world like the fourth day of illumination.

7. On account of this, therefore, on the fortieth day the anger of God became quiet, stopped pouring deadly water from on high down in a deluge, and revealed to the world words of love for humanity.¹⁵

In the same way, Moses foreshadowed Christ when he, in his fortieth year, killed that evil one, a type of the devil, who had made war against the Israelite, and then buried him in the sand of the abyss.¹⁶ Then Moses took care of Jethro's wordless flock for forty years, which was a

¹ Cf Jn 3:14, 8:28, 12:32-33. ² Cf Mt 27:45; Mk 15:33; Lk 23:44-45. ³ Cf Mt 27:57-60; Mk 15:42-46. ⁴ Cf Mk 16:2. ⁵ Cf Mk 16:19; Lk 24:51; Acts 1:2-3, 9-11; 1 Tim 3:16. ⁶ Cf Gal 4:26. ⁷ Cf Lev 12:2-4; Lk 2:22. ⁸ Cf Lev 12:1-4, 6. ⁹ Cf Mt 9:20. ¹⁰ Cf Mt 3:13-15; Mk 1:9; Lk 3:21. ¹¹ Cf Heb 9:3, 11-12. ¹² Cf Mt 4:1-11; Mk 1:12-13; Lk 4:1-13. ¹³ Cf Mt 1:18; Lk 1:27. ¹⁴ Cf Eph 3:4; Col 2:2, 4:3. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 6:7, 13, 17; 7:4, 10-12, 17-23; 8:21-22. ¹⁶ Cf Ex 2:11-12, Acts 7:23-24.

Εἶτα αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη πρῶτον τὴν ἄλογον ποιμνὴν τοῦ
 'Ισθὼρ εἰς τύπον τοῦ ἀλόγου 'Ισραὴλ ἐποίμανε, καὶ ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα
 χρόνους τὸν λεγόμενον λαὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ
 500 διέσωσε. Τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους Σινᾶ εἰς τύπον Χριστοῦ
 ἐνήστευσε. Τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη Σαμουὴλ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ποτὲ στειράς προεφή-
 τευσε. Τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη καὶ Σολομὼν ὁ κτίσας τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ | εἰς 902A
 προτύπωσιν τῆς Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἐπὶ τὸν 'Ισραὴλ ἐβασίλευσε. Ταῦτα
 δὲ πάντα συμβάλλονται ἡμῖν εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῆς τετάρτης ἡμέρας, ἐν ᾗ
 505 ἐγένετο καὶ ἔλαμψεν ὁ πρὸ ἡλίου Χριστὸς ἡλῖος μετὰ τῆς συζύγου αὐτοῦ
 τῆς σελήνης ἐκκλησίας, ἡνίκα εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· *Γενηθήτωσαν φωστῆρες ἐν τῷ
 στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς φαῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.*

VII 1. Ζητῆσαι δὲ προσήκει τὸν πόθῳ καὶ θεῷ ἔρωτι γλυκαινόμενον
 ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ Θεοῦ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν λέγοντα· *Ὡς γλυκέα τῷ*
 510 *λάρυγγί μου τὰ λόγιά σου, ὑπὲρ μέλι τῷ στόματί μου, τί δήποτε*
ποιήσας ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τὸ φῶς ὁ Θεὸς οὐκ εἶπε· Γενηθήτω φῶς
ὥστε φαίνειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ μάλιστα ἐκείνου τοῦ φωτὸς ὄντος ρίζης καὶ
 πατρὸς γεννήτορος ὅλων τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀναλαμψάντων ὁμοουσίων
 αὐτοῦ φωστήρων ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. Καὶ λέγομεν ὅτι τύπος ἦν ἐκείνο τὸ
 515 μοναδικὸν καὶ ἀπλοῦν φῶς τῆς μοναρχίας καὶ 'Ιουδαϊκῆς πίστεως τῆς τε
 πρὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ μετὰ τὸν νόμον, ἥτις οὐκ ἴσχυσε φωτίσαι πᾶσαν τὴν
 γῆν διὰ τὸ ἔτι συγκαλύπτεσθαι αὐτήν, ἡνίκα τὸ φῶς ἐκείνο ὁ Θεὸς
 ἔδειξεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τοῦ σκότους τῆς πλάνης τοῦ ἐπικειμένου
 καλύμματος ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἕως οὗ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς
 520 τοὺς δύο φωστῆρας τοὺς ὄντας μεγάλους ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀναλάμψαι, λέγω
 δὴ τὴν ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ ἀκτίστου Θεοῦ Λόγου καὶ τὴν ἀρμοσθεῖσαν αὐτῷ
 σελήνην ἐκκλησίαν, τὸν φωστῆρα τὸν μέγαν Χριστὸν ἡλῖον εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς
 ἡμέρας, τουτέστιν ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἀνατείλαντα τοῦ κηρύγματος, καὶ τὴν
 σελήνην εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς νυκτός, τουτέστιν, ἡνίκα τῶν βρεφῶν τικτομένων
 525 μέλλει λαμβάνειν ἀρχὴν ἢ ἀπιστίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς, εὐθύς ἀνίσχει τὸν αὐτῆς
 φωτισμὸν ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς σελήνην ἐκκλησίαν.

2. Πρόσεχε δὲ πῶς οὐκ εἶπεν *Εἰς ἀρχήν*, ἀλλ' *Εἰς ἀρχάς*. Πολλὰς ἔχει
 ἀρχὰς ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡλῖος, πολλὰς ἐξουσίας. Ἔστι γὰρ ἀρχὴν
 εἰρήνης. Ἔστιν ἀρχὴν καὶ κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων. Ἔστι βασιλεὺς τῶν
 530 βασιλευνόντων. Ἔστι κύριος καὶ ἀρχὴν τῶν κυριευόντων. Ἔστι βασιλεὺς
 τῆς δόξης. Μίαν ἀρχὴν εἶχε τὸ φῶς τὸ φωτίζον πάντα ἄνθρωπον πρὸ
 τῆς ἐπὶ γῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας, πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, τουτέστι τὸν συνάν-
 αρχον αὐτοῦ, οὕτως γὰρ νοοῦμεν τό· *Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ.*
 Οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ χρονικῇ, οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ μετρητῇ, οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ καιροῦ, οὐκ
 535 ἐν ἀρχῇ αἰώνος, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ τῷ γεννήτορι ἦν ὁ Λόγος, καὶ ὁ

type of Israel without the Word.¹ And for forty years Moses preserved
 those who were called the people of God, who were a type of us, in the
 Church that was then empty.² And it was as a type of Christ that Moses
 fasted for forty days on Mount Sinai.³

Samuel, the son of a woman that was once barren,⁴ prophesied for
 forty years. Solomon ruled over Israel for forty years;⁵ and he built the
 temple of God as a prototype of the Church of Christ.⁶ All of these things
 are symbols for us of the number of the fourth day; because on this day
 Christ, the sun before the sun, came into the world and shone with his
 bride, the Church moon, when God said: *"Let there be lights in the firma-*
*ment of heaven to illuminate the earth."*⁷

VII 1. As you have enjoyed the sweetness of longing and divine love
 with the words of God, in accordance with the one who said: *"Like*
sweetness in my throat are your statements, better than honey in my
*mouth,"*⁸ so you should inquire why God did not say: *"Let there be light"*⁹
*to illuminate the earth,"*¹⁰ when he created light on the first day. Why
 not—especially since that first light was the primal father giving birth
 to all the lights in heaven, since they received their illumination from
 him and were of the same nature to him?

Our answer is that the singular and simple light was a symbol of the
 Jewish faith with its single source, before the Law and after the Law. It
 was not sufficient to illuminate all the earth because, when God pointed
 out that first light, the earth was still concealed beneath the water and
 the darkness of sin, a veil lying upon the heart of men.¹¹ Then God made
 the two luminaries, which were powerful enough to illuminate the
 earth.¹² I mean by this the advent both of God the uncreated Word and
 his betrothed, the Church moon. The great lamp, Christ the sun, was *at*
the beginnings of the day: that is, he dawned at the beginnings of the
 gospel's proclamation.¹³ And the moon was *at the beginnings of the*
night: that is, when the infants were born and disbelief was about to
 begin among them, the Church moon among us immediately lifted up
 her light.

2. Consider also how it does not say "at the beginning" [εἰς ἀρχήν],
 but *at the beginnings* [εἰς ἀρχάς].¹⁴ For the sun of righteousness has
 many priorities,¹⁵ many authorities.¹⁶ He is the Prince of Peace.¹⁷ He is
 the leader and lord over the Powers.¹⁸ He is the King of Kings.¹⁹ He is
 the lord and the leader of those who are lords.²⁰ He is the King of
 Glory.²¹ His light, which was illuminating every person²² before his
 appearance upon the earth, had but one beginning, before the ages: that
 is, the one who with him had no beginning. For so we consider this
 phrase to mean: *In the beginning was the Word*²³—that is: "In the
 Father." Not in a chronological beginning, not in a measurable
 beginning, not in the beginning of a season, not in the

499 ἡμῶν N 503 ἐβασίλευσε M 508 ζητεῖσαι P 509 τοῦ] διοῦ N 517 ἔδοξεν M^{corr}
 518 καλύματος P 520 ὄντα N 523 ἀνατείλαντος 530 καὶ] om. P 531 φωτίζων P
 532 τὸν] om. P 533 οὕτως] οὕτω N ἦν] ἦν M

¹ Cf Ex 3:1, Acts 7:30. ² Cf Num 14:31-35; Acts 7:36, 38. ³ Cf Ex 34:28. ⁴ Cf 1 Sam 1:2,
 5-6. ⁵ Cf 3 Kg 11:42. ⁶ Cf 3 Kg 6:1-37. ⁷ Gen 1:14. ⁸ Ps 118(119):103. ⁹ Gen 1:3.
¹⁰ Gen 1:17. ¹¹ Cf Gen 1:2, 9-10; 2 Cor 3:14-15. ¹² Cf Gen 1:16-17. ¹³ Cf Mal 3:20 (4:2);
 Mt 4:16; Mk 1:1. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 1:16. 'Αρχή means "beginning" and also "rule", "authority",
 and "priority". ¹⁵ Cf Mal 3:20 (4:2). ¹⁶ Cf Mt 28:18. ¹⁷ Cf Is 9:5-6. ¹⁸ Cf 2 Sam 6:2,
 18; et alia. ¹⁹ Cf 1 Tim 6:15; Rev 1:5, 17:14. ²⁰ Cf 1 Tim 6:15; Rev 1:5, 17:14.
²¹ Cf Ps 23(24):7-8, 9-10. ²² Cf Jn 1:9. ²³ Jn 1:1.

Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. "Οτε δὲ ἐπέφανε καὶ ἀνέτειλεν εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς
 ἡμέρας τῆς ἐπιδημίας αὐτοῦ, πολλὰς ἔσχεν ἀρχὰς. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ἄρξαι
 τῶν ἐπουρανίων ἤρξε καὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων λαβὼν τὰ ἔθνη εἰς κληρονομίαν
 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν κατὰ σκεῖν αὐτοῦ τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς, καὶ κατακυριεύσας
 540 ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἕως θαλάσσης. Ἐγένετο ἀρχηγὸς τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν, καὶ
 ἀρχὴ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀφθαρείας, καὶ ἀρχὴ
 τοῦ οἰκῆσαι Θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, οὕτω γὰρ ἐνοήσαμεν Χριστὸν πρωτό-
 τοκον ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἡμῶν, ἐν οἷς ὁ Θεὸς δι' αὐτοῦ ἐνώκησεν. Ἐχει
 καὶ ἐτέραν ἀρχὴν οὐράνιος οὗτος ὁ Χριστὸς ἡλίου, πρῶτος γὰρ αὐτὸς
 545 ἀπῆρξατο καὶ τὴν ὁδὴν ἡμῖν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ἔτεμεν ἀνευέγκας
 ἄνω τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Κατὰ ταύτας οὖν τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἰ-
 νόησον τὸν φωστῆρα τὸν μέγαν εἶναι εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ
 νοητοῦ ἡλίου φωτιζομένης διὰ δώδεκα ὥρων μαθητῶν ἀποστόλων, τὸν
 δὲ φωστῆρα τὸν ἐλάσσονα εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς νυκτός.

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550 3. Ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασι καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς σχήμασιν
 εὐάρμοστόν ἐστι τὸ ὑπόδειγμα τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ
 εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Ποιήσας γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τούτους τοὺς δύο φωστῆρας τὸν
 μέγαν ἡλίον εὐθέως εἰς ἀνατολὰς τοῦ στερεώματος ἔπηξε, τὴν σελήνην δὲ
 πρὸς δυσμὰς, διδάσκοντος ἡμᾶς τούτου τοῦ ὑποδείγματος ὅτι ἐν ἀρχαῖς
 555 τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας, λάμποντος ἐν σαρκὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ, ἡ ἐκκλησία οὐκ ἔλαμπεν, ἐτι γὰρ εἰς δυσμὰς τῆς ἀμαρτίας
 ἴστατο, δύσαντος δὲ ἐν οὐρανοῖς Χριστοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, τότε ὡς ἡ
 σελήνη ἀνέτειλε, τότε τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἐνέργειαν ἔδειξε, τότε τῆς νυκτός τὸ
 σκότος ἐδέσποσε, τότε τοὺς ἐν σκότει ἐφώτισε, τότε τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς
 560 ἐξουσίας καὶ τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου
 κατεπάτησεν ἄρξασα καὶ δεσπόσασα καὶ ὑποτάξασα πᾶσαν σκοτεινὴν
 τῆς διαβολικῆς ἐνεργείας ἀπάτην καὶ δύναμιν. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται
 γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Θεοῦ εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς νυκτός μετὰ τὴν δύσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ
 ἡλίου ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀοράτως καταλαμπομένη ὥσπερ ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡ σελήνη.

565 4. "Οθεν ὥσπερ τις σελήνη κατὰ ἀποστροφὴν Θεοῦ καὶ στέρησιν, ἥτοι
 ἐγκατάλειψιν φωτός, τὰς ἐκλείψεις τὰς σκοτεινὰς τῶν αἰρέσεων καὶ τὰς
 θλίψεις τὰς ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν ἡ ἐκκλησία ὑφίσταται ὀλιγοψυχούσα καὶ οἰονεῖ
 ἐκλείπουσα, θάττον δὲ ἀναλάμπουσα καὶ τὸ ἴδιον φῶς ἀναλαμβάνουσα.
 Ταῦτα ἡμᾶς καὶ Ἀμβροσίῳ ὁ προφήτης σαφῶς ἐκδιδάσκει περὶ ἡλίου καὶ
 570 σελήνης λέγων Ἐπῆρθη ὁ ἡλίου, τουτέστι Χριστὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀνῆλθε,
 καὶ τότε ἡ σελήνη ἔστη ἐν τῇ τάξει αὐτῆς, ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐν τῇ στερεῇ
 καταστάσει αὐτῆς, ἐν τῷ κάλλει αὐτῆς, ἐν τῇ εὐπρεπείᾳ αὐτῆς, ἐν τῷ

542 ἐννοήσωμεν Ν 547 εἰς] om. Μ 548 ὥρων Ρ 550 τοῖς] om. Μ 555 Χριστοῦ]
 ἐκκλησίας add. Ρ^{a-corr.} 556 ἔλαμπεν Ρ 557 ἴστατο Μ 558 τὴν] τὸν Ν
 565 ἀποστροφὴν Ρ 566 ἐγκατάληψιν Ν 567 ὀλιγοψυχούσα] Μ^{a-corr.} ΝΡ ὀλιγοσα Μ^{a-corr.}
 567/8 καὶ - ἀναλάμπουσα] om. Ν 569 Ἀμβροσίῳ] scripsi ἀββακούμ] ΜΝ^{a-corr.} Ρ
 ἀββακούκ Ν^{a-corr.} 571/2 ἡ ἐκκλησία - αὐτῆς] om. Μ 572 αὐτῆς] πρώην γὰρ ἄτακτος
 add. Ρ^{a-corr.}

beginning of time—but the Word was in the Father, the begetter. The Word was with God.¹

When he appeared, when he dawned at the beginnings of the day of his arrival, he had authority over many things.² After he had authority over the things of heaven, he had authority also over the things on earth. For he had received the nations as his inheritance and the ends of the earth as his possession,³ and held complete dominion from sea to sea.⁴ He became the origin of our salvation, the beginning of Baptism,⁵ the beginning of incorruptibility from death,⁶ and the beginning of God living in man.⁷ For so we perceive the statement that Christ was the first-born among our many brothers⁸ in whom God dwelled through Christ.⁹

And this heavenly Christ sun had yet another beginning: he was the first to set out and cut the road for us to the Father, by raising man up.¹⁰

Like these and other such beginnings, you should also consider the great luminary to be at the beginnings of the day that was illuminated by the noetic sun through the twelve hours of his students, the apostles. The lesser light, however, was at the beginnings of the night.

3. It seems to me that in words, actions, and designs, the paradigm of the sun and moon is quite harmonious with Christ and the Church.¹¹ After God had made these two lights, he immediately fixed the great sun in the east of the firmament, but the moon in the west. This model teaches us that in the beginnings of Christ's advent, when the incarnate Christ was shining upon his earth,¹² the Church did not shine. For she was yet standing at the evening of sin. But when Christ, on his way to the Father, was setting in the heavens,¹³ then like the moon she rose and showed her vitality. She dominated the darkness of the night. She illuminated those in darkness.¹⁴ She trampled on the leaders, authorities, and rulers of the world during this age of darkness.¹⁵ She ruled, governed, and subdued every dark deceit and force of the devil's making. On account of all this, it is said that the Church was made by God at the beginnings of the night,¹⁶ after the setting of the sun of Christ. And it is illuminated invisibly by him, as the moon by the sun.

4. Therefore, when God turns away and leaves—or rather, when she abandons the light—the Church, like the moon, undergoes dark eclipses of heresies and persecutions by enemies. Faint, as if in eclipse, she nevertheless quickly recovers her own light and shines out again. Indeed, the prophet Habakkuk clearly taught us these things about the sun and the moon, when he said: *The sun was taken up*. That is: Christ went up in the heavens.¹⁷ *And then the moon stood in her place*.¹⁸ The Church will endure in her firm state, in her beauty, in her dignity, in

¹ Cf Jn 1:1. ² Cf Mal 3:20 (4:2); Mt 4:16; Lk 1:79. ³ Cf Ps 2(3):8. ⁴ Cf Ps 71(72):8.

⁵ Cf Heb 2:10. ⁶ Cf Col 1:18; Rev 1:5. ⁷ Cf Lev 26:12; Ezek 37:27; Jn 14:23; Rom 8:9-11; 1 Cor 3:16; 2 Cor 6:16; 2 Tim 1:14; Rev 3:20. ⁸ Cf Rom 8:29. ⁹ Cf Rom 8:11.

¹⁰ Cf Lk 24:51. ¹¹ Cf Eph 5:32. ¹² Cf Mt 4:12-16. ¹³ Cf Jn 13:1, 16:28; 20:17.

¹⁴ Cf Lk 1:79. ¹⁵ Cf Eph 6:12. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 1:16. ¹⁷ Cf Jn 3:13; Acts 1:10, 11; et alia.

¹⁸ Hab 3:11.

φωτισμῷ αὐτῆς, ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ αὐτῆς. Καλῶς δὲ εἶπεν· Ἐν τῇ τάξει αὐτῆς, πρῶν γὰρ ἄτακτος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος ἐτύγχανε πλανῆτις καὶ

575 λάτρης καὶ εἰδωλόλατρης.

5. Ἔστι δὲ τις παράδοξος καὶ ἕτερος λόγος ἐπὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης δεικνύς τὸ μυστήριον Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Φασὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐπιμελῶς τὰ περὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης εὐρόντες ὅτι ἐκ τῶν δύο τούτων φωστήρων πᾶσα ἡ ὑπουράνιος κτίσις διοικεῖται καὶ κυβερνᾶται καὶ ἀποκρεμάται

580 τῶν τε ἐμψύχων καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων κτισμάτων καὶ σωμάτων, τοῦ μὲν ἡλίου δεσπόζοντος τοῦ θέρους ὡς ξηροῦ στοιχείου εἰς τύπον Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ θρισμοῦ τῆς συντελείας καταξηρᾶναι μέλλοντος τοὺς ὑφ' ἁμαρτίαν τῷ ἐκ τοῦ βήματος αὐτοῦ ἔλκοντι ποταμῷ πυρίνῳ, ὅθεν καὶ

585 ξηραίνει καὶ θερμαίνει τὰ κτίσματα ὁ ἥλιος, τῆς δὲ σελήνης τὴν κυβέρνησιν ἐχούσης καὶ τὴν διοίκησιν τῆς αὐθεντίας τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἀνέμου καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς Χριστοῦ σελήνῃ δωρηθέντος καὶ πιστευθέντος εἰς ἐξουσίαν καὶ κυβέρνησιν τοῦ δι' αὐτῆς γενεᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναγενεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς, ἕως οὗ ἡ νύξ προκόψῃ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου καὶ παρέλθῃ, καὶ ἀνατείλῃ πάλιν ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος Χριστός.

590 6. Ὅτι δ' ἡ σελήνη τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ κυβέρνησιν τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν παντὶ ὕδατι καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ πολλοῖς σώμασιν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἐκομίσαστο, καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν αὐτοὶ πλείστην τούτου πείραν ἔχομεν, μαρτυροῦσι δὲ καὶ οἱ πάντες οἱ καταβαίνοντες εἰς θάλασσαν ἐν πλοίοις ὅτι περὶ πρὸς τὴν αὔξησιν τοῦ σώματος τῆς σελήνης συναυξάνουσι καὶ

595 πληθύνονται καὶ τὰ ὕδατα, ἐλαττουμένης δὲ αὐτῆς πάλιν λήγουσι καὶ συνελαττοῦνται μετ' αὐτῆς. Φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἴβιν τὸ ζῶον οὖσαν ἐμπερὶ τῇ αἰθερίᾳ μὴν τὰ μὲν ἄκρα λευκαίνουσιν, τὰ μέσα δὲ ὀμιχλαίνουσιν, μηδὲ ταύτην ὁρᾶν ὅτε ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀσέληνος ἦ, μῦειν δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ αἰτοῦν μένειν. Ὁ δὲ κέρκωψ προδηλοτέρως ἔχει τὰς ἐνεργείας, ὅτε γὰρ αὖξει ἡ σελήνη, ὁ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν κύκλος τούτῳ εὐρύνεται, ὅτε

600 δὲ μειοῦται, τὸ περιφερὲς τῶν ὀμμάτων συστέλλεται. Φασὶ δ' ἐν ποταμῷ τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ γενεᾶσθαι λίθον λύχνιν καλούμενον, ὃν σελήνης αὐξανομένης ἤχον μελωδίας ἀποτελεῖν, καὶ ἐν ποταμῷ δὲ τῆς Κελτικῆς διαιτᾶσθαι ἰχθύν κλοπίαν οὕτως ἐγκωμῶς καλούμενον, ὃς αὐξανομένης

605 τῆς σελήνης λευκάζεται, μειομένης δὲ γε μελαίνεται.

7. Ἐπεὶ γοῦν καὶ σώματα ἀλλοιοῦνται καὶ ὕδατα αὖξει καὶ μειοῦται ἐν ταῖς τῆς σελήνης ἐπαλλαγαῖς, μετάφερέ μοι ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν τῆς

her brilliance, in her course. Habakkuk said this beautifully: *in her place*. For at first she was out-of-place and unprepared,¹ a wanderer, a hand-maid, and a servant of idols.

5. There exists another, surprising line of reasoning about the sun and moon, which points out the mystery of Christ and the Church. They that take pains to discover things about the sun and moon say that every created thing under heaven—things and bodies, animate and inanimate—is controlled, guided, and dependent on these two lights. The sun rules the summer, since it is a dry element. This is a type of Christ, who at the end of the all-consuming harvest will dry up those who lived in sin.² And a river of fire from his tribunal will drag them away, just as the sun dries and heats created things.³ But the moon does the piloting and has absolute control over the water and the spirit of the wind. It is a type of the Church which, as the moon of Christ, was presented and entrusted with the authority to govern and guide, so that we might be born and reborn through it. Then the night of this age will advance and depart,⁴ and the sun of righteousness, Christ, will dawn once more.⁵

6. The moon received from God authority over every water and sea and many other bodies, and it pilots the water and the wind. We ourselves have very much experience with this. And all can bear witness—all coming down in ships to the sea—that when the body of the moon increases in size, the waters increase and swell. But when the moon wanes, the waters likewise diminish and withdraw again. And they say that a bird, the ibis, corresponds to the ethereal moon: it grows white at the extremities, but dark in the middle. And when the heaven is moonless, the ibis disappears. It is quiet at this time and fasts. The monkey experiences changes that are even more manifestly similar. When the moon increases, the orbs of the monkey's eyes grow wider. But when the moon decreases, the eyes' peripheries contract. And they say that in the Hystaspe River grows a rock, called ruby, which when the moon increases, resounds and produces songs. And in a river in Gaul lives a fish, which locally is called a "Thief". When the moon increases, it turns pale. But when the moon decreases, it turns dark.

7. Since water rises and ebbs and bodies change according to the phases of the moon, translate these things to their allegorical meanings

¹ Cf Gen 1:2. ² Cf Mt 13:39. ³ Cf Is 40:6-7; Mt 13:6; Mk 4:6; Lk 8:6; Jas 1:11; Rev 14:15.

⁴ Cf Rom 13:12. ⁵ Cf Mal 3:20 (4:2).

573 ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ M^a corr. αὐτῇ ἐν τῇ M^p corr. 574 πλανῆ N 575 καὶ] om. MN 576 δὲ τίς M 579 ἐπου(ρά)νιος M 584 δὲ] κακοσύν add. M^a corr. 588 τοῦ] om. P ὤνος P^a corr. αἰῶνος P^p corr. 589 παρέλθῃ] scripsi παρέλθοι MNP 596 ἴβιν] scripsi ἴβιν MNP 597 ὀμιχλαίνουσιν] secundum Cummont ὀμιχλαίνουσιν MNP 599 κέρκωψ] scripsi κέρκοψ MN^p corr. P κέρψ N^a corr. 600 αὖξει P ἢ] supplevit Cummont εὐρύνεται NP 601 ὀμμάτων] νομάτων M^a corr. νομάτων M^p corr. 602 λύχνιν] secundum Cummont λύχνιν MNP αὐξανομένης] scripsi αὐξανόμενης MNP 603 διετᾶσθαι P 604 κλοπίαν] secundum Cummont κλωπίαν MNP 605 γε] om. N 606 γοῦν] οὖν P ἀλλοιοῦνται P

ἀλληγορίας εἰρμόν καὶ ὄψη πάντη συνάδοντα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐξανούσης καὶ
 610 προκοπούσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας συναύξονται τὰ τῶν λαῶν πιστῶν
 συστήματα, ἐλαττουμένου δέ γε καὶ διωκομένου τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ
 φωτὸς τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πίστεως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων συνελαττοῦνται
 καὶ μικρύνονται καὶ τὰ τῶν λαῶν πληρώματα. Ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ
 615 πνεῦμα τὸ σύμφυτον γενόμενον ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος πρὸς τοὺς δρόμους
 καὶ ἀνατολὰς καὶ δυσμὰς τῆς σελήνης καὶ τὰς αὐτῆς αὐξήσεις καὶ
 ἑλλείψεις προέρχεται καὶ ἀπέρχεται καὶ πληθύνεται καὶ ἐλαττοῦται.
 "Ὅθεν μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας οἱ πλείοντες μάλιστα ἀποτηροῦσι καὶ
 καθορῶσι τὴν ὄψιν τῆς σελήνης καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὸ φῶς καὶ τὰς
 τέσσαρας αὐτῆς τροπὰς, λέγω δὴ τὴν γέννησιν καὶ τὴν ἐβδόμην καὶ
 620 πεντεκαδεκάτην καὶ εἰκάδα πρῶτην, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν
 ἀνέμων ἐργάζεται. Καὶ γὰρ τὰ τέσσαρα πέρατα τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων
 τῆς ἐκκλησίας κρατούσης καὶ διοικούσης, τούτου χάριν τέσσαρας
 ὑφίσταται μεταβολὰς ἡ σελήνη ἐκ Θεοῦ τυπικῶς. Ἡνίκα μὲν γὰρ εἰς
 γένεσιν ἦλθε, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον εὐθύς ἐπνευσεν οὐ κυμαῖνον τὴν
 625 ἡμετέραν θάλασσαν καὶ ἀνεγείρον, ἀλλὰ λειοκύμονα μᾶλλον αὐτὴν
 καθιστῶν καὶ ἐξ οὐρίας πλεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐκκαλούμενον. Ἐν δὲ <τῇ> ἐβδόμῃ
 ἡμέρᾳ τῶν τικτομένων βρεφῶν ἐμπνεῖ τὸ κατὰ τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς
 πονηρίας διωκτικόν, προκατηχοῦσα ταῦτα εἰς τὰ προαύλια, καὶ ἐμφυσᾷ
 τὸν κατακλονοῦντα τοὺς ἐγκατοικοῦντας τῇ γενέσει τῆς ἀμαρτίας
 δαίμονας ἄνεμον. Ἡνίκα δ' ἠύξηθη παρὰ τὸ μέσον ἐμπνευσεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς
 630 καὶ τῶν ταύτης τροφίμων ἀπορραγόντων τῆς οἰκείας ὀλότητος καὶ τὴν
 ὕφεσιν τῶν αὐτῆς φωτισμάτων ἡγαπηκότων τὰ τῶν αἰρέσεων πνεύ-
 ματα, ὅτε καὶ ὑπολήγειν ἐνῆρξάτο. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ταύτης παντελῶς συστολῇ
 καὶ ἐκλείψει, ὅτε μέλλει τὸ πᾶν ὑπὸ κρίσιν ἔλθειν, | τότε πνεύσει πνεῦμα 905A
 ὀλέθριον, οὐκ ἀπ' αὐτῆς οὐδὲ δι' αὐτῆς, καταράσσον, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ τοὺς
 635 ἐκλεκτούς. Οὕτως τυποῖ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἡ σελήνη. "Ὅθεν καὶ νέον φῶς ἡ
 γέννησις τῆς σελήνης λέγεται διὰ τὴν τῶν νεοφωτίστων ἀναγέννησιν
 τὴν εἰς αἰὲν γεννωμένην καὶ ἀναγεννωμένην ὥς ἡ σελήνη, ἕως τῆς συν-
 τελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος.

VIII 1. Διψᾷ δὲ πάντως καὶ ποθεῖ ὁ συνετὸς ἀκροατὴς καὶ περὶ τῶν
 640 δύο αὐθις δυνάμεων τοῦ ἡλίου μαθεῖν, τουτέστι τοῦ θερμοῦ καὶ ξηροῦ, καὶ
 πῶς ταῦτα εἰς Χριστὸν ἀναφέρεται. Θερμόν δὲ καὶ ξηρὸν στοιχείον ἐστὶ
 τὸ πῦρ, εἰ καὶ ξηρὸν καὶ ψυχρόν ἡ γῆ, παρεμβλητέον γὰρ καὶ ταύτην διὰ
 τὸ ῥηθησόμενον. "Ὅσοι οὖν τέλειον Θεὸν καὶ τέλειον ἄνθρωπον τὸν
 Χριστὸν εἶναι πιστεύομεν, νοοῦμεν πῦρ μὲν εἶναι τὴν αὐτοῦ θεότητα, ὃ
 645 γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν πῦρ ἐστὶ καταναλίσκον, γῆν δὲ πάλιν τὴν γηγενῆ αὐτοῦ
 τῆς σαρκὸς ἀνθρωπότητα, ὧν τινων δύο οὐσιῶν στοιχείων τύπος ἦν

608 ὄψει M 618 εὐδόμην M 624 μᾶλλον P 625 τῇ] *scripsi* om. MNP εὐβδόμην M
 628 κατακλονοῦντα N 629 δαίμονας] *scripsi* δαίμονα MNP παρὰ N ἐπνευσεν P
 634 καταράσσον M^a ^{corr.} 637 καὶ ἀναγεννωμένην] καὶ ἀναγεννωμένην N om. P 642 δὲ P
 645 καταναλίσκων N^a ^{corr.}

and you will see that they are in perfect harmony. That is: as the Church matures and advances, the communities of the faithful increase with it. But when the body and the light of the ecclesiastical faith are diminished and persecuted by the unfaithful, the full compliment of people is diminished and weakened with it.

So also the wind, which was created with and upon the water, advances and retreats, and grows and diminishes, in accordance with the risings, settings, and courses of the moon, as well as its waxing and waning.¹ For this reason, sailors watch for and examine the face of the moon with great diligence: her outline, light, and four major days. I am speaking about her birth, and then the seventh, the fifteenth, and the twenty-first. In these, the moon works out the vicissitudes of the winds. Just so, the Church, which controls and manages the four boundaries of the four winds, as the moon of God, symbolically experienced four changes. When it came to birth, immediately the Holy Spirit blew. But this did not make our sea rise and rage; rather, it calmed our sea down into low waves and, with this fair wind, called out to us to set sail. Then on the seventh day after the infants had been born,² the Church initiated them in the forecourt of catachism and blew life into the pursuit of spirits of evil.³ She roused the wind, which expelled the demon from those that were dwelling in the generation of sin. And when the Church matured past her middle phase, the Spirit blew away from her and her nurslings, who had torn themselves away from their appropriate wholeness and had wanted the removal of her illuminations, the spirits of heresies. This was when she began to wane. When she contracts completely, indeed when her light leaves, when everything is about to come to judgment,⁴ then a devastating wind will blow. But not from her, and not through her. Rather, it will destroy, if possible, the Chosen.⁵

In such ways, the moon is a type of the Church. For this reason, the beginning of the moon is called the New Light [νέον φῶς]: because of the rebirth of those newly baptized [νεοφώτιστος]. It is a rebirth that is born and reborn forever—just like the moon—until the completion of time.⁶

VIII 1. The intelligent reader, no doubt, is thirsty and yearns to know about the two powers of the sun—its power to heat and its power to make dry—and how these in turn relate to Christ.

Fire is an element both hot and dry. It also must be added here, because it is going to be discussed, that the earth is cold and dry. We, who believe that Christ is both perfect God and perfect man, think that fire represents his divinity. Our God is a consuming fire.⁷ And earth represents the terrestrial humanity of his flesh. A true and precise type of these two elemental natures was the preparation of the first Adam.

¹ Cf Gen 1:2. ² Cf 1 Pet 2:2. ³ Cf Eph 6:12. ⁴ Cf Mt 16:27; Rom 2:5-6; 2 Th 1:7-9.
⁵ Cf Mt 24:24. ⁶ Cf Mt 28:20. ⁷ Cf Dt 4:24, 9:3.

ἀληθῆς καὶ ἀκριβῆς ἡ κατασκευὴ τοῦ πρώτου Ἀδάμ. Ἐκ γὰρ τῶν δύο τούτων Ἀδὰμ γέγονεν, ἐκ πυρὸς θεοῦ ἐμφυσήματος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ χοῦ τοῦ γηγενοῦς καὶ ξηρᾶς συστήματος.

650 2. Εἰ οὖν, ὡς ὁ λόγος λεπτομερῶς ἔδειξεν, ἐν τοῖς δύο φωστήρσι τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, ἐξ ὧν συνέστη πᾶς ὁ κόσμος, ὑπάρχουσι καὶ γνωρίζονται καὶ διοικούνται, οἱ δὲ δύο φωστήρες, ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη, τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀναμφιβόλως προδιαγράφουσι, μανθανέτω πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ὅτι ἐν τοῖς δυοῖς τούτοις καὶ διὰ τῶν δύο τούτων
655 οὐρανίων φωστήρων, λέγω δὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, συνίσταται καὶ διοικεῖται καὶ φυλάττεται τὰ τε ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς, τὰ τε ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα, τὰ τε ἔμψυχα καὶ τὰ ἄψυχα, τὰ τε κινητὰ καὶ τὰ ἀκίνητα τῆς τετραστοίχου ἑξαήμερου κτίσεως. Καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν σῶμα
660 τίκτεται δι' ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικός, οὕτως ἀπαραλλάκτως διὰ τῶν δύο φωστήρων τούτων τὸ σῶμα τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ πιστοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐτέχθη, καὶ οὕτω πληροῦται σαφῶς τό· Ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν, ὅτι πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης συνίσταται· ὥστε τῷ νουνεχῶς προσέχοντι πρωτοτύπως, ἐκείνου τοῦ τύπου τοῦ εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀναφερομένου, λέγω δὴ τοῦ Ἀδάμ καὶ τῆς
665 Εὐας, ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη ὑπάρχουσι προαινίσματα, ἐκ δύο καὶ δύο στοιχείων μίαν ἀδιαίρετον σάρκα ἀνθρώπου οἱ δύο συνιστῶντες καὶ τίκτοντες, ὥσπερ σπόρον ἀνδρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ φῶς ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ τῆς κολυμβήθρας τῇ ἑαυτοῦ συμβίῳ σελήνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ ἡλίου παρεχομένου.

3. Πάντα γοῦν τὰ πράγματα τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης πολλὴν τινα
670 τὴν ἰσότητα καὶ ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ τὴν Εὐαν ἐνδείκνυνται. Ἀδὰμ γὰρ πυρρὰ γῆ ἐρμηνεύεται, πῦρ δὲ καὶ γῆν, τουτέστι Θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον, πρὸ μικροῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐλέγομεν, ὃν διαγράφει ὁ ἥλιος ὡς τὸ θερμὸν τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τὸ ξηρὸν τῆς γῆς στοιχεῖον κεκτημένος. Ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ Εὐα ζωὴ ἐρμηνεύεται, ζωὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία τὴν διηνεκὴ
675 ἀναγέννησιν τοῦ βαπτίσματος | καὶ τὴν ζωὴν τὴν διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος 906A παριστῶσα καὶ Πνεύματος, ὣν ἡ σελήνη αἰτία τὴν χάριν τοῦ βαπτίσματος προδιαγράφουσα. Καὶ πιστοῦται μου τὸν λόγον τῆς ταιαύτης ζωῆς καὶ γεννήσεως καὶ ἀναγεννήσεως τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος λέγων ὅτι Εἰ μὴ τις γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν δι' ὕδατος καὶ
680 Πνεύματος, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. Ἀμέλει καὶ ἡ ἐκλειψὶς ἐν πληροσέλῳ γίνεται, ὅταν γὰρ τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰσέλθῃ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τότε πρὸς οὐρανὸν καταδύεται τὴν γῆν λοιπὸν καταλιμπάνουσα. Ὁθεν καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς σελήνης ἡ σύστασις καὶ ὑπαρξις ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου προῆλθε καὶ συνίσταται τὴν ὑπαρξιν τῆς Εὐας καὶ τὴν πρόοδον

Adam arose from God breathing fire into him and from the compounding of earthborn, dry dust.¹

2. As our earlier detailed discussion pointed out, the four elements, from which the whole universe was composed, exist, are recognized, and are controlled by these two luminaries. And these two luminaries, the sun and the moon, unequivocally forecast Christ and the Church. Since this is so, let everyone know² that in and through these two heavenly lights—I am now speaking of Christ and the Church—all things in heaven and on earth are put together, managed, and preserved: the things visible and invisible, animate and inanimate, moving and not moving, of the six-day creation of four elements.³ One body is produced through the union of a man and woman. Precisely so, the body consisting of the faithful people of the Church is produced through these two lights; and so, clearly, this statement is fulfilled: *"The two will be as one flesh."*⁴

All flesh is composed from the four elements that make up the sun and the moon. Thus, for the person who pays careful attention, the sun and the moon exist as an early mysterious representation of that type which relates to Christ and the Church. I am speaking about Adam and Eve. The two came together and produced the one indivisible flesh of humanity, composed from two and two elements. And just like the seed of man, the sun offers his light to the womb of the baptismal font, to his bride, the Church moon.

3. All the things relating to the sun and moon indicate their great likeness and similarity to Adam and Eve. *Adam* means "fire-red earth". Fire and earth: these are God and man, which a little while ago we interpreted as Christ. And the sun describes him too, since it possesses the hot element of fire and the dry element of earth. Similarly, *Eve* means "life".⁵ The Church is life because it offers the perpetual rebirth of baptism and the life through water and Spirit. And the source of these things is the moon, which thus represents the grace of Baptism.

God the Word gives credibility to my discussion about the life and birth and rebirth through water and Spirit. He says: *"Unless a person is born from above through water and Spirit, that person will not enter into the kingdom of heaven."*⁶

The eclipse happens, of course, during a full moon, because when the full number of Gentiles has entered the Church, it will finally leave the earth behind and rise toward heaven.⁷ For this reason, the substance and structure of the moon itself came from the sun, and was put together so as to represent the substance of Eve and her derivation from

¹ Cf Gen 2:7. ² Cf Act 2:36. ³ Cf Col 1:16. ⁴ Gen 2:24; Eph 5:31. ⁵ Cf Gen 3:20. ⁶ Jn 3:5. ⁷ Cf Rom 11:25-26.

652 δικαιούται N 654 δύο] οὐρανίων P 655 οὐρανίων] om. N 657 τὰ] scripsi om. MNP 658 κτίσεως] et παράδοξον] in margine PM 659 οὕτω καὶ ἀπαραλλάκτως P 660 τοῦ πιστοῦ] om. M^c 664 ἀναφερομένου M 667 σπόρου P 670 ἐνδείκνυται P 672 διαγράφη N 674 διοικεῖ P 675 τὴν] om. P 678 τοῦ] δι M 681 πληρωσελήνω P

685 αὐτῆς τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδάμ προδιαγράφουσα. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀπλοῦν φῶς ἢ
σελήνη κέκτηται καὶ οὐ διπλοῦν, οἷον ὁ ἥλιος, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ Εὐὰ ἐκ μιᾶς
πλευρᾶς τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου γεγένηται, ὁ δὲ Ἀδάμ ὡς τύπος Χριστοῦ
ἥλιος διπλοῦς καὶ σύνθετός ἐστι, τουτέστιν ἐκ γῆς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ
ἐμφυσηματος, ὅπερ τῇ Εὐᾷ ὁ Θεὸς οὐκ ἐνέπνευσεν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐκ δύο
690 οὐσιῶν, λέγω δὴ θεότητος καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος, τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς
ἐκκλησίας καθέστηκε, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Χριστός, ἀλλ' ἐκ μόνης ἀνθρωπό-
τητος. Τὸ γὰρ θεῖον ἐκείνο καὶ οὐσιῶδες τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐμφύσημα τὸ εἰς τὸν
χοῦν εἰσελθὼν τύπος ἀψευδῆς ὑπῆρχε τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου τοῦ ἐκ Πατρὸς
προελθόντος καὶ εἰς τὸν γηγενῆ ἀνθρώπον ἀδαιρέτως σκηνώσαντος
695 καθ' ὑπόστασιν.

4. Λογίζομαι δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἐκτὸς τοῦ παραδείσου δημιουργηθῆναι τὸν
Ἀδάμ τὸν προπάτορα καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τεθῆναι πάνω
προσφυνῶς ἀρμόζει ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡλίου τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμοίως
ἐγένετο ἐπὶ γῆς, ὅπου ὁ Ἀδάμ, καθά φησιν ἡ γραφή, καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως ἐν τῷ
700 οὐρανῷ ἐτέθη. Ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν φωστήρων τὸ ἔθετο γέγραπται, ὡς-
περ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Καὶ ἔλαβε γὰρ φησιν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπον,
ὃν ἐπλασε, καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἄρχοντα καταστήσας
αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν Εὐάν πάντων τῶν ζώων, ὡς περ καὶ τοὺς δύο φωστῆρας
εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ δεσπόζειν πάντων τῶν ζώων
705 διὰ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐξ ὧν καὶ δι' ὧν πᾶσα ἡ
τῶν σωμάτων τῶν ἀλόγων καὶ πετεινῶν συνίσταται φύσις.

5. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐκλείψιν φωτὸς καὶ ἐλάττωσιν καὶ ἄλλιν ἀνανέωσιν ὡς περ
ἐπὶ τῆς σελήνης θέλεις καὶ τῆς Εὐας ιδέσθαι, ἐννόησον τὸν λέγοντα πρὸς
τὸν Θεὸν προφήτην· Διότι φῶς τὰ προστάγματά σου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὡν
710 καὶ τὴν ἐκλείψιν διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς ἡ Εὐὰ ὑπέμεινεν. Ὁ Ἀδάμ γὰρ οὐκ
ἠπατήθη, ὡς φησιν ὁ Ἀπόστολος, ἡ δὲ Εὐὰ ἠπατήθη κατακυριευθέντος
καὶ ἐκλείψαντος τοῦ φωτὸς αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ σκοτεινοῦ καὶ ζοφεροῦ ὄφεως.
Ὅμως τὴν ἐκλείψιν τοῦ φωτὸς αὐτῆς ἀνεκτήσατο φαιδρότερον τὸ φῶς
τὸ ἀληθινὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς, λέγω δὴ τῆς δευτέρας Εὐας, Χριστός, ὡς ἐκ
715 σελήνης τινὸς πληροσελήνου τῆς Θεοτόκου Μαρίας τῆς οὐδαμῶς λειψά-
σης ἢ ἐκλειψάσης ἢ στερηθείσης τοῦ οὐσιώδους φωτὸς τῆς παρθενίας
αὐτῆς, ἡνίκα ὁ ἄγγελος ἐβόησεν αὐτῇ τό· Χαίρει, κεχαριτωμένη, δι' Εὐάν
τὴν ποτε κακουμένην καὶ λυπούμενην σελήνην τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐκλείψει αὐτῆς
διὰ παρακοῆς φυγοῦσαν καὶ ἀποκρυβεῖσαν καὶ δέσασαν ὑπὸ τὸ ξύλον
720 τῆς παρακοῆς καὶ παραβάσεως ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου τῆς δικαιοσύνης Θεοῦ.
Τοσαῦτα ἡμῖν διὰ βραχείων περὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης εἰρήσθω αὐτάρκως εἰς
τὴν τετάρτην ἡμέραν, ἡνίκα ἔλεγεν ὁ Θεός· | Γενηθήτωσαν φωστῆρες ἐν
τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς φαῦσιν τῆς γῆς τοῦ διαχωρίζειν ἀνὰ

685 τοῦτο | τοῦ Μ 693 εἰσελθὼν Ρ τοῦ | om. Μ² 694 διαιρέτως Ν σκηνώσαντες
Μ² 698 ὁμοίως Μ 699 καθάπερ Ν 702 ἄρχον Ρ 708 ἐνόησον Ρ 712 καὶ
ζοφεροῦ ὄφεως | ὄφεως καὶ ζοφεροῦ Ρ 716 στερηθείσης Ρ 717 εὐόησεν Μ 718 ἐν τῇ
om. Ρ 723 φαῦσιν | ἐπὶ add. Ρ

Adam. Therefore the moon was created as a simple light, and not double
like the sun, because Eve arose from one rib of one man.¹ But Adam, as
a type of Christ, was a sun that was a two-fold mixture from earth and
the breath of God.² God did not breathe upon Eve, because the full
nature of the Church was not initiated from two essences (human and
divine, such as Christ), but from humanity alone. The divine and
essential breath of God entered the dust:³ this was a true type of God the
Word coming from the Father and making his home, in person and
indivisibly, among earth-born man.⁴

4. According to my reckoning, the fact that Adam our forefather was
created outside of Paradise and then placed inside the garden⁵—this is
in perfect accord with the physical sun. Similarly, it was created on
earth, where Adam was created, according to what Scripture says, and
then placed in heaven.⁶ For this reason, with respect to the luminaries it
is written that *he placed them*,⁷ as likewise with respect to man it says:
*And God took man, whom he had made, and placed him in Paradise.*⁸
He then established Adam and Eve as rulers over all living beings.⁹ Just
so, he had commissioned the two lights to rule over day and night,¹⁰ and
to lord it over all living beings because of the four elements in them.
From and through these elements, every natural body—of beasts and
birds—is composed.

5. Now with respect to Eve, if you want to see an eclipse—a
diminishment and then again a renewal of the light, as with the moon—
then think about the prophet's statement to God: *Because your precepts
are light upon the earth.*¹¹ Through her disobedience, Eve underwent an
eclipse of these precepts.¹² For *Adam was not deceived*—according to the
Apostle—but Eve was deceived¹³ and her light was subdued and eclipsed
by the shadowy and dusky snake.¹⁴ Similarly, Christ replaced the eclipse
of her light with a brighter light, the true light, from the second Eve,¹⁵
as from a full moon, the Mother of God, Maria. She never lost, never
suffered an eclipse, never was deprived of the essential light of her
virginity when the angel exclaimed to her: *Rejoice, you who are full of
grace.*¹⁶ This was said on account of the moon Eve, who was distressed
and grieving. In her eclipse though disobedience, she had fled and
concealed herself beneath the tree of disobedience and transgression.
She was afraid of the sun of righteousness, God.¹⁷

Let such brief discussions about the sun and moon suffice with
respect to the fourth day, when God said: *Let there be lights in the
firmament of heaven to illuminate the earth in order to separate day from*

¹ Cf Gen 2:21-22. ² Cf Gen 2:7. ³ Cf Gen 2:7. ⁴ Cf Jn 1:14, 16:28. ⁵ Cf Gen 2:8, 15.

⁶ Cf Gen 1:16-17. ⁷ Gen 1:17. ⁸ Gen 2:15. ⁹ Cf Gen 1:26, 28. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 1:16, 18.

¹¹ Is 26:9. ¹² Cf Gen 3:6. ¹³ 1 Tim 2:14. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 3:1-6. ¹⁵ Cf Jn 1:9; 1 Jn 2:8.

¹⁶ Lk 1:28. ¹⁷ Cf Gen 3:8; Mal 3:20 (4:2).

μέσον τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς νυκτός, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτός καὶ
725 ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους.

6. Σκόπει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ φυσικὴν τῶν κτισμάτων ἀκολουθίαν, ὅτι,
εἰ καὶ φωστήρας ὀνομάζει μεγάλους Μωσῆς τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην,
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπίσης τούτους ὀνομάζει μεγάλους. Τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἥλιον κυρίως
730 ὀνομάζει μέγαν φωστήρα, ἅτε καὶ τὸ φῶς οἴκοθεν, οὐχ ἐτέρωθεν, ἔχοντα,
τὴν δὲ σελήνην οὐχ οὕτως, κατὰ μετοχήν, οὐ καθ' ὑπαρξιν, καὶ ἀφ' ἡλίου
ἐλλαμπομένην, οὐ μετέχει μεταδιδούσαν. Ὡς περ δὲ τύπῳ εἰπεῖν λέγεται
διττὸν τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν λογικόν, τὸ μὲν τὸ κυρίως ἐν ἡμῖν, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ κοσμού-
μεθα καὶ εἶναι ἄνθρωποι γνωρίζομεθα, τῶν λοιπῶν ἀλόγως ζώντων
ζώων κατὰ διάμετρον, οὐ μετελήχαμεν λόγον, ἀποδιδομένων, τὸ δὲ
735 τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν ἄλογον ὡς ἐπιπειθὲς ποτε λόγῳ καὶ τούτου μετεληχὸς καὶ
ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως ἐλλαμπόμενον, ὡς ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐξ ἀκρατοῦς
ἐγκρατῆ, καὶ ἐξ ἀκολάστου τὸν σώφρονα, καὶ ἐκ θρασέως καὶ τοῦ δειλοῦ
τὸν τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ θωρακιζόμενον. Ὡς περ οὖν ἐνταῦθα λέγεται λογικὸν ἐν
ἡμῖν τό τε κυρίως καὶ τὸ λόγῳ πειθόμενον ἄλογον, οὕτω κυρίως μεγάλοι
740 φωστήρες ὃ τε καθ' ὑπαρξιν φωτίζων ἥλιος καὶ ἡ κατ' ἐλλαμψιν σελήνη
φωτίζουσα.

IX 1. Ἀλλ' ἐπανιτέον πρὸς τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς προτεθειμένον εἰρμόν, καὶ
ῥητέον ὅτι ἤδη ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ποιήσας ὁ Θεὸς τὸ φῶς δι'
ἑαυτοῦ διεχώρισεν ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς νυκτός, καὶ
745 ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτός καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν καὶ εἶχον
μετρηθῆναι αἱ προλαβοῦσαι τρεῖς ἡμέραι, ἢ πῶς εἶχε γενέσθαι ἑσπέρα καὶ
γενέσθαι πρωί, εἰ μὴ κατὰ χωρισμὸν τοῦ φωτός καὶ τοῦ σκότους; Ὡς τε
καὶ διὰ τούτων τῶν φωστήρων τινὰ ἡμᾶς πνευματικὰ μυστήρια ἄλλα
διδάσκει ἡ γραφὴ τῶν πραγμάτων σωματικῶν, καὶ γὰρ τό· Ἔστωσαν
750 εἰς σημεῖα καὶ εἰς καιροὺς καὶ εἰς ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτοὺς οὐκ ἀστρο-
λόγους βουλόμενος ὁ Θεὸς διδάξαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγει,
οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ τῇ σελήνῃ καὶ τοῖς ἀστροῖς τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς κυβερ-
νήσεως ἔχειν, ὡς τοῖς ματαίοις τῶν μεμωραμένων ἀστρολόγων δοκεῖ,
ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτων τῶν φαινομένων φωστήρων καὶ ἀστέρων πνευματικὰ
755 σημεῖα καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς καὶ τάξεις καὶ κυβερνήσεις καὶ μυστήρια
θαυμαστά διδασκόμεθα περὶ τῶν ἀστέρων ἐκείνων, λέγω δὴ τῶν φωτι-
σάντων καὶ ὀδηγησάντων ἐπὶ γῆς ἀγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν καὶ
διδασκάλων ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐλλαμπομένων καὶ λεγόντων·
Ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν. Τίς γὰρ ἦν
760 ἀστέρων ὅλως χρεῖα; Διὰ τί δὲ μὴ ἡ σελήνη διὰ παντός πληροσέληνος
γέγονε καὶ τὴν νύκτα κατεφώτιζε; Τί δὲ καὶ ὠφελεῖται ἡ κτίσις ὅσον κατὰ
τὸ γράμμα ἐκ τῆς γεννήσεως καὶ ἀναγεννήσεως καὶ ἐκλείψεως τῆς

726 τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς νυκτός, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον] *om.* P *per homoeoteleuton*
737 ἀκολάστου M 740 ὃ τε] *scripsi* ὅτε M ὃ, τε NP 748 καὶ *add.* P *per dittographiam*
761 διδάξει P 765 καιροὺς καὶ] *om.* P 758 καὶ] *om.* M 760 ὅλως P Διὰ τί] *scripsi*
Διὰ τί MP Διατί N

night,¹ and light from darkness."²

6. Consider now the following in light of the physical scheme of created things. Although Moses names the sun and moon "great luminaries", he does not call them equally great.³ He authoritatively calls the sun "the great luminary", in as much as it has light from itself and not from another source. This is not true of the moon. Through participation and not from her own essence, she reflects light from the sun. With the sun she participates in giving light. Just so, to speak figuratively, the rational side of us is two-fold. One part is proper to us: by it we are adorned and recognized as being humans. Other living beings, which live irrationally, stand diametrically apart from the kind of rationality in which we have been given a share. But the other part in us is not rational. When this part is obedient to reason, then it has a share in it and shines from its power. From this perspective, it is possible to see the difference between the self-controlled and the intemperate, the reasonable and the licentious, the one armored in manliness and the coward. Therefore, just as the half in us that is sovereign is called logical and the half that is obedient is called illogical, so also is the definitive situation between the great lights. The one that illuminates from its own essence is called the sun; and the one that illuminates by reflection is called the moon.

IX 1. We need to return to the train of thought set in motion at the beginning of the book. We must say that already from the first day, after God had made the light, he separated for himself the day from the night and the light from the darkness.⁴ How otherwise were the three days that went before able to be measured, or how was evening able to happen, or morning, unless there was a separation between light and darkness?⁵ The conclusion is that also through these lightgivers, the Scripture here about physical bodies teaches us spiritual mysteries too. For example: *Let them be for signs, for seasons, for days, and for years.*⁶ God does not say such things because he wants to teach people to become astrologers. He does not teach them to pin their hopes for guidance upon the sun, moon, and stars—as the foolish, moronic astrologers think. Rather, through the visible luminaries and stars, we learn about *spiritual* signs and seasons and years and orders and government. We also learn amazing mysteries about those famous stars: the holy apostles, prophets, and teachers that shone and gave guidance upon the earth.⁷ Irritated by the sun of righteousness,⁸ they say: "We received everything from his fullness."⁹

Really, what need was there for stars? Why was the moon not always a full moon shining down upon the night? How was the creation—when taken literally—helped by the birth and rebirth and eclipse of the moon?

¹ Gen 1:14. ² Gen 1:18. ³ Cf Gen 1:16. ⁴ Cf Gen 1:3-5. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:5, 8, 13.
⁶ Gen 1:14. ⁷ Cf 1 Cor 12:28; Eph 4:11-12 ⁸ Mal 3:20 (4:2). ⁹ Jn 1:16.

σελήνης· Τί δέ κερδαίνει ἡ ἐκκλησία ὁρῶσα τὴν λεγομένην Ἄρκτον
 οὐδέποτε δύνουσιν, τὴν δὲ Πληγιάδα ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐξάστερον χορὸν
 765 ἔλκουσαν· Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ μυρία τοιαῦτα σχήματά τε καὶ ὀνόματα καὶ
 θεάματα καὶ διαστήματα εἰσὶν ἐν τοῖς ἀστροῖς τοῦ στερεώματος, ἐξ ὧν
 οὐδὲν πνευματικὸν ἐκ τῆς σωματικῆς αὐτῶν θέσεως καὶ κινήσεως ἡ
 ἐκκλησία διδάσκειται.

2. Οὐκοῦν, εἴ τις εὐγνώμων καὶ γνωστικός, γνώμων γνώστης τε καὶ
 770 ἀναγνώστης τοῦ νόμου τοῦ θεοῦ καθέστηκεν, ἔσωθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν τὰς
 θείας πλάκας γεγραμμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναγινωσκέτω, ἔσωθεν μὲν
 κατὰ τὸ γράμμα, ἔσωθεν δὲ κατὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα νοουμένας, αἱ εἰσὶ καὶ δύο
 οὐρανῶν πλάκες, ἔσωθεν μὲν τοὺς λογικοὺς ἀστέρας τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ
 775 ἀστέρας καὶ τὰ τούτων αἰνίγματα διαγράφουσαι διὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς
 σχημάτων καὶ τόπων καὶ δρόμων καὶ καιρῶν καὶ διαφορῶν, τὰς
 διαφορὰς καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τοὺς τόπους καὶ τοὺς τρόπους καὶ τοὺς
 δρόμους καὶ τὰς ἐπιφανείας τῶν κατὰ καιροὺς ἀναλαμπάντων καὶ τὸ
 στερέωμα τῆς πίστεως ἄνωθεν καταφωτισάντων ἁγίων ἡμᾶς ἐκδιδά-
 780 κουσιν. Διὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν τῶν ἀστέρων ἀνξανομένης ἔτι καὶ προκοπ-
 τούσης τῆς νυκτός, λέγω δὴ τῆς πλάνης, ἀνατέλλουσιν, οἳ ὑπῆρχον οἱ
 περὶ Ἀβελ καὶ Ἐνῶχ καὶ Νῶε καὶ Ἀβραάμ, οἱ δὲ πάλιν κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ
 μέσον τοῦ φωτός καὶ τοῦ σκότους, οἷους τοὺς ἐν νόμῳ γινώσκομεν, ἄλλοι
 785 εἰσιν οἱ μακάριοι προφῆται καὶ ὁ βαπτιστής, μάλιστα οἱ ἀγχίπου καὶ
 γείτονες ὄντες τῇ αὐγῇ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνατολῆς, ζωντινων προφητῶν
 ἔσχατος ἦν καὶ πάντων φαιδρότερος ὡς ἑωθινὸς ἑσπέρου ὁ πρόδρομος
 τοῦ ἡλίου Χριστοῦ Ἰωάννης ὁ λέγων· Ἰδοὺ ὀπίσω μου ἀνατέλλει τῷ
 κόσμῳ ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος, ὃς ἀνατείλας καὶ ἐξελεῖται ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων
 790 τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἅμα πρῶτ' ἀνέδειξε τοὺς δώδεκα οἴκους τῶν μαθητῶν
 ἀστέρων τοὺς περιέχοντας καὶ δεσπόζοντας ὅλων τῶν ἀστέρων τοῦ
 στερεώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

3. Εἰ δὲ βούλει σὺ ἀστειότερον καὶ τινα ὀνόματα τούτου τοῦ ποτε
 ζωδιακοῦ κύκλου ὄντος τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν ἀποστολικῶν δώδεκα
 795 ἀστέρων καταμαθεῖν, σκόπει τὰς δώδεκα προσηγορίας τοῦ
 στερεώματος. Εἰσὶ δὲ αὗται· Παρθένος, Ἑσπερος, Λύρα, Δίδυμος, Λέων,
 Ταῦρος, Κριός, Τοξότης, Ὑδροχόος, Ἰχθύς, Σκορπίος, Καρκίνος, καὶ
 ἕτερα πλεῖστα. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν μυθικῶς καὶ ψευδῶς προσηγορεύθησαν,

How does the Church profit when it sees that the constellation Ursa Major never sets, or that the Pleiades bring together a harmonious chorus of six stars? And there are myriads of other such aspects, names, wonders, and spaces among the stars of the firmament, from whose physical placement and motion the Church is taught nothing spiritual.

2. If someone is reasonable, knowledgeable, and wise, one who knows and reads the Law of God, let that person read the divine tablets written by God from both the outside and inside.¹ From the outside: let that person contemplate their literal meaning. From the inside: contemplate them spiritually.² There are, in fact, two tablets of the heavens. The inside tablet carries the rational stars, which are the angels, the angelic mysteries, and their words. The outside tablet describes the visible stars and their enigmas, through whose constellations, locations, courses, seasons, and distinctive qualities, we are taught the distinctions, seasons, locations, ways, courses, and epiphanies of the saints, who blazed in their seasons and who, from above, shine down upon the firmament of faith.

For the purpose of such instruction, some stars rise when the night is still growing and advancing. I am speaking of the night of error. These are the ones who existed around the time of Abel, Enoch, Noah, and Abraham. Others, however, appear in the very middle, between light and darkness. We read about such in the Law. Still others appear when night has advanced and day approaches. These are the blessed prophets and the Baptist. They are the closest neighbors to the splendor of the dawn of the Lord.

John was the last of these prophets and the brightest of all. He was like the early Morning Star, the forerunner of Christ the sun. John was the one who said: "Look! After me, he rises for the world, the sun of righteousness."³ Then Christ dawned, coming out of the waters of the Jordan.⁴ And early in the morning he pointed out the zodiac of his stars the apostles,⁵ who embrace and rule all the stars of the firmament of the Church.

3. If you want to learn more precisely some names of what was once the zodiac circle of the Church, the twelve apostolic stars, then look carefully at the twelve appellations of the firmament. They are the following: Virgo, Hesperus, Lyra, Gemini, Leo, Taurus, Aries, Sagittarius, Aquarius, Pisces, Scorpio, and Cancer—and the many alternate names that are used. These were named according to myths

¹ Cf Ex 24:12, 31:18, 32:15-16, 34:1. ² Cf 2 Cor 3:4-18. ³ Cf Mal 3:20 (4:2); Mt 3:11; Mk 1:7; Jn 1:15. ⁴ Cf Mt 3:16; Mk 1:10. ⁵ Cf Mt 10:1-4; Mk 3:13-19; Lk 6:12-16.

763 κερδαίνει N^a corr. 764 Πληγιάδα] *correxí* πληγάδα M πληγάδα N^a corr. πληγάδα NP^{corr} πληγάδα P ἐξάστερον] *correxí* ἐξάστερον MN ἐξάστρον P 765 ταῦτα P^a corr. 772 τὸ γράμμα] *om.* P 777 τόπους καὶ τοὺς] *om.* P *per dittographiam* 779 καταφωτισάντων] τῶν *add.* N^a corr. 780/1 προκοπούσης M 781 οἷον MP 785 ἀγχίπου] MNP *lege fortasse* ἀγχιστον *vel* ἀγχιστα 794 ζωδιακοῦ M 796/7 παρθένος - κριός] ταῦρος· κριός· παρθένος· ἔσπερος· λύρα· δίδυμος· λέων· P^a corr. ^β ταῦρος· κριός· ^α παρθένος· ἔσπερος· λύρα· δίδυμος· λέων· P^p corr. 797 ἰχθύες N

ἐν δὲ τῷ στερεώματι τῆς ἐκκλησίας πνευματικῶς καὶ αἰὲ καταλάμπουσιν.
 800 Ἐχει γὰρ Παρθένον ἀστέρα ἢ ἐκκλησία, φωστῆρα τὴν παναγίαν Παρ-
 θένον καὶ τοὺς εὐνουχίσαντας ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν,
 ἐξ ὧν ὑπῆρχον καὶ αἱ πέντε παρθένοι μεσοῦσης τῆς νυκτός ὡς ἀστέρες τὸ
 φῶς τῶν λαμπάδων ἐκλάμψασαι. Ἐχει δὲ καὶ Δίδυμον ἢ ἐκκλησία
 805 ἀστέρα, Θωμᾶν τὸν λεγόμενον Δίδυμον. Ἐχει Λέοντα τὸν Λουκᾶν,
 ἐπειδὴ καὶ λέων ἐν τῷ Σεραφίμ ἐωράθη, καθότι πρὸς κράτιστον ἄνδρα
 τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἔγραψε. Καὶ ἄλλους δὲ ἔχει λέοντας, οὓς ἔτεκε Χριστὸς ὡς
 σκύμνος λέοντος Ἰούδα, οἵτινες ἤρξαν καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν τῶν ἀγρίων ποτὲ
 θηρίων ἐθνῶν. Ἐχει Ταύρους τοὺς τὸν ἐχθρὸν κερατίζοντας, ἢ γὰρ
 810 συναγωγὴ τῶν ταύρων τούτων ἐν ταῖς δαμάλεσι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ Μᾶρκον ὡς βοῦν φανέντα ἐν τῷ ἐξαπτερύγῳ, ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ θυσιῶν τοῦ
 εὐαγγελίου ἐνήρξατο. | Ἐχει καὶ Κριοὺς, τοὺς σπερμοβολοῦντας τὸν
 λόγον τῇ ποιμνῇ, περὶ ὧν εἴρηται Ἐνέγκατε τῷ Κυρίῳ υἱοὺς κριῶν. Ἐχει
 815 Τοξότας, τοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ προεστώτας καὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ βοῶντας. Διδάσκων
 χεῖράς μου εἰς πόλεμον, καὶ ἔθου τόξον χαλκοῦν τοὺς βραχίονάς μου.
 Ἐχει καὶ Ἰχθύας ἀστέρας τοῦτο τὸ στερεῶμα, ὅσους ἡγρευσαν οἱ περὶ
 Πέτρον καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην ἀλιεῖς. Ἐχει καὶ Λύραν τὸν σοφώ-
 820 τατον Παῦλον. Ἐχει Καρκίνον αὖθις τὸν Πέτρον, διττὴν γὰρ πορείαν ὁ
 νοητὸς ἥλιος ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπορεύετο, ἔμπροσθέν τε καὶ ὀπίσθεν. Δι' αὐτοῦ
 γὰρ ἡστραπτε καὶ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν, οἵτινες ἦσαν οἱ ἐξ Ἰουδαίων, ἀλλὰ δὴ
 825 καὶ τοῖς ὀπίσθεν, οἵτινες ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς. Ἀμφω γὰρ εἶλκε Πέτρος, τοὺς μὲν
 σημεῖοις, τοὺς δὲ διδασκαλίαις. Ἐχει καὶ πλανήτας ἑπτὰ, τοὺς ἑπτὰ
 διακόνους ἀνάντη τὴν πορείαν τῇ τῶν ἄλλων ἀντελ[λ]ίξει ποιοῦντας διὰ
 τὴν πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἀντέρεισιν. Οὗτοι γὰρ ἐν τῷ σιτίζειν τὸ πλῆθος τὸ
 830 ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων διδασκόμενον, ἵνα μὴ καταπέσῃ διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην τοῦ
 σώματος, ἀντήρειδον τὸν λόγον ὑφ' ἐτέρων διδόμενον. Ἐχει καὶ Περσέα
 ἀστέρα, οἷον βούλει τῶν ἐκ Περσίδος ἡκόντων Μάγων ἐν Βηθλεὲμ δι'
 ἀστέρος πρὸς τὸν νοητὸν καὶ κρυπτόμενον ἥλιον. Ἐχει καὶ Ὑδροχόους,
 πρὸς οὓς εἴρηται ὅτι Ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ρεύουσιν ὕδατος
 835 ζῶντος. Ἐχει καὶ Ἑσπερούς, τοὺς περὶ τὴν ἐνδεκάτην ὥραν ἀνατεί-
 λαντας.
 4. Οὐ μόνον δὲ αἱ προσηγορίαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ σχήματα καὶ αἱ
 ἰδέαι τῶν ἀστέρων πρὸς πνευματικὰς ἡμᾶς ἐννοίας καὶ θεωρίας
 ἀνάγουσι. Διὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν φαῖδροι καὶ οἷονεῖ μειδιώντες εἰσίν, ὡς
 ὁ λέγων· Πάντοτε χαίρετε ἐν Κυρίῳ, ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε. Οἱ δὲ
 835 στυγνοὶ καὶ κατηφεῖς, ὡς οἱ ὑπακούσαντες τοῦ εἰπόντος· Μακάριοι οἱ
 πενθοῦντες. Ἄλλοι πάλιν πανηγυρίζοντες, ὡς οἱ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ

800/1 παρθένον²] πανθένον N^{a.corr.} 802 ἀστέρες] ὁ ἀστέρος N 805 ἐωράθη] scripsi
 ἐωράθη MNP 807 εὐασιλεύσαν M ἐβασίλευσαν P 809 τούτων] om. P 810 ἐξαπτερύγῳ P
 815 ὅσους] om. P 821 πλανήτας] N^{a.corr.} πλανήτας MNP^{corr.} P 822 ἀντελίζει] correcti
 829/30 ἀνατείλαντος M 831 προσηγορεῖαι P 834 ὁ] om. M προσεύχεσθαι MN^{a.corr.}
 835 κατηφεῖς M οἱ] om. M 836 πεθοῦντες M ὑπὲρ] πὲρ M

and falsely so. In the firmament of the Church, they shine spiritually and forever.

The Church has a Virgo: a shining star, the all-holy Virgin,¹ and those who made eunuchs of themselves for the sake of the kingdom of heaven.² Among these are the five virgins who, in the middle of the night, began to shine the light of their lamps like stars.³ And the Church has a Gemini star: Thomas, who is called "The Twin".⁴ It has a Leo: Luke. He was seen as a lion among the Seraphim⁵ because he wrote his Gospel to that aristocrat.⁶ And it has other lions to which Christ, as the lion cub of Judah,⁷ gave birth. They led and ruled the Gentiles, who were once wild beasts. It has bulls [Taurus]: those who gore the enemy. There is a congregation of these bulls among the young heifers of the churches.⁸ And also Mark is depicted as an ox with six wings,⁹ since he began his Gospel with the sacrificial victims.¹⁰ And it has rams [Aries], who impregnate the flock with the seed of the Word, and about whom it was written: Offer the sons of the rams to the Lord.¹¹ And it has archers [Sagittarius]. They stand before the people and cry out to the Lord: "You that instructs my hands for war, you placed my arms like a bronze bow."¹² And this firmament has Pisces stars: of such a sort that were snared by the fishermen around Peter, James, and John.¹³ And it has a Lyra: the very wise Paul. And it has a Cancer: again Peter. The noetic sun made a double course in him: it went forward and backward. Through him it shone upon those that had gone earlier, those that were Jewish. But it also shone upon those that were following behind, such as us.¹⁴ Peter attracted both: the former through miracles,¹⁵ and the latter through his teachings.¹⁶

And it has seven planets: the seven ministers who made their steep journey across the revolution of the others.¹⁷ They offered support for the preaching of the others. They fed the multitude that was being taught, so that they might not collapse beneath the needs of the body.¹⁸ They offered a supporting prop for the message given by the others.

And it has a Persian star, if you will: by means of this star, the Magi came from Persia to the noetic and hidden sun in Bethlehem.¹⁹ And it has water bearers [Aquarius], each of whom was described by the statement: "Rivers of living water will flow from within him."²⁰ And it has evening stars [Hesperus]: those that were sent out around the eleventh hour.²¹

4. Not only the names, but also the forms and aspects of the stars lead us up to spiritual reflections and contemplations. For this reason, some of them are beaming, indeed as if they are smiling. As he says: "Rejoice always in the Lord, pray unceasingly."²² The gloomy and dejected stars are like the ones that listen to him who said: "Blessed are they who grieve."²³ Still others are celebrating in the feast. They are like

¹ Cf Lk 1:27; ² Cf Mt 19:12. ³ Cf Mt 25:1-13. ⁴ Cf Jn 11:16, 20:24, 21:2. ⁵ Cf Is 6:2; Ez 1:5-10; Rev 4:6-8. ⁶ Cf Lk 1:3. ⁷ Cf Gen 49:9. ⁸ Ps 67(68):31. ⁹ Cf Is 6:2; Ez 1:5-10; Rev 4:6-8. ¹⁰ Cf Mk 1:1-9. ¹¹ Cf Ps 28(29):1. ¹² Cf Ps 17(18):35. ¹³ Cf Mt 4:18-22; Mk 1:16-20; Lk 5:1-11. ¹⁴ Cf Gal 2:7-9. ¹⁵ Cf Acts 3:2-10, 4:13-22, 5:12-15, 9:33-43. ¹⁶ Cf Acts 2:14-42, 8:14-25, 10:9-48. ¹⁷ Cf Acts 6:1-6. ¹⁸ Cf Mt 15:32-39; Mk 8:1-9. ¹⁹ Cf Mt 2:1-2, 9-11. ²⁰ Jn 7:38. ²¹ Cf Mt 20:6, 9. ²² 1 Th 5:16-17. ²³ Mt 5:4.

πυρωθέντες καὶ λέγοντες· *Διήλθομεν διὰ πυρός καὶ ὕδατος*. Καὶ ἕτεροι οἱ
 ὀξεῖς τοὺς δρόμους ποιοῦμενοι, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ μέχρι
 τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ διαβάς κάκει σὺν τῷ συζύγῳ Πέτρῳ δύσας, καὶ τῇ
 840 καταδύσει τὴν δύσιν οἱ δύο φωτίζουσιν. "Ὁθεν πάλιν ὁρῶμεν τοὺς μὲν
 τῶν ἀστέρων πρὸς βορρᾶν ἐκλάμποντας, ἄλλους δὲ πρὸς νότον, ἑτέρους
 δὲ πρὸς Ἄρκτον, καὶ ἄλλους ἐν διαφόροις τόποις ἀνατέλλοντας, τοὺς ἐν
 πάσῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ἐκλάμπαντας φωστῆρας τῆς ἐκκλησίας σημαίνοντας.
 'Επεὶ τί δήποτε οὐκ ἐν ἐνὶ καιρῷ πάντες οἱ ἀστέρες ἐκλάμπουσιν; Ἀλλ' οἱ
 845 μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνατέλλουσιν ἑαρινοὶ εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν Χριστοῦ ἀνάστασιν,
 οἵτινές εἰσιν οἱ μακάριοι ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ τούτοις συναναστείλαντες
 αὐτῶν μαθηταί. Οἱ δὲ πάλιν τῶν ἀστέρων εἰσὶ θερινοὶ, οἵτινές εἰσιν οἱ τὸ
 βάρος καὶ τὸν καύσωνα τῶν θλίψεων καλῶς βαστάσαντες καὶ τὴν
 πύρρῳ τῆς σαρκὸς γενναίως ὑπενέγκαντες καὶ ὑπομείναντες τὸν
 850 μισθόν, ὡς οἱ ἐργάται τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ θερισμοῦ. Εἰσὶ δὲ τινες καὶ χειμερινοὶ
 ἀστέρες, οἵτινες ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μεσοχειμωνίᾳ τῆς εἰδωλολατρίας ἐξέλαμψαν
 μάρτυρες.
 5. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ περὶ τῆς θέσεως αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲ αὐτῇ εἶη ἄκυρος καὶ
 ἀμύστηρος. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὥσπερ τινὲς μονάτορες μοναχοὶ
 855 ὁδεύουσιν, ὡς οἱ ἐκ τῆς δωδεκάδος μόνον στελλόμενοι πρὸς τὸ κήρυγμα
 κατὰ τὸν λέγοντα ὅτι *Κατὰ μόνας ἐγὼ, ἕως οὐ παρέλθω*, καὶ ὡς οἱ πρὸς
 ἀπορρώγας πέτρας μόνον μονάζοντες, λέγοντες· *Κατὰ μόνας ἐπ' ἐλπίδι*
κατῳκισάς με. Ἄλλοι δὲ συνδυεῖς ἢ σύντριτοι, ὡς οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐβδομη-
 κοντάδος δύο πεμπόμενοι ἢ καὶ δύο ὁμοῦ πρὸς ἀσκητικούς ἀγῶνας
 860 συναμιλλώμενοι, ἀκούσαντες τοῦ εἰπόντος· "Ὅπου εἰσὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγ-
 μένοι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν. Ἕτεροι δὲ χοροειδῶς ἢ
 στεφανοειδῶς βαδίζουσιν, ὡς τό· *Ἰδοὺ δὴ τί κατλὸν ἢ τί τερπνὸν ἀλλ' ἢ*
τὸ κατοικεῖν ἀδελφούς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό; Καὶ οἱ μὲν τέλειοι, οἵτινες καὶ
 ὑπέρλαμπροι ὄντες, βραχεῖς τινες καὶ μικροτάτας πλησιαζούσας ἔχουσι
 865 τάξεις, διδασκάλων καὶ ἀρχιερέων ἐπέχοντες τῶν λεγόντων· *Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ*
καὶ τὰ παιδιά, ἃ μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεός, οἷος ἦν καὶ ὁ Παῦλος. Πρώτιστος ὢν
 καὶ μέγιστος ἀστὴρ ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας εἶχε συνεπομένους οἷον βραχεῖς τινες
 Τιμόθεόν τε καὶ Σίλαν καὶ τὸν Βαρνάβαν καὶ τὸν Λουκᾶν, οὐ μετὰ πολὺ
 ἀπὸ μαθητοῦ συνεφέστιον γεγονότα τῷ διδασκάλῳ. Εἰ καὶ διεψευσταί
 870 τό· *Ἀρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ γενέσθαι ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος*, ἡλάττωται Παύλου,
 καὶ γὰρ καὶ Παῦλος συνεδριάξῃ. Οἱ δὲ πάλιν σταυροῦ τύπον ἐπέχουσιν,
 ἐξ ὧν ἦν καὶ ὁ λέγων ὅτι *Οἱ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ τὴν σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν*
σὺν τοῖς παθήμασι καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, καὶ ἄλλοι ὡς διδυμοὶ τινες καὶ

the ones that having been torched for the sake of Christ now say: "*We came through fire and water.*"¹ And other stars, quickly running their courses, are like the one that went from Jerusalem all the way up to Illyricum² and there set with his companion, Peter. In their evening, these two illuminated the West.

Therefore, we see some stars shining in the north; others in the south; some shining above the Arctic; and others rising in the opposite places. They shine on the entire inhabited world, and so symbolize the lights of the Church.

Then why do the stars not shine together in one season? Rather, some of them rise in the spring, right after the resurrection of Christ. Of such a sort were the blessed apostles, and their students that rose with them. Still other stars belong to summer. Of such a sort were the ones that bravely bore oppression and the heat of torture.³ They nobly endured the scorching of their bodies and patiently waited for their reward,⁴ as the harvest workers of the Lord.⁵ There are some stars, however, which belong to winter. Of such a sort were the martyrs that shone in the middle of the winter of idolatry.

5. To speak here about their positions would be neither unimportant nor without mystical significance. Some of them travel like solitary monks. They are like some of the twelve apostles that were sent out alone to preach, in accordance with the words: *I am alone, until I escape.*⁶ They are like those hermits that live alone among sheer cliffs and say: *You established me all alone in hope.*⁷

Other stars travel in pairs or triples, like those that were sent out among the seventy-two,⁸ or like the two that contended together in their monastic struggles. They heard the one that said: "*Wherever two or three are gathered in my name, there I am in the midst of them.*"⁹ Still other stars go about like a chorus or a crown, in accordance with the verse: *Look, what is more beautiful or more pleasant than brothers living together in the same place?*¹⁰

And some are perfect. These are exceedingly bright and have some groups of disciples, few in number and small in size, close by. They include teachers and high priests, who say: "*Look at me and the children that God gave to me.*"¹¹ Such a one was Paul. He was the first and biggest star, superior to all the rest. He had some followers, like minor stars, such as Timothy, Silas, Barnabas, and Luke.¹² After a short time, from student Luke became one at home with his teacher. And even if the statement "*It is enough for the pupil to become like the teacher*"¹³ were false, and he was less than Paul, still he sat in deliberation with Paul.¹⁴

And other stars present an image of the cross. Among this group was the one who said: *They that belong to the Lord Jesus, let them crucify their flesh with its passions and desires.*¹⁵ And other stars make their journey like twins or married couples, like those that carry the yoke of

842 διαφόρους P 843 φωστῆρας P 846 σὺν ἀνατείλλαντες P 848 καύσωνα P
 849 πύρρῳ N^{4.corr.} γεννέως P ὑπενέγκοντες N 851 μεσοχειμωνία MP
 εἰδωλολατρίας N^{4.corr.} 855 οἱ | om. P 856 μόνας| εἰμί add. N οὐ| ἂν N
 857 ἀπορρώγας] N ἀποίγας M ἀπηγας P 858 κατῳκισάς P 858/9 εὐδομηκοντάδος M
 862 δὴ| om. M 864 μικροτάτας M^{4.corr.} 866 πρώτιστος P

¹ Ps 65(66):12. ² Cf Rom 15:19. ³ Cf Mt 20:12. ⁴ Cf Mt 20:1-2, 8. ⁵ Cf Mt 9:38; Lk 10:2. ⁶ Ps 140(141):10. ⁷ Ps 4:9. ⁸ Cf Lk 10:1. ⁹ Mt 18:20. ¹⁰ Ps 132(133):1.
¹¹ Is 8:18; Heb 2:13. ¹² Cf Acts 13:1-3; 15:40-16:3; 20:4. ¹³ Mt 10:25. ¹⁴ Cf Col 4:14; 2 Tim 4:11; Philem 24. ¹⁵ Gal 5:24.

875 σύζυγοι ὁδοιποροῦσιν, ὡς οἱ τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ Κυρίου φέροντες καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι τοῦτον ἔλκοντες, ὡς δύο ὀφθαλμοὶ λάμποντες.

880 6. Ὅθεν τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ κινεῖσθαι καὶ τρέχειν ὥσπερ τινὰς ἐμψύχους, ὄντας ἀψύχους, ὥκονόμησεν ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τύπον τῶν ἐμψύχων φωστήρων διδασκάλων. Καὶ γοῦν οὐ τοσοῦτον τοὺς ἐπὶ γῆς οἱ ἀστέρες ὁδηγοῦσιν, ὅσον τοὺς ἐν θαλάσῃ μαλλον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ οἱ λογικοὶ ἀστέρες τοὺς ἐν τῷ κλύδωνι τῆς θαλάσσης τῶν παθῶν πολλῶ πλεον διαλάμπουνσι καὶ διασώζουσιν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἕως οὗ ἡ νύξ τοῦ βίου παρέλθῃ καὶ ἀνατελῇ πάλιν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος.

885 X 1. Οὕτω δὴ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἡ ἐκκλησία τὰ περὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστέρων πνευματικῶς ἀστεροσκοπεῖται, καθὼς καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ ἀνατείλας καὶ ἀρπαγείς καὶ μαθῶν ἀναφῆρεσθαι εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους ὡς σοφὸς ἀστεροσκοπὸς τὸν τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης λόγον ἡρμήνευσεν λέγων περὶ τῶν κατὰ καιροῦς ἐκλαμπάντων ὅτι Ἄλλη δόξα ἡλίου, τουτέστι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἄλλη δόξα σελήνης, τουτέστι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἄλλη δόξα ἀστέρων, 890 λέγω δὴ τῶν ἀγίων· ἀστὴρ γὰρ ἀστέρος ἐν αὐτοῖς διαφέρει ἐν δόξῃ. Πέτρος γὰρ πρωτόθρονος καὶ γὰρ, φησὶ Παῦλος, διαφέρομεν ἀπάντων τῇ μεγίστῃ τιμῇ. Περὶ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἀστέρων νοήσομεν μετὰ τοὺς αἰσθητοὺς εἰρημένον ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τό· Καὶ ἔστωσαν εἰς σημεῖα καὶ εἰς καιροὺς καὶ εἰς ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτούς. Οὕτω γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ 895 γέγονε. | Ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ καιρὸς ἀποστόλων, καὶ ἄλλος καιρὸς σημειοφόρων ἀγίων, καὶ ἕτερος ἀγίων μαρτύρων, καὶ ἄλλος καιρὸς διδασκάλων.

900 2. Περὶ τούτων τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ ὁ Δαυὶδ λέγει πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· Ὁ ἀριθμῶν πλήθη ἀστρῶν, καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα καλῶν, τουτέστι τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν δούλους, τοὺς δὲ μισθίους, τοὺς δὲ ἐργάτας, τοὺς δὲ φίλους, ἄλλους ἀδελφούς, ἑτέρους τέκνα, ἄλλους πατέρας. Εἰ γὰρ περὶ τῶν σωματικῶν ἀστέρων τὸ τοιόνδε νοήσεις, οὐχ εὐρήσεις τὸν ποιήσαντα τούτους Θεόν, ἐκάστῳ καλέσαντα ὄνομα ἰδικῶς παρὰ τὸ κοινόν. Ὑστερον γὰρ τὸ σοφὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν μὲν Τοξότην, τὸν δὲ Δοκίαν, τὸν δὲ Πρηστῆρα, τὸν δὲ Τυφῶνα, ἕτερον Λαμπαδῖαν, ἄλλον 905 Πωγωνῖαν, καὶ ἄλλον ἄλλως προσκέκληκε.

910 3. Περὶ τούτων τῶν ἀστέρων τῆς ἐκκλησίας νοήσεις καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ ψαλμῷ εἰρημένον πρὸς Χριστὸν ὅτι Σελήνην καὶ ἀστέρας, ἃ σὺ ἐθεμελίωσας. Διὰ τί δ' οὐκ εἶπε καὶ τὸν ἥλιον, ἐπειδὴ, καθὰ προεῖπον, τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστὶ τύπος ἀψευδῆς ὁ ἥλιος· Ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐθεμελιώθη καὶ ἔστη, ἀλλ' ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ Χερουβικῷ. Περὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὁ παρὼν ψαλμὸς εἴρηται, Ὅτι ἐπλήρθη ἡ μεγαλοπρέπειά σου ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν τοῦ

the Lord, dragging it with their body and soul, shining like two eyes.¹

6. Therefore, God ordained that the stars, although inanimate, move and run their courses like those with souls, in order to be a type of the soulful lights of heaven: the teachers. Yet the stars do not guide those upon the earth as much as those upon the sea. This is because the rational stars light the way to a much greater degree for those in the stormy sea of passion. They rescue them in the ship of the Church, until the night of this life passes and once again the sun of righteousness dawns from heaven.²

X 1. In this way the Church should spiritually contemplate the matters concerning the sun and moon and stars. Accordingly, that wise stargazer, who had risen to the third heaven and was enraptured and learned to be lifted to the saints,³ interpreted the passage about the stars and sun and moon. About them, who shine in their season, he said: "*The sun (Christ) has one splendor, and the moon (the Church) another splendor, and the stars (the saints) yet another splendor.* Among them, *one star is different from another in glory.*"⁴ But Peter, who occupies the first chair, and I," said Paul, "are distinct from all others in our great honor."

Therefore, after the perceptible stars, we will consider the statement by God to be about these stars. "*And let them stand there for signs and seasons and days and years.*"⁵ So it was and so it is in the Church: once there was a season of apostles, and then another season of saints that performed miracles, and a season of holy martyrs, and another season of teachers.

2. David talked about these stars when he said of God: "*The one that counts the multitudes of the stars, and calls them all by name.*"⁶ That is: some of them are servants, some laborers, some workers, some friends, and others brothers, sons, and fathers. For if you study the Genesis passage in light of the physical stars, you will find that the one who created them, God, did not call each individually by name—but rather in general.⁷ And later the genius of man called the one "Archer", the other "Meteor", others "Hurricane", "Typhoon", "Comet", and "Bearded Star", and still others by other names.

3. You will consider also what was said to God in the eighth psalm to be about these stars of the Church: *The moon and stars, which you set firmly in place.*⁸ Why did he not say the sun, since, as I said before, the sun is a true symbol of Christ? Because Christ was not set firmly in the firmament of heaven. Rather, he is beyond the heavens, on the throne of the Cherubim. And undoubtedly it was about him that the same psalm said: "*Because your magnificence was raised up beyond the heavens, you*

¹ Cf Mt 11:29-30. ² Cf Mal 3:20 (4:2). ³ Cf 2 Cor 12:2-4. ⁴ 1 Cor 15:41. ⁵ Gen 1:14. ⁶ Ps 146(147):4. ⁷ Cf Gen 1:14. ⁸ Ps 8:4.

874 Κυρίου] Χ(ριστο)ῦ MN ψυχῇ] N ψυχῇ M ψυχῶι P 877 φωστήρων] καὶ add. N
882 ἀνατελῇ P 884 ἀστέρων] correxi ἀστέροις MNP 885 καὶ] om. M
892 ἀστέρων] om. P νοήσωμεν MP 897 ὁ] om. P 904 δοκίαν M^{corr.} 905 ἄλλως]
ἄλλος P 910 οὐρανῶ M^{corr.}

ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων παίδων καταρτίσαντος αἶνον, ἀρχιερέως μεγάλου διεληλυθότος τοὺς οὐρανούς.

915 4. Τὸν δὲ μέχρι τούτου τοῦ γράμματος σωματικῶς νοοῦντα τὸν περὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστέρων λόγον ἐλέγχει αὐτὴ ἡ θεία γραφὴ οὐκ εὐσεβῶς τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐγκύπτουτα γράμμασιν. Εἰρηται γὰρ ἐν ὕμνοις Δαυίδ· Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον, ἡλῖος καὶ σελήνη· αἰνεῖτε αὐτόν, πάντα τὰ ἀστροὶ καὶ τὸ φῶς· αἰνεῖτε αὐτόν, οἱ οὐρανοὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπε, καὶ ἐγενήθησαν, αὐτὸς ἐνετέλλετο, καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν. "Ἐστησεν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος· πρόσταγμα ἔθετο, καὶ οὐ παρελεύσεται. Εἰ οὖν ἔστησεν ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος εἶναι τοὺς οὐρανούς καὶ τὸν ἡλίον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας, πῶς πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς Θεὸς λέγει διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προφήτου ὅτι Οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἀπολοῦνται, 925 καὶ ὡς ἱμάτιον παλαιωθήσονται, καὶ ὡσεὶ περιβόλαιον εἰληθήσονται καὶ παρελεύσονται, καὶ πάλιν δι' ἑτέρου προφήτου φησὶν ὅτι Εἰληθήσεται ὁ οὐρανὸς ὡς βιβλίον ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων, καὶ ὁ ἡλῖος καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐκ ἐτι δώσουσι τὸ φέγγος αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς φύλλα πεσοῦνται· Διὸ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ποιητὴς αὐτῶν Θεὸς Λόγος Ἰησοῦς φησὶν ὅτι 930 'Ο οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται.

5. Οὐκοῦν διὰ τῶν εἰρημένων σαφῶς μαθάνομεν ὅτι οἱ μὲν οὐρανοὶ οἱ σωματικοὶ παρελεύσονται ὡς τύποι, ὁ δὲ στερεὸς οὐρανὸς ὁ τῆς πίστεως οὐ παρελεύσεται, καὶ ὁ ἡλῖος ὁ ὁρώμενος σβεσθήσεται ὡς τύπος, ὁ δὲ ἡλῖος Χριστός, ὃν προδιέγραφεν ὁ ἡλῖος, οὗτος μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος. 'Ὡσαύτως καὶ ἡ τυπικὴ σελήνη ἀπολείται, ἡ δὲ ἀληθὴς σελήνη τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἣν προδιέκηρυττεν ἡ νυκτερινὴ αὐτὴ, οὐ παλαιωθήσεται, καὶ οἱ ἄγιοι ἀστέρες, οἱ λογικοὶ χοροὶ τῶν ἁγίων, αἰῶνιοι διαμενοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ τύποι αὐτῶν, οἱ πρόσκαιροι ἀστέρες, ὡς φύλλα πεσοῦνται. Τότε γὰρ πάντες οἱ σωματικοὶ φωστῆρες ἀπολοῦνται, ὅτε οἱ δίκαιοι λάμπουσιν ὡς 940 ὁ ἡλῖος, τουτέστιν ὡς ὁ Χριστός. Αὐτὸν γάρ, ὡς πλειστάκις ὁ λόγος ὑπέδειξε, προδιαγράφει οὗτος ὁ ἡλῖος, ἡ δὲ σελήνη τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. "Ὡς περ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἀνὰ δύο αὐτῶν σωματικῶν δυνάμεων συνίσταται ὁ ἐκτὸς ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος, ἡγουν ἐκ τοῦ φωτιστικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τοῦ ὑγροῦ | καὶ φωτιστικοῦ τῆς σελήνης, οὕτως ἐκ δύο καὶ δύο τῶν 945 αὐτῶν πνευματικῶν πραγμάτων ἀναγεννᾶται καὶ μορφοῦται καὶ ὁ ἔσω ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος ἐκ μὲν τῆς σελήνης ἐκκλησίας δι' ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος τικτόμενος, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου Χριστοῦ διὰ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τρεφόμενος.

6. Ἄκουσον καὶ ὕμνησον τὰ ἄρρητα ἐν τούτοις θαυμάσια, πῶς καὶ ἐπὶ

913 νηπίων P παίδων] om. P καταρτίσαντος M καταρτήσαντος N κατηρτίσαντος P
914 τὸν'] currexi τοῦ MNP 916 ἐλέγχει P 918 καὶ] se add. P per dittographiam 925 ὡς
[ἱμάτιον] currexi ὡσεὶ μάτιον MP ὡσεὶ ἱμάτιον N 926 παλεύσονται M^{corr.} 927 καὶ']
om. M^{corr.} 932/3 παρελεύσονται - οὐ] om. M 933 ὁρώμενος N^{corr.} 935 σελήν M
936 προδιέκηρυττεν M ad finem et initium linearum 938/9 Τότε - ἀπολοῦνται] om. P
941 προδιαγράφει M 949 θαυμάσι P

who made good the praise from the mouth of suckling infants and babies,¹ you the great highpriest who traveled through the heavens."²

4. The person that takes this passage about the heaven, sun, moon, and stars only in a literal and superficial sense is refuted by Divine Scripture itself. That person does not look at the Holy Scriptures closely and reverently. For David said in his songs: *Praise the Lord, sun and moon; praise him, all you stars and light; praise him, you heavens of heavens. For he spoke, and they were made, he commanded, and they were created. He established them forever, even for ever and ever. He made an ordinance, and it will not pass away.*³ If therefore God established that the heavens and sun and moon and stars be for ever and ever, how did the same God through the same prophet say: *"The heavens will perish, and like a mantle they will become old, and like clothes they will be folded and pass away"*?⁴ And again, through another prophet, he says: *"And the sky will be rolled up like a scroll⁵ at the conclusion of the ages,⁶ and the sun and the moon will no longer give their light, and the stars of the sky will fall like leaves."*⁷ On account of this, their creator himself, God the Word, Jesus, says: *"Heaven and earth will pass away."*⁸

5. From what has been said, do we not clearly learn that the physical heavens will pass away, like prototypes? But the firm heaven of faith will not pass away. The visible sun, like a type, will be extinguished; but the sun Christ, whom the other sun foreshadowed, remains for ever and ever.⁹ In like manner, the prototype moon will perish; but the true moon of the Church, which the nocturnal one announced in advance, will not become old. And the holy stars, the rational choirs of saints, will endure forever; but their types, the seasonal stars, will fall like leaves.¹⁰ When the righteous will shine like the sun, that is, like Christ, all physical lights will perish.¹¹ For as our account has often pointed out: this sun foreshadows him, and the moon foreshadows the Church.

Our outer being is composed from the same physical powers, two by two: the dry and illuminating power of the sun, and the wet and illuminating power of the moon. So too, our inner being is born and shaped from the same spiritual things, two plus two:¹² it is born from the moon Church, through water and Spirit;¹³ and it is nourished from the sun Christ, through his body and blood.¹⁴

6. Hear and sing about the unspeakable wonders of these things!

¹ Ps 8:2-3. ² Cf Heb 4:14. ³ Ps 148:1, 3-6. ⁴ Ps 101(102):26, 27; Heb 1:10-12.

⁵ Is 34:4. ⁶ Heb 9:26. ⁷ Mt 24:29; Is 34:4; cf Is 13:10. ⁸ Mt 24:35.

⁹ Cf Jn 8:35; Heb 7:24. ¹⁰ Cf 2 Cor 4:18. ¹¹ Cf Mt 13:43; Dan 12:3. ¹² Cf 2 Cor 4:16.

¹³ Cf Jn 3:5. ¹⁴ Cf Jn 6:53-56; 1 Cor 10:16, 11:27; 1 Jn 5:6.

950 ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης τὸ ἐν ἐστὶν ἀόρατον, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ὁρατόν, σαφῶς ἡμῖν
κράζοντα τὸ μυστήριον Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῖς πνευματικῶς
αὐτὸ θέλουσι νοεῖν. Τὸ μὲν γάρ ἐστι λεπτομερὲς εἰς τύπον τῆς θεότητος,
τὸ δὲ παχυμερὲς εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος. Τὸ γὰρ Πνεῦμα ἐν τῷ
955 καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μὴ κατὰ τινὰ ἱατρικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀναγίνωσκε, ἀλλὰ
κατὰ πνευματικὴν, εἴ γε καὶ πιστεύεις ὅτι πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησεν ὁ
Θεός.

ΧΙ 1. Ἐννόησον γὰρ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς τετάρτης ἡμέρας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν
αὐτῇ γενομένων μυστηρίων περὶ ἡλίου περὶ τε σελήνης καὶ ἀστέρων καὶ
960 Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας καὶ βαπτίσματος καὶ πάντων τῶν λοιπῶν τῆς
ἐξαήμερου ὅτι ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος, τουτέστιν ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ
χιλιονταετηρίδι, ὑπὸ Θεοῦ διὰ Μωσέως ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐγράφησαν καὶ
προετυπώθησαν καὶ ἀπεκαλύφθησαν ἡμῖν καὶ προεφητεύθησαν. "Ὅτε
965 τοῦ Ναυῆ γέγονε βαπτίζοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ
ἐκκλησίαν ἐκεῖ ἀβρόχως (πνευματικόν τι ἔστι καὶ ἡμέριον καὶ γλυκό-
ρειθρον βάπτισμα), ἔμβα καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ Θεὸς ἐβαπτίσθη νυκτερινόν,
θαλάττιον, καὶ ἐξαλμον Μωσαϊκὸν τυπικὸν βάπτισμα, τὸ μετ' ὀλίγον
ἀναδειχθὲν πνευματικόν, ἡμερινόν, καὶ σωτήριον, ἥνικα τὸ Πνεῦμα πρὸς
970 τὸ ὕδωρ κατίη, μεθ' ὃ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐκ τούτου ἀνίη. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐδεῖτο
καθάρσεως καὶ θειοτέρας ἀναγεννήσεως ὁ ὑπεράγιος Κύριος, ἵνα
προκατιόντος τοῦ Πνεύματος καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀγιάσαντος αὐτὸς νιμμὸν
ὑποδέξηται, ὥς ἄρα γίνεται ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ὥς Μεσσίας Ἰησοῦς μέσος
975 ἀμφοῖν τῶν βαπτισμάτων ἱστάμενος τὸ μὲν τι συγκέκυψε, τὸ δὲ παρα-
δέδωκε, τοῦ πρώτου αὐτίκα ὀλοθρευθέντος μετὰ τοῦ πρώτου λαοῦ.

2. Οὗτος ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ ὁ πρωτότυπος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
στήσας τὸν ἥλιον κατὰ Γαβαῶ καὶ τὴν σελήνην κατὰ φάραγγα ἀντικρυς
ἀλλήλων, καθὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς) ἐγένοντο, ἐν οἷς διὰ τῆς τῶν δύο φωστήρων
καταστάσεως καὶ συστάσεως καὶ πῆξεως εἰς τύπον ὑπαρχόντων (τοῦ
980 Χριστοῦ) καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἱ πολέμιοι ἀπώλοντο. ("Ὡσπερ δὲ τὴν
τετάρτην χιλιονταετηρίδα τῆς τετάρτης ἡμέρας τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐδείξαμεν
συμφωνοῦσαν τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐξαήμερου κτίσεως, οὕτως καὶ τὰς
λοιπὰς ἡμέρας παραστήσομεν συμβαινούσας ταῖς ἱσαριθμοῖς αὐτῶν
χιλιονταετηρίσιν ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ καιρῷ, τοῦ Θεοῦ διδόντος ἡμῖν λόγον ἐν
985 ἀνοιξίᾳ τοῦ στόματος ἡμῶν.) "Ὅπως δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν τόπων,

955 ἀλλὰ) τὴν *add.* M 956 πιστεύει N 963 καὶ ἀπεκαλύφθησαν ἡμῖν καὶ προεφητεύ-
θησαν] *om.* P 967 καὶ] καὶ *add.* P in *margin sinistro per dittographiam* 969 πνευματικόν] καὶ
add. P 970 οὐδὲ] οὐ N 972 νιμμὸν] *scripsi* νιμὸν MN^{corr.} P νιμὸν N^{corr.} 973 ὑπο-
δέξας] P Μεσσίας] *scripsi* μεσσίας] MNP 974 τί] P 977 κατὰ Γαβαῶ] N καταβαῶ
M^{corr.} καταγαβαῶ M^{corr.} κατὰ γαβαῶ P 978 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς] *scripsi* ἀπαρχῇ MNP
979 στάσεως MP 979/80 τοῦ Χριστοῦ] *adiunxi* 981 τῆς τετάρτης] M^{corr.} N τῆς
τάρτης M^{corr.} τῆς τε τετάρτης P 984 ἐν] *om.* P

With respect to the sun and moon: the one cannot be seen, but the other
can be seen. Thus they clearly proclaim the mystery of Christ and the
Church to us, who desire to understand it spiritually. The one is refined
and is a type of divinity; the other is course and represents humanity.
And as the Spirit is concealed in the water, the blood is concealed
invisible in the body.

Do not read these and such things in the light of some medical
science, but spiritually—if indeed you believe that God made all things
in wisdom.¹

XI 1. With respect to this the fourth day and the mysteries that arose
during it—mysteries concerning the sun, and the moon, stars, Church of
Christ, and Baptism—and with respect to all the rest of the six-day
creation, consider this: they were written down in the fourth day of time.
It was in the fourth millennium that these mysteries were hammered
into types and in this way prophetically revealed to us by God through
Moses among the Israelites. Consider also, in that same millennium, the
symbolic type of the baptism in the Jordan by Joshua (Ἰησοῦς), son of
Nun. There, where Jesus (Ἰησοῦς), God, would be baptized, Joshua
baptized the ark, which is the Church of Christ, without getting it wet.²
True Baptism is something spiritual, filled with daylight, and sweetly
streaming. This baptism, however, was at night, in the water and yet
not in the water, Mosaic, archetypal. A little while later, however,
Baptism was shown to be spiritual, filled with daylight, and the source
of salvation the Spirit descended to the water, after which the Lord
Jesus rose from it.³

The Lord, who is beyond holiness, had no need of cleansing or a more
divine rebirth. He had no need of the Spirit descending and sanctifying
the water, so that he might receive purification—which indeed happens
to us. But as the Messiah (Μεσίας),⁴ Jesus was standing in the middle
(μέσος) between both baptisms. He bowed down for the one; but he
bestowed the other.⁵ And immediately, the first one perished along with
his first people.

2. This was Joshua, son of Nun, a prototype of Jesus Christ. He made
the sun stand still at Gibeon, and then the moon above the deep valley,⁶
the two opposite one another, as it was in the beginning. When these
two lights were brought together and fixed, standing firm, as a type of
the beings Christ and the Church, the enemies were slaughtered by
them.⁷

We pointed out earlier that the fourth millennium, the fourth day of
time, is in harmony with the fourth day of the six-day creation. So too
we will show, in due time, how the remaining days are in agreement
with the millennia that are their equals in number—if God gives us
something to say when we open our mouths!⁸

¹ Cf Ps 103(104):24. ² Cf Jos 3:14-17; 4:10-11, 15-18. ³ Cf Mt 3:15-16; Mk 1:9-10;
Lk 3:21-22; Jn 1:32-33. ⁴ Cf Jn 1:41, 4:25-26. ⁵ Cf Jn 19:30. ⁶ Cf Jos 10:12-13.
⁷ Cf Jos 10:16-27. ⁸ Cf Eph 6:19.

ἐν οἷς τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην Ἰησοῦς ἔστησε, πιστωθῇ ὁ ἀκροατὴς τὴν
 στάσιν καὶ τὴν ὑψωσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προδιαγράφεσθαι,
 ἄκουσον, παρακαλῶ. Γαβαῶ ἢ Ῥαμὰ ἐστὶ, Ῥαμὰ δὲ ὕψος τῇ Ἑβραϊδὶ
 ἐρμηνεύεται γλῶσση, φάραγμα δὲ μετέωρος ἦτοί ἐπηρμένη, τὴν ὑψωσιν
 990 τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῶν δύο φημι φωστήρων, διὰ τῶν δύο
 προσηγοριῶν τοῦ τόπου σημαίνοντος ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ | τῇ χιλιοντα- 913A
 ετηρίδι, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ μέση ἡμέρα τοῦ αἰῶνος, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ἀρχαῖς τῆς
 κτίσεως ἡ τετάρτη ἡμέρα μέση ὑπῆρχε τῶν ἐπτὰ ἡμερῶν. Διὰ τοῦτο ἐν
 αὐτῇ προετυπώθη ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος ὁ μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ
 995 ἀνθρώπων, καὶ μέσος ὡς δεσπότης τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων, καὶ
 μέσος Πατρὸς καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ μεσίτης λίθος ἀκρογωνιαίος 914A
 τῶν δύο λαῶν, ὅστις καὶ ὑψώθη ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ ἐν μέσῳ δύο ληστῶν καὶ
 εἰργάσατο σωτηρίαν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς μεσοῦσης τῆς ἡμέρας. Αὐτῷ ἡ
 δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. |

988 ῥαμὰ] ῥεμά P 989 φάραγκα M 990 τοῦ] *supplevi* 996 ἀκρογωνιαίος P

Please hear how the reader should believe that the establishment and exaltation of Christ and the Church¹ were prefigured by the places in which Joshua made the sun and moon stand still. Gibeon is the *ramah*. *Ramah* means in Hebrew "elevation", and the city is indeed raised high above the ravine. Through these two names of the place—the ravine and the elevation—he predicted the glorification of Christ and the Church (I am speaking of the two lights) in the fourth millennium, which was the middle day of all time.

So also at creation's beginning, the fourth day was the middle of the seven days. Therefore, in the fourth day the sun of righteousness was symbolized,² because he is the *mediator between God and man*.³ And he reigns in the middle of what is seen and unseen. He is between the Father and the Holy Spirit. He is the mediator and the cornerstone of the two peoples.⁴ He was raised on the cross between two criminals.⁵ And he worked out salvation in the middle of the world⁶ in the middle of the day.⁷ To him is the glory forever. Amen.

¹ Cf Jn 3:14; 8:28; 12:32, 34; Acts 2:33; 5:31. ² Cf Mal 3:20 (4:2). ³ 1 Tim 2:5.

⁴ Cf 28:16; Eph 2:20; 1 Pet 2:6. ⁵ Mt 27:38; Mk 15:27; Jn 19:18. ⁶ Cf Ps 73(74):12.

⁷ Cf Jer 15:9; Mt 27:45-50; Mk 15:33-37; Lk 23:44-46.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀκολουθῶς εἰς τὴν πέμπτην ἡμέραν
τῆς ἑξαήμερου κτίσεως λόγος πέμπτος |

1 I 1. Μόλις ἡμᾶς ποτε μετὰ πολλὰς περιόδους λόγων ἡ τετάρτη ἡμέρα
πρὸς τὴν πέμπτην παρέπεμψεν, ἐν ᾗ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ὥσπερ ἐκ τινος πέτρας
τετραήμερου νεκρώσεως εἰς ζωὴν ἡ κτίσις προέρχεται, καὶ ζωὴ ἐν αὐτῇ
ἐν πρώτοις ἀναδείκνυται ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τῇ
5 ἐκκλησίᾳ ἔχουσα, ἣν ὁ τῶν ὄλων δημιουργὸς προεσήμανεν ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ
ἡμέρᾳ λέγων· Ἐξαγαγέτω τὰ ὕδατα ἑρπετὰ ψυχῶν ζωσῶν καὶ πετεινὰ
πετόμενα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατὰ τὸ στερέωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ ἐγένετο
οὕτως. Ἐὰν κατὰ φυσικὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀκολουθίαν ἡ γῆ πρὸ τῶν
10 ὑδάτων τὴν ζωογονίαν τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς προελθόντων κτηνῶν καὶ τετρα-
πόδων καὶ ἑρπετῶν ὀφείλῃ παρὰ Θεοῦ δέξασθαι, ὡς εὐθέως δευτέρα
μετὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν γενομένη καὶ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ πρὸ τῶν ὑδάτων
ὀνομαζομένη καὶ ταπτομένη, πῶς νῦν τὰ ὕδατα πρώτως κατακοσμεῖται;
Ὅρῶμεν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ θέσει τῶν δύο φωστήρων τῇ ἐν τῷ
15 στερέωματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πρώτος ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἐτάγη ὁ ἥλιος ὁ τοῦ ξηροῦ
στοιχείου τῆς γῆς συστατικὸς καὶ οἰκείος, καὶ πῶς νῦν τὰ πρεσβεία καὶ
οἶονεῖ πρωτοτόκια τῆς ζωῆς τὰ ὕδατα ἤρπασεν;

2. Ἐρῶ δὲ καὶ ἡ σελήνη, ἡ διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος τῶν ὑπὲρ
αὐτῆς διοικουμένων καὶ συνισταμένων χάριν ἄλλην δεικνύουσα, πρωτό-
τοκον ζωὴν καὶ Πνεῦμα ζωῆς τεκοῦσα καὶ δείξασα, πάνυ θεοπρεπῶς καὶ
20 σοφωτάτως πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ὥκονόμησε καὶ κατεσκεύασεν. Ἐν οὐρανοῖς
μὲν γὰρ τὰ πρεσβεία καὶ τὴν προταγὴν ὁ ἥλιος ἔλαβεν, ἐπειδὴ ὑπεράνω
πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ νοητὸς ἥλιος ἐν οὐρανοῖς
καθέστηκε θύρα καὶ εἰσαγωγὸς ὑπάρχων ἡμῖν πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, ἐπὶ τῆς
γῆς δὲ, ἐνθα ἐταπείνωνσεν ἑαυτὸν μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, ἐκουσίως
25 δέδωκε τὰ πρεσβεία ὡς οἰκείῳ σώματι αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, λέγω δὲ τῷ
μυστηρίῳ τοῦ βαπτίσματος. Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν οὐρανοῖς θύρα ἡμῶν καὶ
ὁδὸς πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς, οὕτως ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς θύρα ἡμῶν
καὶ ὁδὸς ἐστὶ τὸ βάπτισμα πρὸς Χριστὸν διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τούτου
30 χάριν πρὸ πάντων ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ἡ ζωσα ψυχὴ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος
ἀναδείκνυται καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς φανεροῦται λέγοντος τοῦ Θεοῦ· Ἐξαγαγέτω
τὰ ὕδατα ἑρπετὰ ψυχῶν ζωσῶν καὶ πετεινὰ πετόμενα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατὰ
τὸ στερέωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

3. Λεγέτωσαν ἡμῖν οἱ τῷ γράμματι μόνῳ τῆς θείας γραφῆς
προσέχοντες, τίνος χάριν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ὑδάτων πληθυντικῶς εἴρηται τό·
35 Ἐξαγαγέτωσαν ἑρπετὰ ψυχῶν ζωσῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ πάντων τῶν ἐκ γῆς
προελθόντων τῇ ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ θηρίων καὶ ἑρπετῶν καὶ κτηνῶν

titulus ἀκολουθῶς] N^{corr.} ἀκόλουθος MN^{corr.} ἀκόλουθος P πέμπτος] N ε' MP
15 οἰκείος; P 21 προταγὴν] NP προσταγὴν M^{corr.} πρὸς ταγὴν M^{corr.} 26 γὰρ] om. P
27 πρὸς] add. πρὸς secundum M^{corr.} per dittographiam 28 πρὸς] add. τὸν M 30 ὕδα
31 ἐξ ἀγέτω M^{corr.} 35 ἐξαγέτωσαν M ἐξαγαγετωσαν P 36 προελθόντων N^{corr.}

This is the fifth book in the series by the same author.
It is about the fifth day of the six-day creation.

I 1. At last, after many detours in our discussion, the fourth day has brought us to the fifth. And on this day, under the hand of God, creation marches forth to life, as from some tomb that had been holding a four-day death.¹ On this day, life is presented in the first place as beginning from water and Spirit in the Church.² Indeed it was the Church that was symbolized when the Creator of all things said on the fifth day: "Let the waters bring forth reptiles with living souls and winged creatures flying above the earth to the firmament of heaven." And so it was.³

But according to the physical succession of things, should not the earth have received from God, before the waters, its generation of beasts and herds and reptiles coming forth from it?⁴ After all, it was the earth that came into being second, immediately after the heavens. And in Scripture, the earth was named and ranked in front of the waters.⁵ Since this was so, why are the waters now stocked before it? In fact, did we not see that God, in placing the two luminaries in the firmament of heaven, put the sun first⁶—the sun that is composed of the dry element of the earth and is thus related to the earth? So how did the waters snatch away from the elder its right to life, indeed its birthright?⁷

2. I will explain. The moon points out another grace, which belongs to those governed by her and united to her through water and Spirit.⁸ It was the moon that brought forth and made known the first-born life⁹ and the Spirit of life.¹⁰ In so doing, she prepared and managed all things in wisdom,¹¹ in a manner completely appropriate to her divinity and outstanding wisdom. The sun received seniority and first place in the heavens.¹² This was because Christ, the all-intelligent sun, would become established in the heavens,¹³ where he transcends every beginning and authority¹⁴ and is for us the entrance and guide to the Father.¹⁵ But on earth, he humbled himself by receiving the shape of a slave.¹⁶ And he willingly gave first rights to the Church, as to his own body.¹⁷ I am speaking here about the mystery of Baptism. For just as Christ in heaven is our portal and way to the Father,¹⁸ so too Baptism through the Church on earth is our portal and way to Christ.¹⁹ For this reason it is pointed out here that life and the living soul came from water and spirit first, and then appeared upon the earth. God said: "Let the waters bring forth reptiles with living souls and winged creatures flying above the earth to the firmament of heaven."²⁰

3. They who focus exclusively on the literal meaning of Divine Scripture, let them explain to us the reason why, with respect to the waters, the statement is in plural form: "Let them bring forth reptiles

¹ Cf Jn 11:38-44. ² Cf Jn. ³ Cf Jn 3:5; 5:26. ⁴ Gen 1:20. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:24-25.

⁶ Cf Gen 1:1-2. ⁷ Cf Gen 1:16-17. ⁸ Cf Gen 25:27-34. ⁹ Cf Jn 3:5. ¹⁰ Cf Lk 2:7; Rom 8:29; Col 1:15, 18; Heb 1:6; Rev 1:5. ¹¹ Cf Gen 6:17, 7:15; Jdt 10:13; Ezek 1:20, 21; 10:17; 37:5, 10; Jn 6:63; Rom 8:2; Gal 6:8; 1 Pet 3:18; Rev 11:11. ¹² Cf Ps 103(104):24.

¹³ Cf Gen 1:16. ¹⁴ Cf Eph 1:20. ¹⁵ Cf Eph 1:21. ¹⁶ Cf Jn 10:7, 9; 14:6. ¹⁷ Phil 2:7.

¹⁸ Cf Eph 1:23; Col 1:18, 24. ¹⁹ Cf Jn 10:7, 9; 14:6. ²⁰ Cf Jn 3:5. ²¹ Gen 1:20.

τετραπόδων οὐ πληθυντικῶς, ἀλλὰ μοναδικῶς ἐπιτρέπει ὁ Θεὸς λέγων·
 Ἐξαγαγέτω ἡ γῆ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν· Οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ κάκεινο
 ἐπιμελῶς ζητήσαι ἀναγκαῖον, τὸ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων
 40 γεννηθέντα πάντα εὐλόγησεν ὁ Θεός, τὰ δὲ γηγενῆ ζῶα καὶ τετράποδα
 καὶ κτήνη ἀπεστέρησε τῆς εὐλογίας. "Ὅθεν τὰ μὲν ὕδατα ὡς εὐλογηθέντα
 μέχρι τῆς δεῦρο καὶ ἕως τέλους τίκτουσιν αὐτομάτως χωρὶς σπορᾶς καὶ
 συνδυασμοῦ πετεινά, ἐξ ὧν εἰσι καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι ὄρνυγες καὶ ὄρνυ-
 45 γομήτραι, ἡ δὲ γῆ οὐκ ἔτι ἄνευ σπορᾶς θηρίον ἢ κτήνος ἢ τετράποδον
 τίκει. Πάλιν τε τὰ ἐκ γῆς τὴν γένεσιν ἔχοντα πάντα ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ τὴν
 διατριβὴν διηνεκῇ ἔχουσι, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ὑδάτων τεχθέντα τὰ μὲν θαλάσσια
 λέγεται, τὰ δὲ ὑποχωρήσαντα καὶ ὑψωθέντα οὐράνια προσαγορεύονται,
 τουτέστι τὰ πετεινά τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἅπερ καὶ γινώσκει ὁ Θεός, καθά φησι
 διὰ τοῦ προφητοῦ· Ἐγὼ καὶ πάντα τὰ πετεινά τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

50 4. Ἄλλ' ἵνα μὴ ταῖς ἀλλεπαλλήλοις ἀπορίαις εἰς ἀπορίαν καὶ ἀθυμίαν
 καὶ σύγχυσιν ἐνέγκωμεν τὸν ἀκροατὴν, ἥδη καὶ τὰ περὶ τούτων ἡμῖν
 ἐπεξέρχομαι διὰ βραχέων τὴν κατὰ τὸ γράμμα ἱστορίαν τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων μηδαμῶς ἀνατρέπων, ὀλίγα δὲ τινα προηγουμένως καὶ περὶ τοῦ
 πέμπτου ἀριθμοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ τοῦ τετάρτου, ἐκ τῆς θείας γραφῆς
 55 ἀναγκαῖον προειπεῖν.

II 1. Εὐρίσκομεν τοίνυν τῇ πέμπτῃ ἑκατοντάδι ἐν τῷ πεντακοσιοστῷ
 χρόνῳ τοῦ Νῶε τὰ θεμέλια τῆς κιβωτοῦ πηγνύμενα, ἥτις ἦν ἀληθὴς καὶ
 ἀναμφίβολος τύπος τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἣ τὰ θηρία πάντων
 τῶν ἐθνῶν συναθροισθέντα τοῦ πονηροῦ κατακλυσμοῦ διὰ περιστερᾶς
 60 τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐσώθημεν. "Ὅθεν πάλιν καὶ πεντήκοντα πῆχεων τὸ
 πλάτος τῆς κιβωτοῦ κατεργάσατο, ἵνα ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τῶν μαθηματικῶν ὁ
 πέντε καὶ ὁ πεντήκοντα δίκαιος λέγεται. Ἀφαιρῶν γὰρ ὁ ̅ε̅ τὰ πρὸς τὰ
 ἑννέα ̅δ̅ καὶ συντιθεῖς τῇ μονάδι εἰς πέντε ταύτην παρανύξει, καὶ τὰ τρία
 65 πρὸς τὴν ὀκτάδα καὶ συντιθεῖς τῷ ̅β̅ πέντε τοῦτον ποιεῖ, καὶ τὰ δύο πρὸς
 τὴν ἐπτάδα καὶ συντιθεῖς τῷ ̅γ̅, ̅ε̅ τοῦτον ποιεῖ, καὶ τὸ ἐν πρὸς τὴν ἐξάδα
 καὶ συντιθεῖς τῷ ̅δ̅ πέμπτου τοῦτον ποιεῖ. Ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ πεντήκοντα πρὸς
 τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν ποιεῖ. | Κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ ἡ
 915A ἐκκλησία κηρύξει μετὰ τὸν τῆς ἀμαρτίας κατακλυσμὸν τὸν δικαιοῦντα τὰ
 πάντα Θεὸν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην τούτου τὴν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐξαιρουῦσαν
 70 τὴν ἐχθραν τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν. Πεντακοσίων δὲ καὶ ὁ Νῶε ἐτῶν οἰκοδομεῖ
 τὴν κιβωτόν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πεντακισχιλιοστῷ ἔτει ἦλθεν ὁ Νῶε ὁ

with living souls,"¹ yet with respect to all the beasts and reptiles and
 cattle coming forth from the earth on the sixth day, the statement is not
 in plural form.² God gave his command in the singular, saying: "Let the
 earth bring forth a living soul."³ Not only this, but we must also
 carefully seek an answer to the following. Why did God bless all things
 born from the waters,⁴ but withheld his blessing from the earth-born:
 animals, quadrupeds, and cattle? The waters, because they were
 blessed, up till now and to the end of time give birth to winged creatures
 of their own accord, without seed and copulation, such as the quail and
 the landrail. The earth, however, no longer gives birth without seed to
 beast or cattle or quadruped, and all things that are generated from the
 earth live continuously upon the earth. But things that were born from
 the waters are called "aquatic" or, if they have gone on and risen up, are
 called "heavenly". That is: they are the winged creatures of heaven, who
 are known by God, as he says through the prophet: "I know all the
 winged creatures of heaven."⁵

4. So that we might not cause the reader to feel helpless or lose heart
 or become confused by an accumulation of questions, I will attack these
 problems briefly, and not refute in any way the research into the literal
 meaning of these things. Yet, as a preliminary matter, it is necessary to
 say a few words at the outset about the number five in Divine Scripture,
 in the same manner as we discussed the number four.

II 1. Now, we find in the fifth century of his life—in the five
 hundredth year—Noah began to fasten the foundations of the ark.⁶ This
 was a true and unequivocal type of Christ's Church, in which we, beasts
 brought together from all nations,⁷ were saved from the deluge of evil⁸
 by the dove of the Spirit.⁹ And therefore the ark was made fifty cubits
 wide,¹⁰ because the numbers 5 and 50 are said by mathematicians to be
 "just". This is because:

if you subtract 4 from 9,	and adding 1 to 4,	it comes to 5;
if you subtract 3 from 8,	and adding 2 to 3,	it comes to 5;
if you subtract 2 from 7,	and adding 3 to 2,	it comes to 5;
if you subtract 1 from 6,	and adding 4 to 1,	it comes to 5.

And the number 50 functions similarly with respect to the numbers
 before and after it. According to this reasoning, the Church too, after the
 deluge of sin, will proclaim both God, who is just in all things, and God's
 justice, which subtracts, from in between, the enmity that opposes us.¹¹

And Noah is five hundred years old when he constructs the ark,¹²
 because in the five thousandth year the new Noah arrived and began to
 fasten the ark of the Church.

¹ Gen 1:20. ² Cf Gen 1:24-25. ³ Gen 1:24. ⁴ Cf Gen 1:22. ⁵ Ps 49(50):11.

⁶ Cf Gen 6:14-16; 7:6, 11. ⁷ Cf Gen 6:17; 7:6-7, 10, 17, 21-22. ⁸ Cf Gen 6:19; 7:14-15.

⁹ Cf Gen 8:11; Mt 3:16; Mk 1:10; Lk 3:22; Jn 1:32. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 6:15. ¹¹ Cf Col 2:14.

¹² Cf Gen 7:6, 11.

38 Ἐξαγαγέτω] M^a.corr. N Ἐξαγέτω M^a.corr. ἐξ ἀγαγέτω P 40 γηγενεῖ N^a.corr. 43 συν-
 δυασμοῦ] scripsi συνδυασμοῦ MNP 43/4 ὄρνυγομήτραι P 46 διατριβὴν] scripsi δια-
 τριβὴ MNP 48 τὰ] om. N 50 ἀλλεπαλλήλοις] N ἀλλεπάλλήλοις M ἀλλ' ἐπαλλήλοις P
 καὶ ἀθυμίαν] om. P 51 συγχώρησιν M 56 πεντακοσιοστῷ P 61 μαθηκῶν M^a.corr.
 62/64 ε - δ - β] NP alias sed aequales notas habet M 63 συντεθεῖς M παράξει M^a.corr.
 64 συντεθεῖς P τοῦτο M 65 συντεθεῖς P γ, ε τοῦτον] scripsi Γ, Θ τοῦτο M^a.corr.
 Γ, π τοῦτο M^a.corr. Γ, θ τοῦτον N τρίτω Θ, τοῦτον P ἐξ ἄδα M 66 συντεθεῖς P
 70 ἐξάφρουσαν N ἐτῶν] om. P 71 οἰκοδομεῖ M οἰκοδομεῖν N οἰκοδομῶν P
 πεντακισχιλιοστῷ M^a.corr. πεντακισχιλιοστῷ P

νέος καὶ πηγνύειν ἤρξατο τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

2. Οὐκ ἔστι δ' ἀπείκός καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μέτρων ἐπιμνησθῆναι τῆς κιβωτοῦ. Τριάκοντα μὲν γὰρ πῆχεων τὸ ὕψος αὐτῆς, εἴτ' ἐπισυνῆκται πρὸς πῆχυν ἓνα, ὅτι καὶ τρεῖς τελείας τὰς ὑποστάσεις κηρύττει ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ φύσιν μίαν τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ μόνου Θεοῦ, τὸ δὲ πλάτος πεντήκοντα πῆχεων, ὅτι τὰς πολυμιγέας ἐκείνας ἀγέλας τῶν ἀγρίων ζώων καὶ ἀπείρων ἐθνῶν τριαδικαῖς πολυστίχοις ἑκατοντάσι νόμων ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐπαίδευσε καὶ συνετήρησε τῷ φυσικῷ πολυμερῶς καὶ ποικιλοτρόπως ἐφέλκοντι τῷ γραπτῷ καὶ μυστικῷ.

3. Πολλὰ δὲ τοῦ πεντηκοστοῦ ἀριθμοῦ σύμβολα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς εὐρίσκομεν. Τῷ γὰρ πεντηκοστῷ χρόνῳ ἐνετείλατο ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Ἰσραὴλ καθολικὴν ἄφεσιν καὶ συγχώρησιν χρεῶν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς παντελεῖ ποιήσασθαι. Φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῷ Λευιτικῷ ταῦτα· Ἀγιάσατε τὸ ἔτος τῶν πεντηκοστῶν ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ διαβοήσατε ἄφεσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πᾶσι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν αὐτήν, ἐνιαυτὸν ἀφέσεως· σημασία αὐτῆς ἐστίν. Ὅθεν Ἑβραίων παῖδες τὸν πεντηκοστὸν ἀριθμὸν Ἰωβηλαῖον ὀνομάζουσιν, ὅπερ ἐρμηνεύεται ἔλεος ἢ συγχώρησις. Κατὰ τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ ψαλμὸς τῆς συγχωρήσεως καὶ ἀφέσεως τῆς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ Δαυὶδ πεντηκοστὸς γέγραπται, ἦν γὰρ εἰκὸς πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἢ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἀφετήριον γραφῆναι ψαλμόν.

4. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα προτύπωσις ἀψευδῆς ὑπῆρχον ἐκείνης τῆς πέμπτης ἡμέρας τῆς ἐβδομάδος, ἐν ᾗ ἀνῆλθεν εἰς οὐρανοὺς καὶ ὑψώθη ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡλῖος Χριστός. Καὶ τῇ πεντηκοστῇ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα κατέπεμψε, τὸ δι' ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος αὐτοῦ, φημί, τὴν ἄφεσιν ἡμῖν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν δωρησάμενον, καὶ τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τὸ δεῖπνον τὸ μυστικὸν ἐδωρήσατο τὸ πάντων ἁμαρτημάτων λυτήριον.

III 1. Οὐκοῦν ἔχεις σαφῆ τὴν παράστασιν διὰ τί τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἑξαήμερου τὰ ὕδατα, ἐν οἷς τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐπεφέρετο, ψυχὰς ζώσας ἐγέννησαν τὴν δι' ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος ἡμῖν προμηνύοντα ἀναγέννησιν. Ὑψωθείς γὰρ ὁ ἡλῖος ὁ νοητὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς, ὥσπερ ὁ ἡλῖος ὁ αἰσθητὸς ἐν τῷ στερεώματι, καὶ τὴν ἀκτῖνα αὐτοῦ ἄνωθεν καταπέμψας τοῖς ὕδατιν, εὐθέως τὴν δι' ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος ἐποίησεν ἀναγέννησιν κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον· Ἐξαποστελεῖς τὸ Πνεῦμά σου, καὶ κτισθήσονται, καὶ ἀνακαινιεῖς τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς.

2. Διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν καὶ οὐ δι' ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον τὰς μὲν ἐξ ὕδατων γεννηθείσας ψυχὰς ἡγοῦν ἀναγεννωμένας διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εὐλόγησεν ὁ Θεὸς λέγων· Αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε καὶ πληρώσατε τὰ ὕδατα, τοῖς δὲ ζώοις καὶ κτήνεσι καὶ θηρίοις ἀληθῶς οὖσι καὶ ἐρπετοῖς καὶ

73 μέτρων] *add.* τῆς ἐκκλησίας P 74 γὰρ] *om.* P 80 καὶ] *add.* τῷ M 81 πεντηκοῦ P 85 ἐν αὐτῶν M ἐνιαυτῶν P 86 ἐν αὐτὸν M ἐνιαυτὸν P 87 σημασία M 88 Ἰωβηλαῖον] MNP *lege* Ἰωβηλαῖον 89 συγχωρήσεως] συγχώρησις· κατὰ τοῦτον γὰρ σεως M^{corr.} 92 ταῦ P^{corr.} ἐκείνω M 93 εὐδόμαδος M^{corr.} εὐδομάδος M^{corr.} 101 ὁ] *om.* M^{corr.} 103 ἀναγέννησιν ἐποίησεν M^{corr.} 107 γεννηθήσας MP 108 αὐξάνεσθαι N

2. It is quite appropriate to call to mind the other measurements of the ark. Its height was thirty cubits, and then it was compressed into one cubit [the keel].¹ This was because the Church proclaims three perfect persons, and the one nature of the one and only God. The ark's width was fifty cubits. This was because the Church instructed and preserved those mingled herds of wild animals and boundless nations by means of three types of laws, each with a hundredfold of detailed regulations: the physical with its many parts, the Scriptural bringing in many styles, and the mystical.²

3. We find that in the Divine Scriptures the number fifty is often a symbol of the Church. For example, God gave the order to Israel that in the fiftieth year there be a universal absolution and forgiveness of debts and a complete liberation of those on earth. God says these things in Leviticus: "*Sanctify the year every fifty years, and proclaim absolution on the earth for all those inhabiting it—a year of absolution: this is the sign of it.*"³ For this reason, the children of the Hebrews call the number fifty *Jubilee*, which means "mercy" or "forgiveness".

Following this scheme, the psalm about the forgiveness and absolution of David's sin has been recorded as the fiftieth,⁴ although it is probable that the remission psalm was written before this number or after it.

4. All these things were a true prototype of that day, the fifth day of the week, when the sun of justice,⁵ Christ, was lifted up and went heavenward.⁶ And on the fiftieth day he sent down the Holy Spirit⁷ that, through water and his Spirit,⁸ granted absolution of our sins.⁹ And on the fifth day, he gave the mystical meal, the ransom of all sins.¹⁰

III 1. Thus, therefore, you have a clear exposition of why the waters, on which the Spirit was borne,¹¹ produced living souls on the fifth day of the six-day creation.¹² It was a prophecy for us of the rebirth through water and Spirit.¹³ Just as the perceptible sun in the firmament, so also the noetic sun was elevated in the heavens, and having sent his ray down from above to the waters, he immediately created the rebirth through water and Spirit. So it was said: *You will send your Spirit and they will be created, and you will renew the face of the earth.*¹⁴

2. The souls that are born from water in this and not some other way—that is, reborn through Baptism—were blessed by God. He said: "*Increase and multiply and fill the waters.*"¹⁵ To those, however, that are animals—those that are really cattle and beasts and reptiles and

¹ Cf Gen 6:15-16. ² Cf Heb 1:1. ³ Lev 25:10. ⁴ Cf Ps 50(51). ⁵ Cf Mal 3:20 (4:2).

⁶ Cf Mk 16:19; Lk 24:51; Acts 1:9, 2:33, 5:31; 1 Pet 3:22. ⁷ Cf Acts 2:1-4. ⁸ Cf Jn 3:5;

1 Jn 5:6-8. ⁹ Cf Jn 20:22-23. ¹⁰ Cf Mt 26:26-28; Mk 14:22-24; Lk 22:19-20; 1 Cor 11:24.

¹¹ Cf Gen 1:2. ¹² Cf Gen 1:20. ¹³ Cf Jn 3:5; 1 Jn 5:6. ¹⁴ Ps 103(104):30. ¹⁵ Gen 1:22.

110 ἰοβόλοις ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ξένοις καὶ ἀλλοτρίοις τῆς τοῦ βαπτίσματος
ἀναγεννήσεως | οὐδαμῶς τῆς τοιαύτης εὐλογίας μετέδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἀνευ-
λογήτους κατέλιπεν, ὥσανεὶ μέσος ἑστὼς τότε ὁ Χριστὸς τῶν ἐπιγείων 916A
καὶ θαλαττίων ζώων καὶ πρὸς τὰ γηγενῆ ἀντενίζων καὶ λέγων ὅτι Ἐάν
μή τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἐπιφερομένου ἐπάνω τοῦ
115 ὕδατος, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, οὐδ' οὐ μὴ γένηται
διὰ τῆς περιστερᾶς τοῦ Πνεύματος πετεινὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, οὐδ' οὐ μὴ
ἀρπαγῇ ἐν νεφέλαις εἰς ἀπάντησιν ἐμὴν εἰς ἀέρα. Εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτω ταῦτα
καὶ ἐγένετο καὶ προετυπώθη, εἰπέ μοι σὺ τὴν αἰτίαν, τί ἁμαρτήσαντα τῷ
Θεῷ τὰ κτήνη ζῶα τῆς γῆς μεμενῆκασιν ἀνευλόγητα; Πῶς δὲ καὶ ἄλογα
120 ὄντα καὶ ἀνούστατα ἐρπετὰ καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ ἀκούειν τῆς τοῦ
Θεοῦ φωνῆς καὶ εὐλογίας τῆς διδομένης ἡδύναντο, ἀλλ' ἡ δὴλον ὅτι περὶ
τῶν βαπτιζομένων εἰς Χριστὸν ἀνθρώπων ταῦτα προεφητεύοντο;

IV 1. Αὕτη δὲ ἡ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα λέξις τῆς γραφῆς δείκνυσιν ὅτι περὶ
λογικῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ψυχῶν ἀθανάτων ταῦτα ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἐπετρέπον-
125 το καὶ προετυποῦντο. Οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Ἐξαγαγέτω τὰ ὕδατα
ἐρπετὰ ψυχῶν ζώων (τὸ γὰρ ζῶον καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν αὐτοκινουσαν
ζωτικὴν δηλοῖ ψυχὴν), ἀλλὰ· Ψυχῶν ζωσῶν, εἴπουν μὴ θνησκουσῶν. Καὶ
μὴν οὐκ εἰσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν ψυχαὶ ζῶσαι, ἀλλὰ
θνήσκουσαι, τὸ αἷμα γάρ, φησὶν, αὐτοῦ ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ. Ψυχὴ δὲ ζῶσα
130 μόνη ἡ λογικὴ ἡμῶν ἐστίν. Ἐγένετο γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν,
φησὶν, ἐπειδὴ ἐμέλλομεν ἀναζῆν διὰ ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος. Τὸν γοῦν
πάντα λόγον εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπιστρέφει, καὶ φησι μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα καὶ
τὴν ἐξ τούτου χάριν καὶ ἑλλαμψιν ζῶα καθίστασθαι τοὺς βαπτισθέντας,
οὐ ζώντων, ἵνα, φησί, καὶ τὸ σῶμα σὺν τῇ ψυχῇ ἀναζῇ ἀλλὰ ζῶα μόνον
135 ψυχῶν ζωσῶν. Περὶ γὰρ ψυχῆς ἔκτοτε μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα μόνης ὁ λόγος,
αὐτὴν γὰρ δεῖ ζῆν, καὶ οὐχὶ τὸ σῶμα σὺν αὐτῇ. Τὸ γὰρ σῶμα ἐχθρα εἰς
Θεόν.

2. Ἐρπετὰ γοῦν οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ἔστωσαν εἰς ὁψώνιον Θεοῦ ὡς
ἐκλεκτοὶ ἰχθύες παρὰ τῶν πρὶν ἀλιέων καὶ νῦν ἀποστόλων προσφερό-
140 μενοι. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πετεινὰ ἴτωσαν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνιπτάμενοι εἰς ἀπάντησιν
Θεοῦ εἰς ἀέρα ἀναφερόμενοι. Ταῦτα δ' εἶη, εἰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ βαπ-
τίσματος ἐξαχθείμεν ἐρπετὰ, ἀλλὰ ζωσῶν ψυχῶν, μόνης τῆς ψυχῆς
μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ κρεῖττω σπουδὴν ἀναδεχομένης καὶ
τοιαύτης καθισταμένης αἰεὶ, ὅποια ἐξείη ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος, καὶ μὴ ἐρπετὰ
145 ψυχῶν ζωσῶν ἐξίεναι, ἵνα καὶ τὸ σῶμα τύχῃ ἐπιμελείας τῆς οἰασοῦν. Τὸ
γὰρ ζῶον εἰπεῖν ἐν τῷ συναμφοτέρῳ νοεῖται ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος.

3. Τούτου χάριν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐπεφέρετο ὥσπερ ψυχὴ ζῶσα
ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος ζωοποιοῦν καὶ κινοῦν τὸ ὕδωρ. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ θεία

serpents, the people who are strangers and aliens to the rebirth of
Baptism—he gave no share whatsoever in such a blessing. Rather, he
left them unblessed. It was as if Christ was standing then inbetween the
terrestrial and aquatic animals. And turning toward those born from the
earth, he said: “Whoever is not born from water and Spirit—the Spirit
that is borne upon the water¹—will not ever enter the kingdom of the
heavens.² He will not become a bird of heaven through the dove of the
Spirit,³ and will not be snatched in clouds to a meeting with me in the
upper air.”⁴

If these things did not happen so and were not prototypes, then you
tell me the reason for the following. How did the herds, animals of the
earth, sin against God and so remain unblessed? And how were the fish,
reptiles that were irrational and without ears, and the birds able to hear
the voice of God and the blessing that was given? Is it not rather obvious
that these things were a prophecy about humans being baptized to
Christ?

IV 1. This passage of Scripture, taken literally, shows that these
things were commanded by God beforehand as early types concerning
rational humans and deathless souls. God did not say: “Let the waters
bring forth reptiles with the souls of animals.” The word “animal” shows
a body with a soul that is self-propelling and life giving. But he said *with
living souls*.⁵ That is, not dying. Indeed, the souls of fish and birds are
not living souls, but dying. Their blood—it is said—is their soul.⁶ Only
our rational soul is a living soul, as is later said: *man arose as a living
soul*,⁷ since we were about to return to life through water and Spirit.⁸

Indeed, the writer directs every word to our souls. He says that after
Baptism and its grace and illumination, the baptized are established as
living beings. He is not speaking of the body of all living things, so that
he means that the body returns to life with the soul. He is speaking only
of living beings with living souls. Thereafter the passage is only about
the soul after Baptism, for the soul must be alive—and not the body
with it. For the body is enmity against God.⁹

2. Let the baptized therefore become reptiles brought forward, like
choice fish,¹⁰ as an offering to God¹¹ by those that were formerly fisher-
men but now are apostles.¹² Yet let them also as birds go up to the
heavens; let them rise into the air and fly up to meet with God.¹³

All this would happen if we are brought out from the water of
Baptism as reptiles, but with living souls. It is the soul alone, after
Baptism, that receives an eagerness for better things. And is made so
forever, such as it came out of the water. But not if we come out as
reptiles with living souls, so that also the body attains any sort of
attention. For if one speaks of the “animal”, there is thought of both
elements, the soul and the body.

3. Therefore in the beginning the Spirit, like a living soul, was borne
upon the water¹⁴ and made the water alive and set it in motion.¹⁵ And on
account of this, Divine Scripture continuously presents the two as

110 τοῖς M 112 μέσος P 114 ἐπὶ φερομένου M 115 εἰσέλθῃ - οὐδ' οὐ μὴ] om. M^{amr}
115 γένηται M 119 ἄλογα M 126 ζώων] scripsi ζωσῶν MP vacat ± 9 N 128 ζῶσα P
130 οἱ om. P 131 ἀναζῆν P δι' P 133 ἑλλαμψιν M^{amr} 139/40 πρὸς φρόμενοι M
140 ἴτωσαν] scripsi ἴτωσαν MNP ἀπάντησιν] add. τοῦ P 142 ἐξεχθείμεν M

¹ Cf Gen 1:2. ² Jn 3:5. ³ Cf Mt 3:16; Mk 1:10; Lk 3:22; Jn 1:32. ⁴ 1 Thess 4:17.
⁵ Gen 1:20. ⁶ Cf Dt 12:23; Lev 17:11, 14. ⁷ Gen 2:7; cf 1 Cor 15:44-45. ⁸ Cf Jn 3:5.
⁹ Cf Rom 8:7. ¹⁰ Cf Jn 6:9, 11; 21:10-13. ¹¹ Cf Mt 13:47-48. ¹² Mt 4:18-22; Mk 1:16-20;
Lk 5:1-11. ¹³ 1 Thess 4:17. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 1:2, 20. ¹⁵ Jn 5:3-7, 6:63; Rom 8:11; 2 Cor 3:6.

γραφή ὡς σύμφυτα τὰ δύο ἅμα ὡς ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα τίθῃσι, ποτὲ μὲν
 150 λέγουσα· "Ὅτι παρὰ σοὶ τῷ Πνεύματι ὡς Θεῷ πηγὴ ζωῆς, ποτὲ δέ· |
 Πνεύσει τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ῥυήσεται ὕδατα. Καὶ ὁ Κύριος δέ φησιν· "Ὁ
 πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ τὸ Πνεῦμα ὄλον, εἰ ἐπαχύνῃθι, καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή,
 ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ρεύσουσιν ὕδατος ζώντος. Ὁμοίως καὶ
 155 πρὸς τὴν Σαμαρείτιδάν φησιν ὅτι Τὸ ὕδωρ, ὃ ἐγὼ δώσω αὐτῷ ὁ ὑπάρ-
 χων Πνεῦμα ὡς Θεός, ὅτι τοὺς προσκυνοῦντάς μοι ἐν Πνεύματι καὶ ἀλη-
 θεία δεῖ προσκυνεῖν, γενήσεται αὐτῷ πηγὴ ὕδατος ἀλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν
 αἰώνιον.

V 1. Πρώτη τοίνυν ζωὴ ζώντων ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐγνώσθη. Πρώτη
 ἐπιφοίτησις Πνεύματος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπέφερετο. Πρώτη ἀνάστασις ἐξ αὐ-
 160 τῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἰωνᾶ ἐγένετο. Ὁ κρυπτός μαργαρίτης, ὁ Υἱὸς τῆς πατρικῆς
 ἀστραπῆς, ἐν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸν Ἰορδάνην. Ἡ κάθαρις τῆς κτίσεως ἐξ
 ὑδάτων. Ἡ ἐκβάλασις τῶν καρπῶν ἐξ ὑδάτων. Ἡ ἀρδεία τοῦ παρα-
 δέου ἐξ αὐτῶν. Πρὸ πάντων τὰ ὕδατα ἐν ἀρχῇ τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ
 φωτὸς ὑπεδέξαντο ἐπάνω τῆς γῆς ἐπιφερόμενα σὺν τῷ Πνεύματι καὶ
 165 ταύτην βαπτίζοντα καὶ οἰοῦντι προφητεύοντα πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην
 φύσιν τὴν βαπτίζεσθαι μέλλουσαν. Διὸ καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἡ γῆ ἐκ τοῦ
 τοιοῦτου τῶν ὑδάτων ἀνῆλθε βαπτίσματος ὥσαντι εἰς Τριάδα τοῦ
 Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος βαπτισθεῖσα καὶ πιστεύ-
 σασα, ἣν ὥσπερ ἐκ κολυμβήθρας τινὸς ὑδάτων ἀγαγὼν ὁ Θεὸς εὐθέως
 170 καρποφορεῖν αὐτὴν διακελεύεται κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν Βαπτιστὴν Ἰωάννην
 τὸν τοῖς βαπτιζομένοις ἐπιτρέποντα καὶ λέγοντα· Ποιήσατε καρποὺς
 ἀξίους τῆς μετανοίας οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς λέγων· Βλαστησάτω ἡ γῆ
 βοτάνην χόρτου καὶ ξύλον κάρπιμον ποιοῦν καρπόν.

2. Λογίζομαι βοτάνην εἶναι τοὺς ἀμαρτωλοὺς, ξύλα καρποφόρα τοὺς
 175 δικαίους, σημαινούσης ἡμῖν τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ φωνῆς ὅτι περ μετὰ τὸ
 βάπτισμά τινες βρώσις κτηνῶν δαιμόνων γενήσονται ὕλη τε πυρὸς ἐκ
 ῥαθυμίας ὥσει χόρτος, οὐ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦτο ἐπιτρέποντος, ἀλλὰ τὸ
 μέλλον γενέσθαι προσημαίνοντος, τινὲς δὲ ὡς ἐν νάπαις καὶ παραδείσοις
 εὐκαρποῦντες, καθάπερ ἐν τριδενδρίᾳ ὑποκατακεκλιμένον ἔξουσι τὸν
 180 Χριστὸν τὸν ἐκ τριῶν ξύλων βεβλαστηκότα σταυρὸν ἐνστερνισάμενοι
 καὶ καρπὸν ἀγαγόντες εὖχρουν, τὸν ψυχῆς ἁγιασμόν, κατακηλοῦντα
 Χριστὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ τοῦ σταυροῦ τριδενδρίᾳ κατακλιθέντα καὶ
 ἀφυπνῶσαντα. Τάχα γὰρ ὥσπερ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τύπος εἶσιν αἱ βοτάναι
 καὶ τὰ καρποφόρα δένδρα τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν καὶ τῶν δικαίων, οὕτω καὶ
 185 ἐν τῇ προκειμένῃ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν ἰχθύες βαπτιζόμενοι ἐν τῷ ὕδατι,
 μὴ μεταλαμβάνοντες δὲ καὶ ἀναπνέοντες τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον

152 τὸν, πνεῦμα M^acorr. NP 153 ποταμός P 154 σαμαρίτιδα P^acorr. 155 μοι] add. μοι M
 per dittographiam 156 ἀλλομένου MP 159 ἐφοίτησις M^acorr. 166 μέλουσαν M
 167 ἀνῆλθε] add. διὸ καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ M^acorr per dittographiam 168 Υἱοῦ] add. καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ M^acorr.
 per dittographiam 176 γενήσονται N^acorr. 179 ἔξουσι] scripsi ἔξουσι MNP τὸν] om. P
 180 ἐνστερνισάμενοι P 181 κατακηλοῦντα] add. τὸν P 183 ὑπνῶσαντα P 185 ἐν] om. P

united, like body and soul. At one time it says: *Because from you—the Spirit, as God—is the spring of life.*¹ At another time it says: *His Spirit will blow, and waters will flow.*² And the Lord says: *"The one who believes in me—the complete Spirit, if it has consolidated—as the Scripture says: rivers of living water will flow from within him."*³ Similarly, he says to the Samaritan woman: *"The water that I will give to him,⁴ will become for him a spring of water leaping up to eternal life."*⁵ I as God am the Spirit. *Those worshipping me—it is necessary to worship me in Spirit and truth.*⁶

V 1. The first life was perceived in those living from the waters.⁷ The first manifestation of the Spirit was borne upon the waters.⁸ The first resurrection occurred from the waters, through Jonah.⁹ The hidden pearl,¹⁰ the Son of his Father's lightning,¹¹ was in the waters of the Jordan.¹² The cleansing of creation comes from the waters.¹³ The budding of crops comes from the waters.¹⁴ And waters irrigated the garden of Paradise.¹⁵

In the beginning the waters, before all else, received the illumination of light. The waters with the Spirit were borne above the land and were baptizing the land.¹⁶ It was as if they were prophesizing that all humankind was about to be baptized. And on account of this, the land rose up from such a baptism of waters on the third day.¹⁷ as if the land had been baptized and believed in the Trinity:¹⁸ the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.¹⁹ As from a baptismal font,²⁰ God led the land forward and immediately ordered it to bear fruit;²¹ just as the famous John the Baptist instructed those that were baptized: *"Produce a harvest worthy of repentance,"*²² so also God said: *"Let the earth bloom with a pasture of grass and fruit-bearing trees producing a harvest."*²³

2. I reckon the pasture represents the sinners, and the fruit-bearing trees are the just. The voice of God was giving a sign to us: after Baptism, some will become food for the herds of demons; and others through laziness will become fodder for fire, like dry hay. This is not what God commanded; but he was giving a sign beforehand of what was about to be.

Still others, however, as in shady glens and gardens, will bear good fruit. They will carry Christ, as if he were reclining in three branches of a tree. They, who embrace the cross that has bloomed from the three branches, bring forth healthy fruit, the sacrament of the soul, enchanting Christ, who while reclining in the crux of the three branches had fallen asleep.

On the third day, the pastures and fruit-bearing trees were a type of the sinners and the just. So also here on the fifth day, the fish are the sinners that are baptized in the water, but that do not inhale and share in the Spirit that is borne upon the water.²⁴ After Baptism, they

¹ Ps 35(36):10. ² Ps 147:7 (18). ³ Jn 7:38. Cf J1 4(3):18; Zech 14:8; Is 58:11; Ez 47:1, 12; etc. ⁴ Jn 4:14. ⁵ Jn 4:24. ⁶ Jn 4:14. ⁷ Cf Gen 1:20. ⁸ Cf Gen 1:2. ⁹ Cf Jon 2:11; Mt 12:40. ¹⁰ Cf Mt 13:44-46. ¹¹ Cf Mt 24:27; Lk 17:24. ¹² Mt 3:13-17; Mk 1:9-11; Lk 3:21-22. ¹³ Cf Gen 1:9. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 1:11. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 2:10. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 1:2-3. ¹⁷ Cf Gen 1:9. ¹⁸ Cf Mk 16:16. ¹⁹ Cf Mt 28:19. ²⁰ Cf Jn 5:4; 9:7. ²¹ Cf Gen 1:9-11. ²² Lk 3:8. ²³ Gen 1:11. ²⁴ Cf Gen 1:2.

ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος, οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ τυγχάνουσιν οἱ καὶ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ἐν τῷ βυθῷ καὶ τῷ κλύδωνι τῶν ἡδονῶν ἐναπομένοντες καὶ τὸν βρώμον τῆς ἁμαρτίας μὴ ἀποθέμενοι μήτε τὸν ἥλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης θεασάμενοι
 190 μὴδὲ πτέρυγας περιστερᾶς τοῦ Πνεύματος κοιμισάμενοι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀναπτῆναι μὴ δυνάμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐρπετὰ ἐναπομείναντες, πετεινὰ δὲ καθὰ οἱ δίκαιοι μὴ γενόμενοι, ὧντινων βρωμῶν ἰχθύων καὶ βασιλεύει τὸ μέγα καὶ πονηρὸν κῆτος, περὶ οὗ φησι πρὸς τὸν Ἰώβ ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι οὗτός ἐστι Βασιλεὺς πάντων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι.

3. Λογίζομαι γοῦν ὅτι τούτου χάριν ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς γεννήσεως τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ζώων *Ἐξαγαγέτω ἡ γῆ ψυχὴν ζώσαν* εἶπεν ὁ Θεός. | Μία γάρ καὶ 918A ὁμοία ἐστὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἡ γηγενὴς καὶ σαρκικὴ γέννησις ἡ ἐκ γυναικός. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ὑδάτων διὰ τὴν πνευματικὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν τοῦ βαπτίσματος διάφορον ἀναγέννησιν *Ἐξαγαγέτω, φησί, τὰ ὕδατα ἐρπετὰ ψυχῶν ζωσῶν.* Ἄλλη γὰρ ψυχὴ ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τῆς κολυμβήθρας ὁ εἰλικρινῶς καὶ ὁλοφύχως καρδίᾳ βαπτισθείς, καὶ ἄλλη ψυχὴ ὁ μετὰ δισταγμοῦ προσελθὼν τῇ χάριτι, καὶ ἑτέρα ψυχὴ ὁ πειραστικῶς τῷ μυστηρίῳ προσδραμών, οἷος ἦν Σίμων ὁ Μάγος, περὶ οὗ εἴρηται ὅτι καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη ὁ Σίμων καὶ ἀνῆλθεν οἷος κατῆλθε, τουτέστιν ἀφώτιστος.
 200 Ἄλλως γὰρ διάκειται ἐπὶ τῶν βαπτιζομένων, λέγω ἡ καρδίᾳ τοῦ ἐθνικοῦ καὶ βαρβάρου τοῦ ἐν πάσῃ ἀγνοίᾳ Χριστιανισμοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ γραφῶν ὑπάρχοντος, καὶ ἄλλω λογισμῷ προσέρχεται ὁ γινώσκων καὶ σύνεσιν προκατηχηθεὶς καὶ οἰονεὶ προφωτισθεὶς τὸ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον.

4. "Ὅθεν πάλιν σὺν τῷ βαπτίσματι καὶ προφητικῶν χαρισμάτων καὶ 210 γλωσσῶν καὶ σημείων καὶ προγνώσεων ἡξιούντο τινες τῶν ἐν γνώσει πεφωτισμένων τῷ βαπτίσματι προσερχομένων εὐθέως ἄλλοι ἀπ' ἄλλων γινόμενοι καὶ ἀλλοιούμενοι. Καὶ μὴ πως ἄρα ταύτην τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω ἀλλοίωσιν τῶν βαπτιζομένων προσημαίνων ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος ἡλλαίωσε τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ὕδωρ ἐξάλλον καὶ ἑναλον αὐτὸ ἀπεργασά-
 215 μενος, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἅλας, ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, βρώμου παντός ἀναιρετικόν ἐστι, σήψεως καθαρτικόν, σωμάτων φυλακτικόν, βρωμάτων εὐεκτικόν, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἄρτου ἐνωτικόν; "Ὅθεν δὲ καὶ ὀνειδίζει Χριστὸς τοὺς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἅλας ἐν αὐτοῖς μὴ ἔχοντας καὶ τηροῦντας.

5. "Ἔστι τις παράδοξος λόγος ἐπὶ τῆς φύσεως τῶν ὑδάτων πάνυ 220 προσφυῆς καὶ ἀρμόδιος τῇ ἀσπόρῳ καὶ ἀφθάρτῳ ἀναγεννήσει τοῦ βαπτίσματος. Ὡς γὰρ φασιν οἱ τὰς ἀλιευτικὰς τέχνας ἐπιστημόνως γινώσκοντες ὅτι ἀπέχει μὲν ἡ τῶν ἰχθύων φύσις τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ τὸ θῆλυ ἰδίως ἐννηχόμενα, καὶ οὐ συγγίνονται ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλ' ἀσπόρως ἐκ τοῦ

remain in the depths and in the waves of hedonistic pleasures. They do not flee the stench of sin. They do not contemplate the sun of righteousness.¹ They do not put on the wings of the dove of the Spirit,² and thus they are not able to mount to heaven. They remain reptiles. They do not become birds, as the just do. Stinking fish such as these are ruled by that huge and wicked sea monster, about whom God said to Job: "This is the king of all those in the waters."³

3. At the birth of living beings from the earth, God said: "Let the earth bring forth a living soul."⁴ I figure this was on account of the one similarity among all human beings: the earthly and fleshly genesis from a woman. But with respect to the waters, on account of the different kinds of spiritual rebirth through Baptism, God said: "Let the waters bring forth reptiles with living souls."⁵ Out of the baptismal font comes one kind of soul, which has been baptized with a sincere and whole heart.⁶ And there comes out another kind of soul, which after some doubt goes forward to grace. And yet another kind of soul advances toward the mystery only to put it to the test. Such a one was Simon the Magician. It was said about him that, when he was baptized, he came up out of the water the same as he had gone down: not illuminated.⁷

Among those that are baptized, the effect is different. It is one thing for the heart of the pagan barbarian, who is completely ignorant of Christianity and God's Scriptures. It is another thing for him that acquired knowledge and understanding beforehand. He approaches with a different attitude. He, in a sense, was illuminated beforehand as to the mystery of Christ.⁸

4. For this reason, some immediately after Baptism were deemed worthy of prophetic graces, tongues, signs, and premonitions. Having been illuminated by knowledge and approaching Baptism correctly, some became different from the others and were changed.

Did not the sun of righteousness⁹ indicate beforehand that the baptized change for the better? Did he not change the water of the sea to something special, transforming it to saltwater? The salt is the word of God. It takes away every smell, wards off decay, guards health, makes foods wholesome, and unites with the heavenly bread. For this reason, Christ reproached those who did not have or did not preserve such salt in themselves.¹⁰

5. There exists a surprising account related to the nature of waters, which is in very close harmony with the nonseminal and incorruptible rebirth through Baptism. For they say—they who know the fisherman's craft through experience—that fish naturally segregate, male from female, and swim with their own gender. And they do not have intercourse with one another; but without impregnation, they are born from the water and the breath of the wind. Such a paradigm definitely and unequivocally suggests our spiritual and spermless birth from water

188 βρώμον] *scripsi* βρόμον MNP 190 πτέρυξ N πτερύγας P 192 βρωμῶν] *scripsi* βρομῶν MNP 196 γῆ] *om.* M^a ^{corr.} 199 ἐξαγέτω M^a ^{corr.} 201 εἰλικρινῶς] *scripsi* εἰλικρινῶς MNP ὁλοφύχως P 202 πειρασθῆκως M^a ^{corr.} 205 ἐθνικοῦ P 210 καὶ σημείων καὶ προγνώσεων] *om.* N 211 πεφωτισμένω M 214 ἐνάλλον N 215 βρώμον] *scripsi* βρόμου MNP 216 φυλακτικόν] *add.* ἐστὶ P 217 τὸ] *om.* P 222 ἡ] οἱ P 223 ἀλλσπορος M^a ^{corr.} ἀλλ ἀσπορος M^a ^{corr.}

¹ Cf Mal 3:20 (4:2). ² Cf Mt 3:16; Mk 1:10; Lk 3:22; Jn 1:32. ³ Job 41:26. ⁴ Gen 1:24.

⁵ Gen 1:20. ⁶ Cf Dt 6:5; Mt 22:37; Mk 12:30; Lk 10:27. ⁷ Cf Acts 8:13, 18-24.

⁸ Cf Eph 3:4. ⁹ Cf Mal 3:20 (4:2). ¹⁰ Cf Mt 5:13; Mk 9:49-50; Lk 14:34-35.

225 ὕδατος καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἀνέμου τίκονται, κυρίως καὶ
 ἀναμφιβόλως σημαίνοντος τοῦ τοιοῦτου ὑποδείγματος τὴν πνευματικὴν
 καὶ ἄσπορον ἡμῶν ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος γέννησιν, περὶ ἧς εἴρηται ὅτι
 Οὐκ ἐξ αἱμάτων οὔτε ἐκ θελήματος σαρκὸς οὔτε ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρός,
 ἀλλ' ἐκ Θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν, φασὶ δὲ τὴν λεγομένην χελώνην καὶ τὴν
 230 σμύραιναν συνδυάζεσθαι. Ἀλλ' οὐ νόμος τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ σπάνιον, πλὴν
 ὅτι καὶ ἀμφοτέρω τούτων τῶν δύο ζώων τῶν θαλαττίων καὶ συνδυασ-
 τικῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐξέρχονται ἀμφίβιον καὶ οὐ κατὰ τάξιν
 τῶν νηκτῶν ζωῶν ζῶντα. Ὅθεν ἡ μὲν λεγομένη σμύραινα τῷ ὄφει, ὡς
 φασι, τῷ χερσαίῳ ἐξερχομένη ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης συγγίνεται, καὶ γὰρ ὅσοι
 235 μὴ πατέρα τὸν Κύριον καὶ μητέρα τὴν κολυμβήθραν ἔχειν ἐθέλουσιν,
 ἀλλὰ ψευδεπιπλάστως, ὡς ὁ Σίμων, προσέρχονται τῷ βατίσματι, οὗτοι
 πάλιν πατέρα ἑαυτοῖς τὸν διάβολον ἐπιγράφονται τὸν ἀρχαῖον ὄφιν καὶ
 ἀκούουσιν Ὑμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστέ, καὶ ἀρνοῦνται
 μὲν τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς κολυμβήθρας, οὐ γὰρ τίκονται ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ
 240 προσερπόμενοι τὴν γέννησιν δέχονται, ἥτις ἡ ἀφώτιστός ἐστι διατριβὴ
 καὶ ζωὴ, ἐπάνω γὰρ τοῦ ὕδατος, οὐ τῆς γῆς, | τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐπεφέρετο. Ἡ 919A
 δὲ χελώνη ὥσπερ ἀποστρεφόμενων καὶ βδελυττομένων τῶν ὑδάτων
 τὴν ἀπὸ σπορᾶς καὶ ρύσεως αὐτῆς ἄνομον σύλληψιν εἰς γῆν ταύτην
 ἀποπέμπεται κακεῖ τὰ οἰκεία ὡς τίκουσα κρύπτει εἰς τύπον τῶν ὄντων
 μὲν ἐξ ὕδατος τοῦ βαπτίσματος, ἀπονηχομένων δι' αὐτοῦ, ἐνδομυχοῦν-
 245 τῶν ἔτι τὴν πονηρὰν σπερμογόνειαν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκρησσόντων αὐτὴν δι'
 ἀνθρωπίνην ἰσως αἰδῶ. Μὴ τις δὲ μυκτηριζέτω τὰ περὶ χελώνης καὶ
 ἰχθύων ὑποδείγματα ἀκούων τῆς θείας γραφῆς καὶ σκώληκα καὶ ὄφιν
 χαλκοῦν καὶ λέοντα καὶ ῥάβδον ὀνομαζούσης τὸν Χριστὸν τὸν πάντα
 καὶ τὰ οἰκτρά καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ἐν σοφίᾳ ποιήσαντα.
 250 VI 1. Ἀλλὰ γε ἐπὶ τὸ προκειμένον ἐπανέλθωμεν τὸ Μωσαϊκὸν ῥητὸν
 ἀναλαμβάνοντες. Φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Ἐξαγαγέτω τὰ ὕδατα
 ἐρπετὰ ψυχῶν ζωσῶν (καὶ πετεινὰ πετόμενα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) κατὰ τὸ
 στερέωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. Προστάσει τὰ ἐρπετὰ,
 255 τοιούτῃ τοὺς ἰχθύας, πρὸ τῶν πετεινῶν, διδάσκων ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ
 ἐρπετῶν τῶν χαμαὶ καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ τῆς γῆς ἀσχολουμένων
 ψυχῶν πετεινὰ οὐρανοῦ γίνεσθαι πετόμενα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατὰ τὸ στερέω-
 μα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ κατὰ μίμησιν, τοιούτῃ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἐνδείκνυσθαι
 βίον πνευματικὸν ἐπὶ γῆς, οἷον ἐκεῖνο τὸ πετεινὸν τὸ ἔως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ
 260 πετασθὲν καὶ λέγον· Ἡμῶν δὲ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς, καὶ Μιμηταὶ μου
 λοιπὸν γίνεσθε, καθὼς κάγω Χριστοῦ. Πῶς δὲ καὶ ἐρπετὰ τοὺς νηκτοὺς
 ὠνόμαζεν ἰχθύας; Τὸ γὰρ ἔρπειν κυρίως περὶ τῶν εἰς γῆν συρομένων καὶ

and Spirit.¹ It was said about this birth: *Not from blood, nor from the desire of the flesh, nor from the desire of man, but from God they are born.*²

But the turtle and sea-eel, they say, do copulate. These rare cases do not represent the law of the Church, except that both of these copulating sea animals leave the waters for the land. They are amphibious and do not live their lives according to the order of swimmers. Therefore, they say, the sea-eel comes out of the sea and has intercourse with the snake of the dry land. Just so, they who do not want to have the Lord as Father and the baptismal font as mother, but like Simon approach Baptism in a counterfeit manner,³ these accept the devil, the primeval snake, as their father. And they hear: *"You are from your father, the devil."*⁴ They renounce the water from the font, for they are not born in it. They get their genesis by creeping forward onto the earth, which is the unenlightened way of life: for the Spirit was borne upon the water, not the earth.⁵

The turtle—as if the waters, in loathing, had rejected its lawless conception from seed and flux—is sent away to this earth. And here it gives birth to its eggs in a nest and conceals them. This is a type of those that are from the water of Baptism, but swim out and conceal what their seed beget, because it is evil. Perhaps out of human shame, they do not let their progeny burst forth.

No one should sneer because we use the sea-eel and fish as examples, for you can hear even Divine Scripture calling Christ an earthworm,⁶ a brazen snake,⁷ a lion,⁸ and a rod:⁹ Christ, who in wisdom made all things,¹⁰ both the pitiable and the very great.

VI 1. But let us return our attention to the Mosaic sentences that lie before us, and resume our investigation. *And God said: "Let the waters bring forth reptiles with living souls and winged creatures flying above the earth toward the firmament of heaven." And so it was.*¹¹

God places the reptiles—that is, the fish—before the birds. Thus he teaches us that from reptiles—who are the souls that are on the ground and are occupied with the earth and the things of the earth—arise the heavenly birds, which fly above the earth toward the firmament of heaven. And these birds point out, through their imitation of the angels, the spiritual way of life upon the earth. Such as these was that winged one who flew all the way to the third heaven,¹² and who says: *Our community is in the heavens.*¹³ And: *Finally be imitators of me, as I am of Christ.*¹⁴

But how can swimming fish be called *reptiles* [which word means "crawling things"]? For *to crawl* is properly said of those that crawl and

¹ Cf Jn 3:5. ² Jn 1:13. ³ Cf Acts 8:13-23. ⁴ Jn 8:44. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:2. ⁶ Cf Ps 21(22):7.

⁷ Cf Num 21:9. ⁸ Cf Gen 49:9; Num 24:9; Dt 33:22. ⁹ Cf Is 11:1. ¹⁰ Cf Ps 103(104):24.

¹¹ Gen 1:20. ¹² Cf 2 Cor 12:2. ¹³ Phil 3:20. ¹⁴ 1 Cor 11:1.

229 σμύρναν M συνδυάζεσθαι] περὶ χελώνης καὶ σμύραινας *scholion in margine codicis M*
 230/1 συνδυαστικῶν MN 232 λεγομένη P 237 ἐστὶ ἐστὶ N 239 ἀφώτιστός M^{corr}
 244 ἐξ] *om.* P^{corr} 246 αἰδῶ M^{corr} αἰδῶ M^{corr} 247 σκώληκα NP 248 ῥάβδον] *correcti*
 ῥάβδον NP ῥαῦδον M 251 φησὶν MN καὶ] *om.* N 252 καὶ πετεινὰ πετόμενα ἐπὶ τῆς
 γῆς] *supplevi om.* MNP 259 λέγων P 260 κάγω] *scripsi* κάγω MP ἐγώ N νηκτοῦς]
 νοητοῦς N

έρπόντων, ὡς ὁ ὄφης, εἴρηται. Ὡς κἀντεῦθεν δῆλον ἐστὶν ὅτι αἰνίγματα
 διαλέγεται περὶ ζώων εἰς ἀνθρώπους τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχοντων. "Ὁθεν καὶ
 ἐν τῷ ἐξουσιαστικῷ, ὅπερ ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Ἀδὰμ, προέταξε τῶν
 265 λοιπῶν ζώων καὶ κτηνῶν τοὺς ἰχθύας εἰπὼν· Καὶ ἄρχετε τῶν ἰχθύων
 τῆς θαλάσσης, εἰτά φησι· Καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ πάντων
 τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐρπόντων ἐπ' αὐτῆς. Αὐτῶν
 γὰρ πρὸ πάντων ἐδέσποσε καὶ ἤρξεν ὁ δεύτερος Ἀδὰμ διὰ τῶν οἰκείων
 ἀλῖέων Χριστός, τουτέστι τῶν ἐν τῷ βυθῷ τῆς ἀγνωσίας καθημένων ἐν
 270 σκοτεινοῖς καὶ ἐν σκιᾷ θανάτου ἔθνων, ὧν καὶ ἐβασίλευσε καὶ βασιλεὺς
 πάντων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι τοῦ βαπτίσματος.

2. Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ κήτη τὰ μεγάλα καὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ζώων
 ἐρπετῶν, ἃ ἐξήγαγε τὰ ὕδατα κατὰ γένη αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶν πετεινὸν
 πτερωτὸν κατὰ γένος. Καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι καλὰ. Καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτὰ ὁ
 275 Θεὸς λέγων· Αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε καὶ πληρώσατε τὰ ὕδατα ἐν ταῖς
 θαλάσσαις, καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ πληθύνεσθε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

Κήτη μεγάλα κελεύει γενέσθαι τοὺς θεοκήρυκας ἀποστόλους τοὺς τὸ
 τῆς θαλάσσης μὲν ὕδωρ ἀναταράξαντας, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰωνᾶ διὰ τοῦ
 κήτους ἐγένετο, οὓς καὶ ὡς ἵππους ὁ Ἀμβροσίμ ἐμυῖθη τὴν κοσμικὴν
 280 ἀνκυκλήσαντας θάλασσαν, τοὺς καὶ τὸν προφητικὸν ὡσεὶ κήτη ὄντας
 καταπιόντας λόγον τῶν τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων μισούντων μετάνοιαν
 καὶ τὴν τούτων αὐτίκα συμπάθειαν (οὐ δέχεται γὰρ τὸν ἅμα τε
 μεταβαλλόμενον ἅμα τε συγχωρούμενον, εἰ μὴ καὶ κατωθήσεται πρὸς
 κλοιὸν δυσαχθέστατον), τοῖς τοῦτον πάλιν ἐμοῦντας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς τὸ
 285 πρὶν ἀκαμπῇ, ἡμερον δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ συμπαθῇ καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, τὸ
 τοιοῦτον εἶναι μαθόντα μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν ὃν ἐτύπου καὶ τὴν ταφὴν τὴν
 τριήμερον, μηνύοντα τὸν ταῦτα πεισόμενον τῶν σταυρούντων καὶ
 κακούντων ὑπερεντυγχάνοντα. Παρεισάγει δὲ καὶ ἡ ὥδη τῶν παιδῶν
 αὐτὰ τὰ κήτη γεραίροντα τὸν Θεόν, ἐν οἷς φησιν· Εὐλογεῖτε, κήτη καὶ
 290 πάντα τὰ κινούμενα ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι ὁρῶντα τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας
 δεχομένους τὸ κήρυγμα καὶ μεταβαλλομένους εὐθύς.

3. Ἀλλ' ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ λέξει γεγονώς τις τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐξηγητῶν
 ἐζήτησε τίνος χάριν ὡς πρὸς ἐτέρους τινὰς τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ποιεῖται ὁ
 Θεὸς κελεύων αὐτοῖς καὶ λέγων πληθύνειν τὰ πετεινὰ, οὐ γὰρ εἰς
 295 πρόσωπον τῶν πετεινῶν διαλέγεται, ὥσπερ πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθύας. Ὁ δὲ
 ταῦτα διαπορήσας καὶ εἰπὼν παρέστησεν ὡς ἐντεῦθεν ὀφείλει μανθάνειν
 ἡμᾶς ὅτι τοῖς βαπτιζομένοις καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἐν ἀρεταῖς πετεινοῖς
 γενομένοις ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι φροντισταὶ καὶ προνοηταὶ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ εἰς
 ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ φωτισμὸν δίδονται. Πρὸς αὐτοὺς γὰρ τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν

slither upon the earth, like the snake.¹ Thus it is clear that these
 enigmatic statements about animals have a reference to humans.
 Therefore, when God gave to Adam authority, God placed the fish before
 the herds and other animals. He said: "And rule over the fish of the sea."
 Then he said: "And over the birds of heaven and all the herds and all the
 earth and those crawling upon her."² This was because the second
 Adam,³ Christ, by means of his fishermen,⁴ was lord and prince over all
 these: I mean, the nations lying in the depths of ignorance, in darkness
 and in the shadow of death.⁵ The king over all in the waters of Baptism
 was the ruler over these too.

2. And God made the great whales, and every soul of the crawling
 animals, which the waters brought forth according to their kinds, and
 every winged bird according to its kind. And God saw that they were
 good. And God blessed them, saying: "Increase and multiply and fill the
 waters in the seas. And you, flying ones, multiply upon the earth."⁶

He orders that the apostles, messengers of God, become great whales
 and stir up the water of the sea. This is what happened to Jonah,
 through the whale.⁷ They should be like the horses, splashing up the
 water of the world—about which Habakkuk was informed.⁸ And, as if
 they were whales, they should swallow down the prophetic story⁹ about
 those that hate both the repentance of sinners and the immediate
 forgiveness of them,¹⁰ for it is not accepted that one can change and be
 forgiven right away, unless God pushes that one down into painful
 fetters. And they should vomit him up again,¹¹ but not inflexible as
 before: rather, that person is now gentle, sympathetic, and kind. He has
 learned to be such after the cross, which Jonah typified, and the three-
 day burial. And he reveals that the one who suffered these things
 interceded even on behalf of those who were crucifying and hurting
 him.¹²

The song of the youths introduces these very whales that honor God.
 Their song says: "Praise, you whales and all you moving in the waters,"¹³
 you that see the sinners receiving the message and changing imme-
 diately.¹⁴

3. But one of the ancient exegetes, when he was at this passage,
 wondered why God had addressed his command to others, and had
 ordered them to multiply the birds.¹⁵ God did not speak directly to the
 birds, as he had done with the fish.

The same exegete that had wondered about these things proposed the
 following solution: we ought to learn from this passage that the holy
 angels were sent by God as thoughtful supervisors to care for and
 illuminate the baptized, especially those who through their virtues were
 becoming birds. It was to these angels that God addressed his

¹ Cf Gen 3:14, 49:17. ² Gen 1:28. ³ Cf 1 Cor 15:45, 47. ⁴ Cf Mt 4:19; Mk 1:17.

⁵ Cf Ps 87(88):7; Is 8:23-9:1; Mt 4:15-16; Lk 1:79. ⁶ Gen 1:21-22. ⁷ Cf Jon 1:4-2:1.

⁸ Cf Hab 3:15. ⁹ Cf Jon 2:1. ¹⁰ Cf Jon 3:5-4:1. ¹¹ Cf Jon 2:11 (2:10). ¹² Cf Lk 23:33-34; Rom 8:26. ¹³ Dan 3:79. ¹⁴ Cf Jn 3:1-8. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 1:22.

262 κἀντεῦθεν] *add.* ὡς κἀντεῦθεν P *per dittographiam* δῆλον ἐστὶν] MP δῆλον ἐστὶ N
 269 ἀλῖέων P βηθῶ P^{corr.} 270 ὧν M 280 ἀνκυκλήσαντας] *scripsi* ἀνακηκύσαντας
 MNP 281 τῶν] *om.* P 285 ἀκαταμπῇ M^{a corr.} 288 ὑπερεντυγχάνοντα] MN^{a corr.}
 ὑπερεντυγχάνοντα N^{p corr.} ὑπὲρ ἐντυγχάνοντα P παρεισάγει P 294 ὀφείλει] *scripsi*
 ὀφείλει MNP 296 μαθάνειν P 298 προνοητέ M 299 διδιδονται M^{a corr.}

300 ποιεῖται ὁ Θεὸς κελεύων καὶ λέγων πληθύνειν τὰ πετεινά, τουτέστι τοὺς
τὰ οὐράνια φρονούντας καὶ περιπολούντας. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Κύριος
πιστοῦται ἡμᾶς καὶ διδάσκει ἀγγέλους εἶναι φύλακας τῶν πιστευόντων
εἰς αὐτόν. Φησὶ γὰρ πρὸς πῖνας ἀπίστους· Ὁρᾶτε μὴ καταφρονήσητε
305 ἑνὸς τῶν μικρῶν τούτων τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμέ. Λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι οἱ
ἄγγελοι αὐτῶν διὰ παντός βλέπουσι τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Πατρὸς μου τοῦ
ἐν οὐρανοῖς.

4. Ἰστέον μὲν οὖν ὅτι περ οὐδὲν τῶν τῆς ἑξαήμερον κτίσεως εὐρίσκομεν
ὅτι εὐλόγησεν ὁ Θεός, εἰ μὴ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος γεννη-
θέντα, ὥστε ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἡνίκα ἐγένοντο, ἐπληροῦτο τὸ προφητικὸν
310 λόγιον τὸ φάσκων ὅτι *Φωνὴ Κυρίου ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων* τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸ
πάντων εὐλογηθέντων, καὶ τούτου χάριν ἕως τῆς σήμερον καὶ ἕως τῆς
συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος ἀσπόρως ψυχὰς γεννῶντων, ἰχθύων μὲν
πολλῶν, πετεινῶν δὲ ὀλίγων, ὀρτυγομητρῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων, ἐξ ὧν
πάλαί ὁ Ἰσραὴλ ἐτράφη. Καὶ τάχα ἐπειδὴ ὀλιγοστός ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν
315 τοιούτων πετεινῶν, λέγω δὲ τῶν δικαίων, τούτου χάριν περὶ αὐτῶν
μᾶλλον τὴν φροντίδα ποιούμενος ὁ Θεὸς ἐπιτρέπει τοῖς προνοηταῖς τῆς
ἐπιγείου κτίσεως ἀγίοις ἀγγέλοις ὅτι *Τὰ πετεινά πληθυνέσθωσαν ἐπὶ τῆς
γῆς* τὰ ἐξ ὑδάτων γεννηθέντα, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναγεννηθέντα, καὶ τὸν
βρῶμον τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐκεῖ ἀποθέμενα, καὶ πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀνιπτάμενα,
320 ἀπὸ τῶν ρευστῶν καὶ σκοτεινῶν καὶ πολυχειμάστων ὑδάτων τοῦ βίου
πρὸς τὰ πάγια καὶ εὐδία καὶ σταθερὰ καὶ ἄσειστα ὕδατα ἐν ὑψίστοις
ἀεροδρομοῦντα. Ἐνθα ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος καθιδρυτο, καὶ ἡ σύζυγος
αὐτοῦ ἀειφώτιστος σελήνη ἐπαναπέπαιται, καὶ οἱ λογικοὶ ἀστέρες
οὐρανίῳ φωτὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὀδηγοῦσι καὶ καταλάμπουσι, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ
325 τὸ πνευματικὸν τὸ ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀσιγήτως αἰνεῖ τὸ ὄνομα
Κυρίου.

VII 1. Πολὺς ἡμῖν καὶ βαθὺς ὁ περὶ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ τῆς
κτίσεως καταγγέλλεται λόγος γενεῶν τινῶν καὶ οὐρανίων | φύσεων καὶ
νόων δεόμενος πρὸς σαφῆ τῶν δηλουμένων κατάληψιν καὶ φανέρωσιν
330 ὥστε ἀπταίστως τε καὶ ἐπεσκεμμένως κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν ὄντων
ἀλήθειαν, καθ' ἣν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τὰ ὄντα ἐγένοντο, εἰπεῖν. Τίνος οὖν χάριν
σεισιγημένος καὶ ἀπόκρυφος ἐν τῇ ἑξαμέρῳ κτίσει κατελείφθη ὁ περὶ
ὑδάτων λόγος, καὶ ὁ περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ πυρὸς μὴ σὺν τῇ λοιπῇ
κτίσει ἐκφανθεὶς μήτε δημοσιευθεὶς, καθάπερ ἡ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ
335 φυτῶν καὶ φωστήρων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ποίησις; Τί γὰρ ἦν δυσχερὲς τὸ
κωλύον τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦ εἰπεῖν· Γενηθήτω ὕδωρ, καὶ· Γενηθήτω
ἀνένον πνεῦμα, καὶ· Γενηθήτω πῦρ, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς λοιπῆς

command. He ordered them to increase the birds: those who con-
template and traverse the heavenly things.

The Lord himself confirms this through his teaching that the angels
are guardians over those who believe in him. He says to some
nonbelievers: "Beware not to despise any of these little ones that believe
in me. For I say to you that their angels are always looking upon the face
of my Father in heaven."¹

4. Know, therefore, that God blesses nothing in the six-day creation
except man and woman² and the things that were born from the water.³
So even at the beginning, when they arose, the prophetic oracle was
fulfilled, which said: *The voice of the Lord was upon the waters*,⁴ that
were blessed by him before all else. And thus to this day and till the end
of time,⁵ the waters give birth to souls without insemination—the souls
of many fish, a few birds, landrails and other birds from which Israel
was nourished long ago.⁶ And perhaps, since the number of such birds
was going to be very small—I am speaking about the just—God had
some concern for them. So he gave this command to his holy angels, the
supervisors over terrestrial creation: "Let the birds be increased upon the
earth:"⁷ birds that are born from the waters—or rather, reborn—and
shun the stench of sin that is there; birds that fly up toward heaven,
away from the ever-changing, shadowy, and tempestuous waters of life;⁸
birds that travel through the air to the waters on high, which are
steadfast, clear, calm, and unshaken. There the sun of righteousness is
established,⁹ and his bride, the ever-illuminated moon, has taken her
rest. The rational stars, with their heavenly light, illuminate and guide
the inhabited earth. And the spiritual water above the heavens praises
incessantly the name of the Lord.¹⁰

VII 1. The message about the waters that is proclaimed to us in the
divine account of creation is great and deep. And this message was in
need of several generations of heavenly natures and minds to
comprehend and reveal clearly that which was made manifest. The
result was that they spoke unerringly and insightfully, according to the
truth in the things, according to the truth in which God had created
these things.

Why, therefore, in the six-day creation was the account about the
waters left out, silenced and concealed? And why was the account about
the spirit and fire not disclosed and made common knowledge with the
rest of creation, as the making of the heaven, earth, plants, lights, and
humankind? What difficulty prevented the Maker from saying: "Let
there be water," and "Let there be a breath of wind," and "Let there be
fire," just as he had commanded with respect to the rest of creation?

¹ Mt 18:10. ² Cf Gen 1:28. ³ Cf Gen 1:22. ⁴ Ps 28(29):3. ⁵ Cf Mt 28:20. ⁶ Cf Ex
16:13; Num 11:31-32; Ps 104(105):40; Wis 16:2, 19:12. ⁷ Gen 1:22. ⁸ Cf Ps 17(18):12.
⁹ Cf Mal. 3:20 (4:2). ¹⁰ Cf Ps 148:4-5.

302 φύλλακας M 307 ιστέον P 311 τούτου] του P^{corr.} 314 ὀλιγοστός N
317 πληθυνέσθωσαν P 319 βρῶμον] scripsi βρόμον MNP τῆς] τε M^{corr.}
320 σκοτεινόν M^{corr.} 322 καθιδρυτο M^{corr.} καθιδρυτο M^{corr.} καθύδρυτο N
323 ἐπαναπαύεται P ἀστέρας P 330 ἀπτεστός P ἐπισκεμμένως M^{corr.} 331 τίνος P
332 κατελήφθη P 333 τῇ] τε M^{corr.} 334 καὶ] αὖ P ad initium lineae

ἐκέλευσε κτίσεως: Ἄλλ' ἴσως παιδεύουσα ἡμᾶς ἡ θεία γραφή τὸ τῆς ἁγίας
 340 τριάδος ἄκτιστον καὶ ἄρρητον καὶ ἀκατάληπτον τὸν περὶ τούτων τῶν
 τριῶν κτισμάτων τυπικῶς σεσιωπημένον καὶ ἀπόκρυφον κατέλιπε
 λόγον, ἐν τῇ Μωσαϊκῇ λέγω βίβλῳ. Διὸ καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ πνεῦμα διὰ
 πλάτους αἱ θεῖαι γραφαὶ συμβολικῶς εἶναι τὸν Θεὸν διαγρορεύουσιν.
 Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὸ ὑποκάτω πάσης τῆς κτίσεως ἐν ἀβύσσοις ὑπάρχειν,
 345 ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν,
 τὸ ἀπερίγραπτον καὶ περιέχον πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν τῆς θείας οὐσίας
 διδασκόμεθα τυπικῶς, ὅπερ πάλιν σημαίνει καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀνέμου καὶ τὸ τοῦ
 πυρὸς ἀόρατον καὶ ἀψηλάφητον καὶ λεπτὸν καὶ αὐλὸν καὶ ζωοποιὸν καὶ
 παντίτοπον.

2. Ἐτεροὶ δὲ τὴν τετραχῇ τῶν ὑδάτων διαίρεσιν, τὴν ὑπεράνω λέγω
 350 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ τὸ στερέωμα τὸ ἐξ ὕδατος, καὶ τὸ ἐπίγειον ὕδωρ, καὶ
 τὸ καταχθόνιον τὸ σκοτεινὸν καὶ ἐσχατον, τύπον εἶναι λέγουσι τῶν
 τεσσάρων τάξεων τῶν λογικῶν φύσεων, τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ τὸ στερέωμα ὕδωρ
 εἰς εἰκόνα τῶν ὑπερουρανίων δυνάμεων, τὸ δὲ στερέωμα σύμβολον πάλιν
 τοῦ τῶν ἁγίων φωστήρων ἀνθρώπων τάγματος, τὰ δὲ διάφορα ἐπίγεια
 355 ὕδατα τύποι εἰσὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων καὶ ἀσυμφώνων καὶ διηρημένων τῇ πίστει
 διαφόρων ἔθνων, τὸ δὲ καταχθόνιον ὕδωρ τῶν ἐναντίων δυνάμεων ἐστὶ
 συμβολικόν τῶν παντάπασιν τοῦ θεοῦ πυρὸς καὶ φωτὸς καὶ πνεύματος
 κεχωρισμένων, | ἥτοι τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος παντελῶς διηρημένων. Τάχα 922A
 γὰρ οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀνίατοι τραυματαῖοι οἱ καθεύδοντες ἐν ἄδη τὸν τῆς
 360 ἁμαρτίας ὕπνον, ὃν ὁ Θεὸς οὐ μνησθήσεται ἔτι, ὅτι μηδὲν θέλουσι, καὶ
 αὐτοὶ ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπώσθησαν καὶ οὐ μὴ δύνανται στήναι.

3. Οἱ δὲ ἰχθύες, οἵπινες εἰσιν οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ, μετέχουσι μὲν μερικῶς
 φωτὸς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ὄντες καὶ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς καταχθονίοις. Διὸ καὶ
 μιμεῖσθαι μικρομερῶς τὰ πετεινὰ ἐπιχειροῦσι πετερύγια ἔχοντες, τουτέστι
 365 μερικὴν εὐσέβειαν. Ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι ὡς πετεινὰ πέτονται.
 Τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνωθεν τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπιφερόμενοι καὶ νηχόμενοι τῷ
 ἡλίῳ ἀνατενίζουσιν. Οἱ δὲ τούτων μοχθηρότεροι καὶ ὑλικώτεροι ἀλέπιδες
 τυγχάνοντες ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς βορβορώδους ὕλης τὴν γέννησιν ἔχουσι κάτω,
 οἵπινες εἰσιν οἱ μηδὲν ἀγαθοεργίας ἔχοντες, νωθροὶ τινες καὶ
 370 δυσκίνητοι καὶ εὐάλωτοι ὑπάρχοντες εἰς θάνατον καὶ ἐπιβλαβεῖς εἰς
 βρῶσιν, ὧν καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀπέχεσθαι ὁ ἀληθὴς Ἰσραηλίτης ἡμεῖς
 ἐπιτέτραπται.

VIII. Τοιαῦτα ἡμᾶς καὶ ἡ πέμπτη ἡμέρα περὶ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς
 ἐκκλησίας παιδεύει σύμβολα καὶ αἰνίγματα ἀρχὴν ἡμῖν προμηνύουσα τοῦ

Perhaps Divine Scripture left out the account about these three creatures—which was concealed and kept secret to serve as a type—in order to teach us, I mean in the Mosaic book, that the Holy Trinity is uncreated, indescribable, and incomprehensible. Therefore, then the breadth of the Divine Scriptures declares that God, symbolically, is fire, water, and spirit.¹ Surely we are taught through types that the divine essence exists in the abyss below all creation, and on the earth, and in the heavens and above the heavens. It cannot be circumscribed, but envelops all creation. These things are signified again by the wind and fire, which are invisible, untouchable, sublime, immaterial, life giving, and infinite.

2. The waters were separated into four areas: the water above the heaven, the firmament that rose from the water, the water on the earth, and the water below the ground, dark and final.² Some say this separation is a type of the four orders of rational natures. The water above the firmament is an image of the forces above the heaven. The firmament is a symbol of the order of humans that are holy lights. The different waters on the earth are types of the nations that are separated in faith: they are earthly, divided, and have no harmony. The underground water is symbolic of the opposing forces, wholly removed from the divine fire and light and spirit—indeed, completely separated from the Holy Trinity. Perhaps these are the incurable dead in Hades, who sleep the dream of sin. God is no longer mindful of them, because they do not want him at all. They were pushed back from his hand³ and are completely unable to stand.⁴

3. The fish—such as are the sinners—have a share in partial light, because they are in the sea and not in the underground waters. On account of this, they try in small ways to imitate the birds. They have fins—that is, partial piety—and with them they fly in the waters like birds. Some of these fish, in fact, are carried up above the waters, and swimming they gaze up at the sun. Others, more knavish and materialistic, have no scales. They have their genesis below, from the filthy matter itself. These do no good deeds at all. Some are lazy and obstinate and easily hooked for death; but they are noxious to eat. We, the true Israelite, have been commanded to abstain [from their evil], but not to keep away from them.

VIII. Through such symbols and enigmas the fifth day teaches us about Christ and the Church, by offering us an initial glimpse of

¹ Cf Dt 4:24; 9:3; Jn 3:5, 8; 4:14, 24; 7:38-39; Heb 12:29; 1 Jn 5:7-8.

² Cf Gen 1:6-7.

³ Cf Ps 87(88):6. ⁴ Cf Mk 3:26.

338 κτίσεως ἐκέλευσε N 338 θεία] om. N 342 εἶναι τὸν Θεὸν] om. P 345 τὴν] om. M^{corr}
 346 σημαίνει N^{corr} 353 ἐπου(ρα)νίων M 354 τοῦ] om. P ἐπίγεια N^{corr}
 355 συμφώνων M 356 ἐναντίον P 358 κεχωρισμένων] M^{corr} N κεχωρισμένον P
 360 μὴ δόλως P 361 ἀπώσθησαν P δύνανται] *correxí* δύνωνται MN δύνονται P
 369 μὴ δόλως N^{corr}

- 375 βαπτίσματος, ἐν ᾗ αἱ πέντε αἰσθήσεις τῆς ἐμψύχου φύσεως ἐδημιουργή-
 θησαν· ὄρασις, ἀκοή, γεῦσις, ὄσφρησις, καὶ ἀφή. Ἐν ταύτῃ, λέγω δὴ τῇ
 πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος, ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ χιλιονταετηρίδι, καὶ ὁ λουτὴρ
 ὑπὸ Σολομῶντος τοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς
 380 γέγονε, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ νιπτὴρ πάλιν ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐν τῷ ἀνωγαίῳ τῷ
 μεγάλῳ τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὑπόδειγμα ἔχων τῆς κολυμβήθρας τοὺς πόδας
 τῶν μαθητῶν πρῶτον ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ ἐβάπτισε, καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως αὐτοῖς τὸ
 σῶμα καὶ αἷμα εἰς μετάληψιν δέδωκεν. Ἡνίκα καὶ τὴν καινὴν διαθήκην ὁ
 Χριστὸς διαθέμενος, τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐπὶ τὸν Γολγοθᾶν τῇ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς
 385 τὸν ἐκεῖ κείμενον Ἀδὰμ παραγέγονε καὶ τὸν παράδεισον τῷ ληστῇ
 ἠνέωξε, πρὸς ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ ἕκτῃ, Χριστοῦ
 χειραγωγοῦντος καὶ διδόντος ἡμῖν λόγον ἐν ἀνοίξει τοῦ στόματος ἡμῶν
 ἐλευσόμεθα. Αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. |

376 ὄρασις P ὄσφρησις P ἀφή] P ἀφή MN^{p.corr.} ἀφή N^{a.corr.} 380 ὁ*] ὡ M^{a.corr.}
 381 κωλυμβήθρας M 383 μετάληψιν] μεγάλη N^{a.corr.} 386 ἀνέωξε P
 387 χειραγοῦντος P καὶ διδόντος] om. P

Baptism. On this day, the five senses of animate nature were created: seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling, and touching. And on this day—I am now speaking about the fifth day of time, the fifth millennium—the washing place was built by Solomon, son of David, in God's sanctuary in Jerusalem.¹ This was a type of the Baptism of the Church of Christ, who is God and the son of David. Just so, that basin in the great upper-room on the fifth day provided a model of the baptismal font. Here Christ first baptized the feet of the apostles;² and then, so, he gave to them his body and blood to share.³

After Christ had made his new covenant, then on the next day, on the sixth day, he as Adam came to be the one hanging there at Golgotha⁴ and opened the garden of Paradise to the robber.⁵ So even we will go to Paradise on the next day, which is the sixth, if Christ will lead the way and if,⁶ when we open our mouth, Christ will give us the word.⁷ The glory is his forever. Amen.

¹ Cf 2 Chr 4:2-5. ² Cf Jn 13:5. ³ Cf Mt 26:26-28; Mk 14:22-24; Lk 22:19-20; 1 Cor 11:23-25. ⁴ Cf Mt 27:33; Mk 15:22; Jn 19:17. ⁵ Cf Mt 27:44; Mk 15:27; Lk 23:32-33, 39-43. ⁶ Cf Act 9:8; 22:11. ⁷ Cf Eph 6:19.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀκολουθῶς εἰς τὴν ἕκτην ἡμέραν
τῆς ἑξαήμερου κτίσεως λόγος ἕκτος |

I 1. Οἱ ἐκ λιμένων παγγαλήνων πρὸς τοὺς πελαγίους δρόμους τὰς
θαλαττίους διαπεραιούμενοι διὰ σκαφῶν τρίβους, ἐπειδὴν δεξιῶν τινος
καὶ ἐξ οὐρίας ἐπιτύχῳσι πνεύματος καὶ ἐπὶ πέμπτην καὶ ἕκτην ἡμέραν
ἀλυπὰ τε καὶ ἰλαρὰ καὶ ἐπιτήδεια διὰ πρύμνης τὰ κύματα ἔχοντες καὶ τῇ
5 φορῇ καὶ ῥύμῃ τῶν ὑδάτων ὀξείας τὰς πορείας καὶ τοὺς δρόμους τῆς
νηὸς διανύσαι, βολίσι τισὶ μολυβδίναις καὶ βαρυτάταις τοὺς τῶν ὑδάτων
βυθοὺς δοκιμάζουσιν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ ἐξ ἀκαταλήπτων βαθύων καὶ
ἀφθάστων πρὸς κουφοτέρους τινὰς καὶ ἐπιπολασιότερους βυθοὺς, λοιπὸν
δὲ καὶ αἰγιαλοὺς καταφθάνειν ἐλπίζοντες. Τὸ δὲ τοῦ παρόντος λόγου
10 σκάφος πέντε λοιπὸν ἤδη | ἡμερῶν ὀξείως διανύσαν τοὺς δρόμους ἐπὶ
μείζονα τὰ ὕδατα καὶ βαθυτέρων πελάγων βυθοὺς ὡς ἀληθῶς σκοτει-
νοὺς καὶ ἀκαταλήπτους κατήντησε.

2. Διὸ δεῖ θερμότερως καὶ συχνότερως διεξυπνίσαι ταῖς προσευχαῖς
τὸν ἄυπνον ἐπὶ τὸ σκάφος καὶ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ νοὸς
ἀναπανόμενον Θεὸν Λόγον, ὅπως τῶν οἰάκων τῆς διανοίας καὶ τῆς
15 γλώσσης ὥσπερ δύο αὐχένων τοῦ ψυχικοῦ ἡμῶν σκάφους ἐπιλαβόμενος
τοῖς μὲν ἐναντίοις πνεύμασι καὶ νοήμασιν ἐπιτιμήσῃ, τῷ δὲ οἰκίῳ αὐτοῦ
φωτὶ τὸ βάθος καὶ τὴν ἀγνωσίαν τῶν προκειμένων ὑδάτων καταφωτίσῃ
εἰς τὸ θεοπνεύστως διαβλέψαι ἡμᾶς καὶ εἰπεῖν τί δήποτε ὁ πανσόφως καὶ
20 ὑπερσόφως τὰ πάντα ποιήσας Θεὸς | ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ δημιουργήσας
τὸ φῶς οὐ συνεδημιούργησεν εὐθέως σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐκ τοῦ
φωτός, τουτέστι τοὺς φωστήρας, ἀλλὰ καταλιπὼν τὰ ἐκ φωτός γεν-
νήματα μετῆλθεν εἰς τὰ ὕδατα ποιήσας ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸ στερέωμα, εἴτα
πῆξας τὸ στερέωμα οὐδ' οὕτως ἀποπληροῖ τὴν τῶν φωστήρων ἐν αὐτῷ
25 διακόσμησιν, ἀλλ' ἡμιτελὲς καὶ τοῦτο καταλιπὼν μετέρχεται πάλιν τῇ
τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα ἀποσυνάγων ταῦτα ἐκ γῆς, καὶ πάλιν μὴ
τελέσας εἰς πλήρη τὰ ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι γεννηθέντα,
τουτέστι τοὺς ἰχθύας καὶ τὰ κήτη καὶ τὰ πετεινά, ἀλλὰ καταλιπὼν καὶ
αὐτὰ ἡμιτελῆ καὶ ἄγωνα μετῆλθεν εἰς τὴν γῆν λέγων· *Βλαστησάτω ἡ γῆ*
30 *βοτάνην χόρτου καὶ ξύλον κάρπιμον*, καὶ γενομένου τούτου πῶς οὐ ποιεῖ
εὐθέως καὶ τὰ ζῷα ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξελθεῖν καὶ τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ ἐρπετά, ἀλλ'
ἐάσας ἡμιτελῆ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς δημιουργίαν ἐπανέρχεται πάλιν εἰς τὸ
στερέωμα καὶ ποιεῖ τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ τοὺς δύο
φωστήρας, κάκειθεν πάλιν ὑποστρέφει πρὸς τὰ ὕδατα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ
35 πέμπτῃ τελειώσας τὴν τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ πετεινῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν γέννησιν. Εἴθ'
οὕτως τῇ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν γῆν πληρώσας τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς,
τουτέστι τὰ ζῷα καὶ τὰ κτήνη καὶ ἐρπετά καὶ θηρία καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον,

4 ἐπιτήδεια P 19 διαβλέψας M 20 δημιουργήσας P 27 ἐν] om. M^a corr. 30 χόρτου] om. MP 37 καὶ] add. τὰ M

This is the sixth book in the series by the same author.
It is about the sixth day of the six-day creation.

I 1. Some travel the ocean highways in small crafts. And having left a
calm harbor for the seaways, they enter a fifth and then a sixth day with
a wind that is kind and favorable. The waves along the stern cause no
distress, indeed are happy and useful. Now, still in the flow and surge of
the waves, when they are bringing to an end the swift course of the boat,
they probe the depths of the waters with heavy leaden weights. Day
after day from the unfathomable and untried, toward easier and
shallower depths, they hope finally to reach the beach.

Already the small craft of this commentary has swiftly journeyed five
days. But now it meets higher waves and the depths of deeper seas,
which are truly dark and beyond comprehension.

2. For this reason, with prayers more fervent and more frequent we
must rouse the one on our ship who never sleeps. On the pillow of our
mind, which guides us, God the Word is resting.¹ He must grab the
tillers of our tongue and our intentions—like two oars on the craft of our
soul—and rebuke the opposing spirits and thoughts!² He must illumi-
nate with his own light the ignorant depths of the waters that lie before
us, so that we, divinely inspired, might see clearly and explain the
following.

God made all things in complete and surpassing wisdom.³ Why then,
when he created light on the first day, did he not immediately create
with it all the things of light, such as the stars? But no, he left the
things of light and went back to the waters and made from them the
firmament of the sky.⁴ And after he had fixed the sky in place, even then
he did not arrange the stars in it and finish. No, he abandoned it half-
done.

On the third day, God returned to the waters once again. He
gathered the waters together and separated them from the land.⁵ But
again, he did not bring these to completion. He did not fill them with the
things born in the waters and from the waters: the fish, the whales, and
the birds. God left the waters half-done and infertile, and returned to
the land. God said: "*Let the earth bring forth grass for pasture and the*
fruit-filled tree."⁶

And with this done, why did he not immediately make the living
beings come out of the earth, both the wild beasts and the reptiles?
Instead, he left his creation from the earth half-done and returned again
to the sky. And on the fourth day, God made the stars and the two
luminaries.⁷

From there he turned again to the waters. And on the fifth day God
finished the genesis of the fish and birds from the waters.⁸ Then,
eventually, on the sixth day he returned to the land and brought to
fulfillment the things from it: the animals—cattle, serpents, and wild
beasts—and the human being.⁹

¹ Cf Mk 4:38.

² Cf Mt 8:26; Mk 4:39; Lk 8:24.

³ Cf Job 8:3; Wis 9:1; Am 5:8.

⁴ Cf Gen 1:7.

⁵ Cf Gen 1:9.

⁶ Gen 1:11.

⁷ Cf Gen 1:16.

⁸ Cf Gen 1:20.

⁹ Cf Gen 1:24-27.

ὥς ἐντεῦθεν δεικνυσθαι τὰς μὲν πρώτας τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀτελῶν κτισμάτων
εἶναι δεικτικές, τὰς δὲ ἐσχάτας τρεῖς, τουτέστι τὴν τετάρτην καὶ πέμπτην
καὶ ἕκτην, ταύτας γενέσθαι πάσης τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ κόσμου κοσμητικές τε
καὶ πληρωτικές διὰ τοῦ τριημέρου Χριστοῦ τοῦ λέγοντος· *Σήμερον καὶ*
αὔριον ποιῶ σημεῖα, *τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τελειοῦμαι* δεσπόζων τῶν οὐρα-
νίων λογικῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων καὶ τῶν καταχθονίων. Πλήρης
γὰρ γέγονεν ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ ἡ θάλασσα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, ἥνικα
γὰρ ἀνέλαμψεν ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη, εὐθέως καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ ἡ θάλασσα
κατεκοσμήθησαν ζωὴν ζώων παραδόξως γεννήσασαι.

3. Πρῶτος δὲ ὁ οὐρανὸς διὰ τῶν φωστήρων τελείως κατεκοσμήθη,
ἐπειδὴ καὶ πρὸ τῆς κτίσεως πάσης ἐννοεῖ καὶ ποιεῖ τὰς οὐρανίους καὶ
ἀγγελικὰς δυνάμεις τὰς ἡμῶν φωτιστικές. Δεύτερα δὲ ζωογονεῖ τὰ τῶν
ὕδατων συστήματα, τουτέστι τὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ρευστὰ καὶ ἄστατα καὶ
πολυχεύματα· *καὶ* περὶ τὴν εἰδωλολατρίαν ὀξυδρόμα τὸ πρὶν ὕδατα.
Τρίτην δὲ πάλιν ἐπισκέπεται καὶ τὴν *ἡμέραν* τοῦ πνεύματος, ὅτε τὸ
πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰσέλθῃ. Ἐπέβλεψε γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τῆς τοῦ κόσμου
κτίσεως ἐπὶ τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ ὕδατα δείξας αὐτοῖς φῶς θεογνωσίας ἐν τῇ
πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος. Ἀλλὰ *Γνόντες τὸν Θεὸν οὐχ ὡς Θεὸν*
ἐδόξασαν, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ καὶ Παῦλος λέγων ὅτι πρὸς θεογνωσίας ὑπόθεσιν
δέδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν σοφίαν ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν τὴν περὶ θέσεως
οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀστέρων καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ φυτῶν καὶ ζώων καὶ
σωμάτων καὶ σχημάτων.

4. Ἐπειδὴ οὖν οὐκ ἔγνω τὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὕδωρ τὸν τῆς σοφίας ποιητὴν,
καταλιπὼν αὐτὸ ὁ Θεὸς ἀτελὲς καὶ ἀζωογονήτον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἦλθε διὰ
τοῦ Ἀβραάμ δοῦς τὸ σημεῖον τῆς περιτομῆς. Διὸ καὶ τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν τοῦ
τοιούτου σημείου γῆνιν ὑπέσχετο καὶ τῷ Ἀβραάμ καὶ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ
λέγων διδόναι εἰς κατάσχεσιν τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπιγείου Παλαιστιναίου
ἐπαγγελίας. Ὡσαύτως καὶ τῷ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξελθόντι λαῷ Ἰσραὴλ
νομοθετήσας ὁ Θεὸς ἡ ἐκεῖνα τὰ πολλὰ καὶ παχέα καὶ δυσκατόρθωτα
προστάγματα καὶ δυσβάστακτα μετὰ πολλῆς τιμῆς τῆς ἐπιτάσεως καὶ
καταρῶν οὐδὲ μίαν ὑπὲρ τούτων οὐράνιον αὐτοῖς ἀνταπόδοσιν ὑπέσχε-
το, ἀλλὰ γῆνιν δωρεάς καὶ εὐκαρπίας καὶ σωματικὰς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ
γῆς πλατείας κατάσχεσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν φθειρομένων ἀγαθῶν. Ἐντεῦθεν
καὶ διὰ τούτων γῆν δικαίως νοοῦμεν τὸν Ἰουδαίων λαὸν ὡς γῆνιν
φρονοῦντα καὶ οὐκ ἐν οὐρανοῖς τὸ πολίτευμα ἔχοντα.

5. Διὸ ταῦτα ἡμᾶς διδάσκων ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐξαήμερῳ κοσμοποιῆσά οὐχ
ὕφεν ἐτελείωσε τὰ ὕδατα καὶ τὰ ἐξ ὕδατων γινόμενα οὔτε πάλιν ἐν μιᾷ
ἡμέρᾳ τὴν γῆν κατεκόσμησε καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς προελθόντα ζῶα καὶ
καρποφόρα ξύλα. Διὸ δοκεῖ μοι ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἐπουράνια πρῶτον μὲν τῷ θείῳ

Through all these activities, God demonstrated that the first three
days were demonstrations of unfinished creativity. But the last three
days—the fourth, fifth, and sixth—consisted of the organization and
fulfillment of the whole creation of the world. This was done on account
of the “Christ of Three Days”, who said: “*Today and tomorrow I give*
signs. But on the third day I bring to perfection,”¹ I who am lord over the
rational lights of heaven, and those on earth, and those below the
ground.”²

Heaven, earth, and sea became full of his glory.³ And when the sun
and moon began to shine, even the earth and sea were immediately
adorned, wonderfully giving birth to the life of living things.

3. But it was heaven first, through its lights, that was perfectly fitted
out. This happened because, prior to any [material] creation, God
thought up and made the angelic powers of heaven, who illuminate us.
Second, he gave life to the systems of the waters. That is: to the earlier
waters of the Gentiles, who were constantly changing, unstable, stormy,
and racing to idolatry. And third, finally, when the Gentiles have
reached their fullness,⁴ God will turn his gaze to the [day] of the spirit.⁵

When God created the world, he looked upon the waters that were
the ancient Greeks. And on the first day of the ages, he showed to them
the light of divine knowledge. But *knowing God, they did not glorify him*
*as God.*⁶ Paul is a witness of this. He says that God at first gave wisdom
and knowledge about the organization of the sky, stars, sun, moon,
plants, animals, bodies, and forms, in order to build a foundation for
knowing him.⁷

4. But since the water of the Gentiles did not acknowledge the creator
of wisdom,⁸ God left it unfinished and impotent. He turned toward the
land, and through Abraham, he gave the sign of circumcision.⁹ And God
offered an earthly recompense to Abraham and Israel for such a sign. He
said that he was going to give for their possession the land of the
promise: earthly Palestine.¹⁰ Likewise, to the people of Israel coming out
of Egypt, God gave laws. These commands were many, heavy, and
difficult to keep: they were an intolerable burden, and accompanied by
many an urging and curses.¹¹ Yet if they kept these laws, God offered
them earthly gifts, and remarkable productivity, and physical well
being, and possession of a broad land, and enjoyment of these perishable
goods.¹² He did not, however, offer them a single heavenly reward. For
these reasons, we rightfully think of the the Jewish people as
represented by “earth”, since they are mindful of earthly things but have
no citizenship in heaven.¹³

5. And so God, in order to teach us these things, in the six-day
creation of the universe did not with one command bring to completion
both the waters themselves and the things that come from the waters.
And it was not in one day that he completed the earth and the living
beings that came from her and the fruitbearing trees. And so, it seems to
me, the things in heaven were at first illuminated by divine light.

44 γέγονεν] *add.* καὶ P 47 οὐ(ρά)νιος M 51 καὶ] *addidi*; cf. Hn. 52 ἐπεσκέπεται P
ἡμέραν] *addidi*; cf. Hn. 55 γινόντες P 58 καὶ] *om.* P 60 ἔγνω] ἔγνω M 62 ἀβραάμ M
67 ἐπιτάσεω M 70 πλατείας] *add.* καὶ P 74 ὕφ' ἐν P

¹ Lk 13:32. Cf the RSV: “[I cast out demons and perform cures] today and tomorrow, and
the third day I finish my course.” ² Cf Phil 2:10. ³ Cf Is 6:3. ⁴ Cf Rom 11:25. ⁵ Cf Ps
64(65):10. ⁶ Rom 1:21. ⁷ Cf Wis 13:1-5; Rom 1:19-21. ⁸ Cf 1 Cor 1:20-21 ⁹ Cf Gen
17:10-14. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 17:8. ¹¹ Cf Ex 20:1-17. ¹² Cf Ex 23:20-33. ¹³ Cf Phil 3:19-20.

φωτὶ πεφωτισμένα ἐτύγγανον. Συντεθέντος δὲ ἐπὶ γῆς τοῦ νοητοῦ ἡλίου
Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀναληφθέντος ἄνω ἐπὶ πλεῖον καὶ ὁ ἄνω κόσμος κατεφωτίσ-
θη καὶ ἐλαμπρύνθη. Κατὰ οὖν τὰς κατὰ πρόβασιν ἐπικοσμήσεις καὶ
80 πνευματικὰς προκοπὰς τῆς οὐρανίου καὶ ἐπιγείου καὶ θαλασσίου κτίσεως
νοητέον τὸν δημιουργὸν ἐν τῇ κτίσει τότε τῇ ἑξαήμερῳ νῦν μερικῶς ἐν
τοῖς ὕδασι ἐργαζόμενον, εἶτα ἀπὸ τούτων ἐπὶ τὸ στερέωμα μετερχό-
μενον, αὐθὶς τε κοσμηθέντος τελείως τοῦ στερεώματος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν
κατερχόμενον, καὶ ταύτης ἡμιτελοῦς οὐσης ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα πορευόμενον,
85 εἶτα τὸ στερέωμα τελείως ἀπαρτίζοντα καὶ εὐλογοῦντα τὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν
ἐκκλησιῶν συστήματα, καὶ ἔσχατον πάντων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ
ἐπιστρέφοντα ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων, ἐπὶ τῷ πληρώματι τῆς
ἑξαήμερου κτίσεως.

6. Εἰ δὲ ληρὸς σοι τῷ ἀκροατῇ ὡς ἀμυήτῳ ὁ λόγος, εἶπέ μοι σὺ δι' ἣν
90 αἰτίαν οὐχ ὕφην ὁ Θεὸς τὸ καθὲν τῶν κτισμάτων ἀπαρτίσας τότε ἐπὶ τὸ
ἕτερον μετήρχετο, ἀλλ' ἡμιτελὲς καταλιμπάνων τὸ πρότερον τοῦ
ἔσχατου ἤπτετο, καὶ αὐθὶς ἐπὶ τὸ πρότερον πάλιν ἐπανήρχετο. Εἰ δὲ
πιστὰ σοι τῷ πιστῷ τὰ λεγόμενα, δεῦρο κλῖνον τὸ οὖς σου καὶ πρόσχε
μοι νουνεχῶς, καὶ ὄψει ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνσάρχου οἰκονομίας τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον τὸν
95 αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν καινὴν αὐτοῦ κτίσιν κατασκευάσαντα καὶ
τελειώσαντα. Τοῖς γὰρ ἔχουσιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς φῶς γνώσεως παντὶ που
δηλὸν ἐστὶν ὅτι σκιαγραφία ἦν ἡ ἀρχαία κοσμοποιία τῆς κτίσεως τὸν
τύπον ἔχουσα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἣν ὡσπερ τινα οἰκουμένην κτίζων καὶ
κατασκευάζων ἐνανθρωπήσας ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων τῶν ἐθ-
100 νικῶν ἄρχεται ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιδημήσας ἐν Ναζαρέτ, περὶ ᾧ
φησὶν Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης· Γῆ Ζαβουλὼν καὶ γῆ Νεφθαλίμ, ὁδὸν
θαλάσσης, Γαλιλαία τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὁ λαὸς ὁ καθήμενος ἐν σκότει, ἴδε φῶς
μέγα. Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ὁ Συμεὼν τὰ ἔθνη προέταξε, καὶ τότε τὸν Ἰσραὴλ,
περὶ Χριστοῦ λέγων· Φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθνῶν, εἶθ' οὕτως· Καὶ δόξαν
105 λαοῦ σου Ἰσραὴλ. Μετῆλθε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ναζαρέτ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῆς
θαλάσσης καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς γῆν Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐν Βηθλεὲμ καὶ ἐτέχθη. Καὶ
καταλιπὼν ἀτελείωτον καὶ ἄκαρπον τὴν γῆν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἦλθε πάλιν
ἐπὶ τὰ ἐθνικὰ ὕδατα καλέσας πρὸ πάντων τοὺς μάγους καὶ πορευθεὶς ἐν
Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπὶ τὰ βάρβαρα Νειλῶα ὕδατα. Ἀλλ' οὕτω ταῦτα συναγα-
110 γῶν εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν ἐπανέρχεται εἰς τὴν γῆν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ὅθεν
ἐξῆλθε. Καὶ βραχεῖαν τινὰ χλόην καὶ δένδρα τινὰ καρποφόρα, τοὺς
ἑαυτοῦ μαθητὰς καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Βαπτιστὴν καὶ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Νικόδημον
καὶ τοὺς τοιοῦτους, ἀναδείξας εὐθύς τε καταλιπὼν τὴν γηγαίαν
λατρείαν παραγίνεται πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ρεῖθρα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ὁ τῆς
115 δικαιοσύνης ἡλὶος κτίζων τὴν σελήνην τοῦ βαπτίσματος. Εἶθ' οὕτως
λοιπὸν εὐλογεῖ καὶ ζωογονεῖ τὰ ὕδατα, καὶ καθεξῆς ἔρχεται καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν

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But when the spiritual sun, Christ, was put together on the earth and then taken up, the world above was illuminated and brightened even more.

Therefore, according to the increased adornments and the spiritual progression of creation—heavenly, terrestrial, and marine—one should think of the craftsman as working during the six-day creation, at one point, in partial fashion with the waters,¹ then after them moving to the firmament, then again when the firmament was completely arranged,² he went down to earth. And when this was half-finished,³ he traveled to the waters. Then he completely finished the firmament,⁴ and blessed the communities of the Gentile churches.⁵ And last of all, he returned to the earth of Israel for the completion of the ages, for the fulfillment of the six-day creation.⁶

6. If this discussion seems delirious to you—if you are a listener that is uninitiated—then you tell me: why did God not complete at once first one part of creation, and then go on to the next? But no, he left the earlier part half-done and applied himself to the end. And then he returned again to the earlier.

But if what has been said seems believable to you—if you are a believer—then come, bend your ear closer, and pay attention mindfully to me. You will see that in his incarnate keep, the Word God completed and adorned his new creation⁷ in the same way as the first. For those who have the light of understanding within themselves, it is completely clear to each that the ancient creation of the world was an architect's draft: it showed a type of the Church, which he created and adorned like an inhabited world.

The Word God, when he became man, began with the waters of the Gentiles: he made his home in Nazareth, in the land of the Gentiles.⁸ Isaiah the prophet spoke about them: "O land of *Zabulon*, and land of *Nephthalim*, the way of the sea, Galilee of the Gentiles, you people sitting in the dark: see a great light."⁹ So also Simeon placed the nations first and then Israel. He said of Christ: "A light for the revelation of the nations;" then so: "and the glory of your people Israel."¹⁰

Then Christ left Nazareth—the Gentiles, the sea—and traveled to the land of Jerusalem. Here he was born in Bethlehem.¹¹ But leaving the land of Israel unfinished and infertile, he turned again to the Gentile waters. He invited the Magi before all others, and then he went to the foreign waters of the Nile in Egypt.¹² But he did not bring these together into a single congregation yet.¹³ First he returned to the land of Israel, from where he'd come.¹⁴ And some short grass and fruit-bearing trees appeared:¹⁵ his disciples,¹⁶ John the Baptist,¹⁷ Joseph,¹⁸ Nicodemus,¹⁹ and the like. But he soon abandoned a cult linked to the land, and he returned to the streams of the Jordan River.²⁰ Here the sun

¹ Cf Gen 1:2. ² Cf Gen 1:7-8. ³ Cf Gen 1:9-12. ⁴ Cf Gen 1:14-18. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:22.

⁶ Cf Gen 1:24-25. ⁷ Cf 2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15. ⁸ Cf Lk 1:26-38. ⁹ Is 8:23-9:1.

¹⁰ Lk 2:32. ¹¹ Cf Lk 2:1-7. ¹² Cf Mt 2:1-15. ¹³ Cf Gen 1:9. ¹⁴ Cf Mt 2:19-23.

¹⁵ Cf Gen 1:12. ¹⁶ Cf Mt 4:18-22; Mk 1:16-20; Lk 5:1-11; Jn 1:35-51. ¹⁷ Cf Mt 3:13-15;

Mk 1:9; Jn 1:29-34. ¹⁸ Cf Mt 27:57-60; Mk 15:42-46; Lk 23:50-54; Jn 19:38-42.

¹⁹ Cf Jn 3:1-13; 7:50-52; 19:39-42. ²⁰ Cf Jn 3:26.

γῆν, τουτέστι προνοούμενος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἰώμενος τὰς νόσους αὐτοῦ. Καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ γῆς πρὸς τὴν ἄβυσσον ὠδοιπόρησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὅπως κηρύξη καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ τοῦ ἔδου πνεύμασιν ἄφεσιν, εἴτα
 120 ἀναστὰς ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀνέδραμεν εἰς τὸ στερέωμα πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. Κάκειθεν πάλιν τὰ ὕδατα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξωοποίησεν ἐξαποστείλας ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἐξ ὕψους ὡς ζωοποιοῦν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἅτινα οὐ παύσονται γεννῶν-
 125 τὰ καὶ ἀναγεννῶντα ἑαυτὰ τὰ πρὶν ὄντα ἐρπετὰ ἔθνη, καὶ νῦν πτεροφυῇ πετεινὰ γεννῶμενα, ἄχρις οὗ τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰσέλθῃ πάντως εἰς τὸν παράδεισον, καὶ τότε λοιπὸν τελεσθήσεται ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος ὁ λέγων περὶ τῶν ζώων τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ· *Ἐξαγαγέτω ἡ γῆ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν.*

7. Καλῶς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν εἶπεν, εἰς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ Ἰσραὴλ. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐθνικῶν καὶ ἀμυθήτων ἐθνῶν, τῶν ἐξ ὑδάτων προελθόντων ἡμῶν, οὐ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν λέγει, ἀλλὰ ψυχὰς ἀμετρήτους. Φησὶ γάρ· *Ἐξαγαγέτω τὰ ὕδατα ἐρπετὰ ψυχῶν ζωσῶν*, καὶ οὐ μόνον τούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πετεινὰ πετόμενα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατὰ τὸ στερέωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Ἐκ τούτων τῶν πετεινῶν ἦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ βαπτισθεὶς Παῦλος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ἰσχύσας πετασθῆναι ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς τὸν παράδεισον μεταβῆναι. Τοιοῦτον πετεινὸν ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος ὡς δι' ἄερος πετόμενος καὶ
 130 ἐρχόμενος πρὸς τὸν Κανδάκην τὸν Αἰθίοπα ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος βαπτίσας αὐτὸν καὶ διὰ τῆς περιστερᾶς τοῦ Πνεύματος ποιήσας καὶ αὐτὸν πετεινόν. Τοιοῦτον πετεινὸν ἐπεθύμει γενέσθαι ἐκεῖνος ὁ λέγων· *Τίς δώσει μοι πτερυγὰς ὥσει περιστερᾶς τῆς ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ κατελθούσης καὶ πετασθῆσομαι καὶ καταπαύσω* εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν κατάπανσιν τῶν οὐρανίων ἐξαπτερύγων πετεινῶν· Πρὸς ταῦτα τὰ πετεινὰ ἐξεπετάσθη ἐξ τοῦ
 140 ζωοποιοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ ρέντος ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Δεσπότης πλευρᾶς ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κρανίου τόπῳ τὸ πρῶτον πάντων πετεινῶν ὁ ἅγιος ληστής σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν πετεινῶν Χριστῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἀετῷ πετόμενος δι' ἄερος εἰς τὸν παράδεισον. Περὶ τῶν Χριστοῦ πετεινῶν καὶ ὁ ψαλμωδὸς λέγει ὅτι
 145 *Στρουθίον ὁ ληστής, εἴ τις ἄλλος, εὔρεν ἐν αὐτῷ οἰκίαν τὴν καλιὰν τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ παραδείσου, καὶ τρυγῶν ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ μόνον ἕνα σύζυγον εἰδυῖα Χριστόν, ἡ τὸν ἐρημικὸν βίον ἀγαπῶσα μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν τρυφερὸν καὶ εὐαφῇ καὶ θηλυδρίαν, νοσοῖαν ἑαυτῇ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, οὗ θήσει τὰ νοσοῖα ἑαυτῆς, ἅπερ ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων γεγέννηκε διὰ τοῦ*
 150 *βαπτίσματος.* Περὶ γὰρ τούτων τῶν πετεινῶν καὶ Ἡσαΐας ἐκπληττόμενος ἐβόα· *Τίνες | οἶδε ὡς νεφέλαι πέτονται καὶ ὥσει περιστερᾶι σὺν νεοσσοῖς αὐτῶν; Ταῦτά εἰσι τὰ πετεινὰ τὰ ἀρπαζόμενα ἐν νεφέλαις εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ Κυρίου εἰς ἀέρα, περὶ ὧν καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι "Ὅπου τὸ πτώμα ἐστίν, ὁ ληστής φημι, τουτέστιν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ἐκεῖ συναχθήσονται καὶ οἱ ἀετοὶ οἱ τὸν περνηστήν ἡμῶν ὄφιν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας συμπνίξαντες.*

of righteousness¹ created the moon of Baptism. And so, he finally blessed and made fertile the waters. And then he returned to the land. That is, he gave thought to Israel and cured its sicknesses.²

Then from the earth, from the cross, he journeyed to the abyss to announce to the spirits confined in Hades their release.³ Then rising from the earth,⁴ he hastened up to the firmament, to God.⁵ And from there, he enlivened once again the waters of the nations. From on high, he sent out to them the Holy Spirit as the life-giver.⁶ And they that once had been reptiles, the Gentiles, were now born as birds with feathers. And they will not cease giving birth and rebirth to themselves, until the full complement of Gentiles has entered into Paradise.⁷ Then finally the word of God will reach completion, which said about the living beings of Israel: "*Let the earth bring forth a living soul.*"⁸

7. This was beautifully expressed—a *living soul*—for Israel is one. But with respect to us the Gentile nations, unspeakably many, who came forth from the waters, he does not say *a living soul*, but innumerable souls. He says: "*Let the waters bring forth reptiles with living souls.*" And not only these, but also "*winged creatures flying above the earth to the firmament of heaven.*"⁹

Among these birds was the one that was baptized Paul. From the water he became strong enough to fly to the third heaven, and from there to pass over to Paradise.¹⁰

And such a bird was Philip. He flew through the air and came to Candace the Ethiopian. Philip baptized him at the water and, through the dove of the Spirit, made even him a bird.¹¹

To become such a bird was the wish of the one that said: "*Who will give me wings like the dove*, which descended on the Jordan River? *And I will fly away and find rest*"¹² at the resting place of the six-winged birds of the heavens."¹³ And the holy robber also flew away to these birds. He was the first bird of them all to rise from the life-giving water, which flowed from the side of the Master at the place called The Skull [Golgotha].¹⁴ He flew with the king of the birds, Christ the great eagle, through the air to Paradise.¹⁵

Also the Psalmist sang about the birds of Christ. *A little sparrow*—this, if someone else, was the robber—*found in him a home*: the nest in the tree of Paradise.¹⁶ *And a turtledove*: this is the Church, which is intimate with one mate only, with Christ.¹⁷ She cherishes the hermitic life, rather than the dainty, soft, and effeminate life.¹⁸ She found *her nest*, the kingdom of the heavens, *where she will place her chicks*, to which she gave birth from the waters through Baptism.¹⁹

It was about these birds that also Isaiah, in ecstasy, shouted: "*Who are these that fly like clouds and are like doves with their chicks?*"²⁰ These are the birds that are taken up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air.²¹ About these birds Isaiah also said: "*Where the corpse is* (I think

118 ἀπὸ'] *add.* τῆς M 124 οὐ] οὐν P 127 ὁ] ὁ N 128 ἐθνικῶν P 129 ἀμετρήτους] ἀμυθήτους P 136 καί'] *om.* P 137 ἐπεθύμη P 145 καλιὰν] *scripsi* καλλιὰν MNP 146 ἡ'] *om.* M 147 μόνη P 148 θηλυδρίαν M 149 διὰ] *om.* MP 151 ἐνόα M 152 ἐν] ὡς P 153 καί] *om.* N 155 περνηστήν P

¹ Cf Mal 3:20 (4:2). ² Cf Ps 102(103):3. ³ Cf Eph 4:9. ⁴ Cf Mt 28:5-6; Mk 16:6; Lk 24:5-7. ⁵ Cf Mk 16:19; Lk 24:51; Act 1:9; Eph 1:20-21; 4:8, 10. ⁶ Cf Act 2:1-11; 10:44-46. ⁷ Cf Rom 11:25. ⁸ Gen 1:24. ⁹ Gen 1:20. ¹⁰ Cf Act 9:18-19; 2 Cor 12:2-4. ¹¹ Cf Act 8:26-40. ¹² Ps 54(55):7. ¹³ Cf Is 6:2. ¹⁴ Cf Jn 19:34. ¹⁵ Cf Lk 23:39-43; Rev 4:7, 8:13, 12:14. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 2:9. ¹⁷ Cf 1 Tim 3:2; Tit 1:6. ¹⁸ Cf Act 7:38; Heb 11:24-26. ¹⁹ Ps 83(84):4. ²⁰ Is 60:8. ²¹ Cf 1 Th 4:17.

Ἡ πάλιν ὅπου ἀπέθανε τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα, ἐκεῖ καὶ συνῆξεν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸ μεταλαβεῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Ὑψωθεὶς γὰρ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ συνῆξε τὰ ἐθνικὰ καὶ ὕδατογενῇ τῶν ἐθνῶν πετεινά, ἵνα μιμήσωνται τὸ πάθος καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι τῆς ἀβύσσου καταδύς καὶ ἀναστὰς συνεπέτασεν ἑαυτῷ ἐκ τῶν καταχθονίων ὑδάτων πετεινὰ ἐκεῖ-
 160 να τὰ πολλὰ σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων καὶ ἀναστάντων.

II 1. Ἀλλὰ γε δὴ λοιπὸν καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν λέξιν τῆς θείας γραφῆς ἀναπτύξωμεν· Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Ἐξαγαγέτω ἡ γῆ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν κατὰ γένος, τετράποδα καὶ ἔρπετά καὶ θηρία τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένος. Καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.
 165 οὕτως.

Εἰς δύο τόκους καὶ γενέσεις διεῖλεν ὁ Θεὸς πᾶσαν ζῶσαν τῶν ζώων ψυχὴν, λέγω δὴ καὶ ἐκ γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ὥσπερ ἐκ δύο τινῶν γυναικῶν, τῆς Λείας καὶ τῆς Ῥαχήλ, ἢ τῆς Σάρρας καὶ τῆς Ἀγάρ, τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς ἡγουν τοὺς δύο λαοὺς, τὸν ἐξ Ἰουδαίων καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἐθνῶν, συστησάμενος, ὥστε τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τότε πρὸς τὴν Ῥεβέκκαν ἀρμόδιον εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὀρωμένην κτίσιν λέγειν, ὅτι Δύο ἔθνη καὶ δύο λαοὶ ἐκ σοῦ ἐξελεύσονται, καὶ λαὸς λαοῦ ὑπερέξει, καὶ ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι. Μείζων δὲ δηλονότι καὶ ἰσχυρότερα καθ' ὑπερβολὴν τὰ ἐκ γῆς γεγεννημένα ζῶα καὶ κτήνη καὶ θηρία ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐναλίους ἰχθύας καὶ
 175 ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ πετεινά.

2. Εἰ δὲ ἀνανεύεις ὁ ἀκροατὴς ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ὡς ἀπιθάνοις οὔσι, τί ποιήσεις ἢ λέξεις θεωρῶν τὰ ἐξ ὑδάτων ζῶα προαρπάσαντα τὴν παρὰ Θεοῦ εὐλογίαν ὥσπερ ὁ Ἰακώβ προήρπασε τὴν εὐλογίαν τοῦ Ἡσαὺ, ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν θηρευτὴς ἦν καὶ οἰοῦναι γηγενῇ τὴν γέννησιν καὶ τὸν βίον σύμβιον τῶν ἐν ἀγρῷ θηρίων καὶ ἔρπετων εἶχε, ὅθεν καὶ Ἐδώμ, τουτέστι πυρότης, ὁ Ἡσαὺ μετωνομάσθη, ὁ δὲ Ἰακώβ ὁ μετὰ τῆς εὐλογίας ἀρπάσας καὶ τὰ πρωτοτόκια τούτου ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐκπετασθεὶς ἐκεῖ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι ἐτεκεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, Βαθουήλ γὰρ Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἐρμηνεύεται; Ἐνθα καὶ ἔλαβε τὴν Ῥαχήλ, Ῥαχήλ δὲ οἶκος Θεοῦ λέγεται. Τύπος γὰρ ἦν αὕτη τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐξ ἐθνῶν, ἐν ἣ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλοστόργως ὥσπερ ἐπαναπανόμενον, διότι ταύτην ἔτεκεν, ἐπιφέρεται ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς Μεσοποταμίας πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν. Ἐπίστησον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἡ Ῥαχήλ τύπος καὶ αἰτία τῆς ποτε στείρας ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ Ῥεβέκκα τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἐκκλησίας, οὔσα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τῶν ὑδάτων τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἐκεῖ τῷ Ἰσαάκ ἡρμόσθη, καὶ εὐθέως ὡς καλὴ καὶ πρόθυμος ὑδροχόος κολυμβήθρα ὑδρευσαμένη τὰς ἀπίστους καμήλους τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπότισεν, | Ἀβραάμ γὰρ πατὴρ ἐθνῶν ἐρμηνεύεται εἰς τύπον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς τῶν ἐθνῶν.
 180
 185
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157 ἰθνηκὰ P 158 μιμήσονται P 159 τῆς] τοῖς M 161 ἀναστάντων] add. κεκοιμη N² con² per dittographiam 164 ἑρπὰ N 168 ῤαχήλ P 169 τὸν] τῶν P 176 ὡς] om. P 178 ὁ] om. MP 180 σύμβιον] om. M 185 τῆς ἐξ] τῶν P 186 φιλοστόργος P 189 ῤεβέκα M² con² N²a. con².

the robber; so that means: in Paradise)¹ there also the eagles have gathered²—the eagles that strangled in their claws the serpent striking at our heels.³

Or again: where his holy body died, there he has gathered us to partake of it. The Gentile birds of the nations, born from the water, were gathered together by him, who was raised on the cross, so they might imitate his suffering on the cross.⁴ Then he dove into the waters of the Abyss. And rising, he gathered to himself the birds from the subterranean seas, the many corpses of the saints that had fallen asleep and who were now resurrected.⁵

II 1. But now with no more delay, let us unroll the meaning of this passage of Holy Scripture:

And God said: "Let the earth bring forth a living soul according to its kind, quadrupeds and reptiles and wild beasts of the earth according to their kind." And so it was.⁶

God separated into two births—indeed two origins—the living souls of all living beings. I mean, from the earth and the sea, as if from two women, Leah and Rachel,⁷ or Sarah and Hagar,⁸ God made two sons, indeed two races: the Jews and the Gentiles. Thus it is fitting to take what God once said to Rebecca and apply it to all his visible creation: "Two nations, indeed two races will come from you. And one race will be superior over the other race, but the greater will serve the lesser."⁹

It is quite obvious that the living beings born from the earth, both the cattle and the wild beasts, are stronger by far over the fish in the sea and all the birds.

2. Is the listener shaking the head in doubt at what has been said? Then what do you make of this: how do you interpret that the living beings from the waters pre-empted God's blessing¹⁰ just as Jacob pre-empted the blessing of Esau?¹¹ The latter was a hunter.¹² He had an origin as if born from the earth, and a life in common with the reptiles and beasts in the wild.¹³ Esau's name, therefore, was changed to Edom, which means "sunburnt".¹⁴ Jacob, however, snatched away the rights of the first-born and he settled himself with the blessing in Mesopotamia between the waters. There, among the waters, he begot his children in the home of God: for Bathuel means "Spirit of God".¹⁵ There he also took Rachel. Rachel is called the "home of God",¹⁶ for she was a type of the Church of the Gentiles. When she gave birth to the Church, the Spirit of God paused above it with delight: the Spirit rested above the water of the Mesopotamia of all nations.¹⁷

Be sure of this: Rachel is a type and even a cause of the earlier sterility,¹⁸ just as Rebecca is also a type of the Church among the Gentile nations.¹⁹ She was in the land of the waters of Mesopotamia when she met Isaac. And she, like a good and eager watercarrier, immediately fetched water from the font and satisfied the thirst of the

¹ Cf. Lk 23:43. ² Mt 24:28. ³ Cf. Gen 3:15. ⁴ Cf. Jn 12:32. ⁵ Cf. Mt 27:52.

⁶ Gen 1:24. ⁷ Cf. Gen 29:15-30:24; 35:16-20. ⁸ Cf. Gen 16; 21:1-7; Gal 4:21-31.

⁹ Gen 25:23. ¹⁰ Cf. Gen 1:22. ¹¹ Cf. Gen 27:1-40. ¹² Cf. Gen 25:27. ¹³ Cf. Gen 1:24.

¹⁴ Cf. Gen 25:29-34; 36:1. ¹⁵ Cf. Gen 28:1-5; 29:31-30:24. ¹⁶ Cf. Ru 4:11. ¹⁷ Cf. Gen 1:2.

¹⁸ Cf. Gen 29:31; 30:1-2. ¹⁹ Cf. Gen 25:21.

3. Πολυτρόπως τοίνυν καὶ πολυμερῶς ἀπεδείξαμεν τὰ μὲν ἐξ ὑδάτων
 195 ζῶα τύπον εἶναι τῶν ποτε ἐν τῷ βυθῷ τῆς ἀγνωσίας ἐθνῶν, δι' ἃ καὶ
 τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἀλιεῖς ἀνέδειξεν ὁ Χριστὸς τοὺς οἰκείους μαθητάς. Ἐχομεν δὲ
 καὶ ἑτέραν τινα ἰσχυροτάτην καὶ παραδοξοτάτην παράστασιν πεί-
 θουσιν καὶ τὸν λίαν ἀπειθῆ καὶ φιλόνηκον ὅτι τὰ γηγενῆ ζῶα τύπον
 200 παράστασις. Λέγω δὴ ὅτι συγγενῆς ὁ γηγενῆς Ἀδὰμ κατὰ σάρκα
 ὑπάρχει τῶν γηγενῶν ἐκείνων θηρίων καὶ ἐρπετῶν, κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἔκτην
 ἡμέραν καὶ αὐτὰ κάκεινος ἐδημιουργήθησαν, καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν θαλαττίων
 ἰχθύων τῶν ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ γεγονότων, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ δεύτερος
 205 Ἀδὰμ συγγενῆς Ἰουδαίων τὸ κατὰ σάρκα τῶν ἀνημέρων ἐκείνων
 θηρίων καὶ ἐρπετῶν ἰοβόλων, καὶ οὐχ ἡμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν. "Ὅτι δὲ τὸ
 γηγενῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων γένος ἀπὸ τούτου δηλοῦται, μάθης ἂν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν
 τῶν ῥημάτων Ἐξαγαγέτω ἡ γῆ τετράποδα καὶ ἐρπετὰ καὶ
 210 θηρία. Τὰ γὰρ τετράποδα, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς γῆν συνένευκε καὶ τῶν τῆς γῆς
 προσεφίεται καὶ τὰ ταύτης ζητεῖ, εἰκονίζει τούτους τοὺς οἶα (ἀ)θεόφρονες
 λαβόντας κληρὸν πλατύτητα γῆς. Προφητεύει δ' ἐν τῷ μέσω Μωσῆς καὶ
 περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Χριστοῦ μανιώδους αὐτῶν καὶ θανατηφόρου ἐρπετὰ καὶ
 215 θηρία τούτους προκεκραγῶς. Προσιστορεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν τοῦ
 κρείττονος ἄνοιαν κτήνη εἰπών. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀμβρακίου τοῦ
 προφήτου περὶ Χριστοῦ λεγόμενον τό· Ἐν μέσω δύο ζώων γνωσθήσῃ εἰς
 τοὺς δύο λαοὺς οἱ σοφοὶ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων λαμβάνουσι. Δύο ζώων,
 220 ὡς ἴνα εἴπῃς ἐνὸς ἐπιγείου καὶ ἑτέρου θαλασσίου λαοῦ. Καὶ πάντως κατὰ
 τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ὁ Θεὸς τὴν Εὐὰν τύπον οὖσαν τῆς ἐξ ἐθνῶν τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας οὐκ ἀπὸ γῆς ἐποίησεν, ὅθεν τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἔπλασεν, ἐπειδὴ
 οὐ συγγενῆς, ἀλλ' ἑτερογενῆς καὶ ξένη Ἰουδαίων τῶν μὴ εὐλογηθέντων
 225 ζώων ὑπάρχουσα ἡ ἐκκλησία τῶν ἐκ θαλάττης ἐρπετῶν καὶ πετεινῶν
 τῶν τὴν εὐλογίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ κομισαμένων.

4. Εἰ δὲ προθύμως καὶ μακροθύμως τοῖς λεγομένοις τὰ σαντοῦ ὧτα
 παρέχεις ὁ ἀκροατής, πιστώσομαί σε τὰ περὶ τούτων τῶν δύο λαῶν,
 225 τοῦ ἐπιγείου λέγω καὶ τοῦ θαλαττίου, καὶ ἐκ γραφικῶν καὶ διαφόρων
 ἀποδείξεων τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ θυμίαμα, ὃ
 κατασκευάσαι ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Μωϋσεῖ προσέταξε, τὸ τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ
 Ἰουδαίων τῶν πιστευόντων δηλοῦν ἕνωσιν, ὧν ὡσφράνθη Θεὸς καὶ εἰς
 ὁσμήν εὐωδίας ἐγένοντο, τὴν τούτου σύνθεσιν γενέσθαι ἐνομοθέτησεν ἐκ
 230 γῆς τε καὶ θαλάττης τυγχάνουσιν. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ στακτὴ ἐκ γῆς τὴν γένεσιν
 ἔχει, ὃ δὲ ὄνυξ ἐκ θαλάττης καθέστηκεν. Ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ μύρον τοῦ
 Μωϋσέως, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ τοὺς δύο ἐδήλου λαοὺς, ἐκκενωθὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαπη-
 τοῦ Υἱοῦ πάντως κατὰ τὸν λέγοντα· Μύρον ἐκκενωθὲν τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ

faithless camels of the father of the nations.¹ For *Abraham* means "father of nations",² He is a type of the God and Father of the Gentiles.³

3. By many methods and in many ways,⁴ we have demonstrated that the living beings from the waters⁵ are a type of the Gentiles, who were once in the depths of ignorance.⁶ And especially on account of them, Christ appointed his own disciples to be their fishermen.⁷

We also have another demonstration: a surprise witness, but very convincing. It will persuade even the most contentious and strongest unbeliever that the earth-born animals were a clear and vivid type of the Jewish people. What is this proof? I say that the earth-born Adam, according to the flesh, belongs to the family of those earth-born beasts and reptiles.⁸ Both he and they were created on the sixth day.⁹ He did not belong to the sea fish, which were born on the fifth day.¹⁰ And just so, Christ the second Adam, according to the flesh, was not akin to us the Gentiles, but to the Jews,¹¹ those ferocious beasts and venomous serpents.

That the earth-born nature of the race of the Jews is revealed by this, you may also learn from the following passage: "Let the earth bring forth quadrupeds and reptiles and wild beasts."¹² The quadrupeds—since they bow down together toward the ground and long for the things of the earth and seek them—represent those who, as they give no thought to God, claim the breadth of the land as their inheritance.¹³

Moses, as mediator,¹⁴ having proclaimed that they are serpents and wild beasts, is prophesying¹⁵ about their madness against Christ and their deadliness. And when he calls them cattle, he is describing beforehand their mindless disdain of that which is better.

Not only this, but also the statement by Habakkuk the prophet about Christ refers to the two peoples: *In the middle between two living beings you will be known*¹⁶—or so the holy Fathers, who were wise, understood the phrase. *Two living beings*:¹⁷ you might say that one is the population of the earth, and the other the population of the sea.¹⁸

In full accordance with this symbolism, God made Eve.¹⁹ She was a type of Christ's Church,²⁰ arising from the Gentiles and not the earth, from which Adam was shaped.²¹ The Church is not akin to the Jews, those unblessed beings. She came from another origin: she is foreign to them. She is the Church of sea reptiles and birds that received God's benediction.²²

4. If you pay attention with an eager and open heart to the discussion, dear listener, I'll convince you about these two peoples: I mean the terrestrial and the marine. My evidence will be taken from various passages of the Old and New Testaments.

God commanded Moses to prepare an incense.²³ It signified the

195 τῶν ποτε| om. P 197 ἰσχυροτέρ(αν) P 198 φιλόνηκον M 199 ἀπλανῆ P
 206 γηγενεῖς M τούτου| τούτων M 209 ἀθεόφρονες| scripsi θεόφρονες MNP
 214 περὶ| add. τοῦ P 216 λαοῦ om. M 217 οὖσαν M 225 δι' ἡ N 227 ὧν| ὡς M^{corr}
 231 μωϋσέως M

¹ Cf Gen 24:20. ² Cf Gen 17:4-6; Rom 4:16-18. ³ Cf Eph 4:6. ⁴ Cf Heb 1:1. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:20-21. ⁶ Cf Gen 1:2; Is 8:23-9:1; Mt 4:15-16; Lk 1:79. ⁷ Cf Mt 4:18-20; Mk 1:16-18; Lk 5:10-11. ⁸ Cf Gen 2:7, 19. ⁹ Cf Gen 1:24-27. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 1:20-21. ¹¹ Cf Mt 1:1; Rom 1:3. ¹² Gen 1:24. ¹³ Cf Num 34:1-15; Dt 18:1-2. ¹⁴ Cf Dt 5:5. ¹⁵ Cf Dt 18:15-22. ¹⁶ Hab 3:2. ¹⁷ Hab 3:2. ¹⁸ Cf Gen 1:20-21, 24-25. ¹⁹ Cf Gen 2:21-22. ²⁰ Cf Eph 5:31-32. ²¹ Cf Gen 2:7. ²² Cf Gen 1:20-22. ²³ Cf Ex 30:34-35.

μου, ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ γὰρ δι' | αὐτοῦ τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν πιστῶν, ὃ μύρον
κατασκευάσαι προσετάγη ὑπὸ Θεοῦ. Τὸν μὲν κάλαμον ἐκ γῆς ἐδέχετο,
τὴν δὲ σμύρναν ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης, καὶ τὰχα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς
235 διὰ καλάμου γηγενοῦς καὶ σπόγγου θαλαττίου τὸ ὄξος ἐπὶ σταυροῦ
ποτίζεται, τοὔτεσι τὸ δριμυτήριον τοῦ θανάτου γεύεται, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ
δύο ἔθνη, λέγω δὴ Ῥωμαίων ἐθνικῶν καὶ Ἑβραίων, τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτὸν
κατεδίκασαν, ὧν τύπος ὑπῆρχε καὶ ἡ ζυγὴ τῶν δύο ληστῶν, τοῦ
σωζομένου διὰ πίστεως καὶ τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου Ἰουδαίου τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ.
240 Ἀκούομεν δὲ πάλιν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἀαρὼν
ἐπιτάττοντος τῷ Μωϋσεῖ πορφύραν κεκλωσμένην συνυφαίνειν αὐτῷ. Ἡ
δὲ πορφύρα ἐκ δύο ζώων καθέστηκε, λέγω δὴ γηγενοῦς σκώληκος καὶ
θαλαττίου ὀστρέου. Οὐκοῦν διὰ τοῦτο πάλιν οἱ δύο λαοὶ ἐν τῷ πάθει
πορφυρᾶν χλαμύδα περιέβαλλον τὸν Χριστὸν προμηνύοντες ὅτι βασι-
245 λεύσει ἐπὶ τοὺς δύο λαοὺς ἐνωθεὶς σαρκὶ ὁ οὐράνιος Θεὸς Λόγος, ὅπερ
σαφῶς προδιέγραφον καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν ἱματίων τῶν ἄλλων χροιαὶ αἱ
μετὰ τῆς πορφύρας ἐν τῷ χιτῶνι τοῦ Ἀαρὼν συνυφαινόμεναι. Ἡ μὲν
γὰρ βύσσος ὡς ὑπὲρ χιόνα ἐξαστράπτουσα σύμβολον δείκνυσι τοῦ
φωτός, τοῦ ἐκ φωτός Θεοῦ Λόγου, τὸ δὲ κόκκινον τὸ νενησμένον εἰκόνα
250 φέρει τῆς σαρκός, πρὸς γὰρ τὰ παιδία κεκοινώνηκε σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος, ἡ
δὲ λεγομένη ὑάκινθος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ χρώματος ὁμοίως ὑπάρχει, διὸ καὶ
ἀέρινον αὐτὴν χροίαν οἱ τὰς μεταξὺ χροίας μεπόντες χροίας ὀνομάζου-
σιν. Εὐρίσκομεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς μάγους μετὰ τοῦ γηγενοῦς χρυσοῦ καὶ
σμύρναν θαλαττίαν προσενέγκαντας τῷ Χριστῷ, ὥσπερ πάλαι καὶ οἱ
255 δύο ἐκεῖνοι οἱ τύποι τῶν δύο λαῶν, Ἰωσήφ καὶ Νικόδημος, δύο ἀρώμασι,
λέγω δὴ ἐπιγίειν ἀλόη καὶ θαλαττίῳ σμύρνῃ, ἐνεταφίασαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

III 1. Ἐκ πολλῶν τοίνυν παραστάσεων περιφραστικῶς μαθόντες τὰ
θαλάττια καὶ γηγενῆ ζῶα τύπον ἐναργῆ ὑπάρχειν τῶν δύο λαῶν
ἀναγκαῖον λοιπὸν εἰπεῖν καὶ δι' ὅσας αἰτίας οὐ μετέσχευεν ἡ γηγενὴς ἀγέλη
260 τῶν ζώων, λέγω δὴ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ λαοῦ, τῆς ἰσῆς εὐλογίας παρὰ Θεοῦ, ἧς
μετέσχον οἱ ἐθνικοὶ ἰχθύες καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν πετεινά. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν διὰ
τὸ ἀβαπτίστους αὐτοὺς εἶναι καὶ μὴ συγγενειάσαντας τῷ ὕδατι καὶ τῷ
Πνεύματι τῷ ἐπιφερομένῳ ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος. Δευτέρα δὲ αἰτία δι' ἣν
τῆς εὐλογίας ἐστερήθησαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἦν ὁ ὄφις ὁ τῆς Εὐας, μᾶλλον
265 δὲ τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας, ἐχθρὸς καὶ ἐπίβουλος, καὶ ἡμελλόν ὑπὸ τὴν
φρικτὴν ἀράν ἐκείνην Χριστοῦ γενέσθαι. Οὐχ εὐρίσκομεν δὲ τὸν Θεὸν ἐν
πάσῃ τῇ νομικῇ γραφῇ δι' οἰκείου στόματος εὐλογήσαντά τινα καὶ μετὰ
ταῦτα καταρασάμενον αὐτόν. Οὐκ οἶδα εἰ μὴ μετὰ τίνος διαστολῆς τὴν
εὐλογίαν δέδωκεν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τοῦ Σαλομών, λέγων· Ἐάν
270 φυλάξητε τὰ προστάγματά μου καὶ τὰ δικαιώματά μου. Προεγίνωσκε

unification of Jewish and Gentile believers, who became a sweet fragrance inhaled by God.¹ For, God ordered that this incense be mixed from the earth and the sea: the *stacte* resin has its origin on land, but the *onycha* comes from the sea.

So also Moses' sweet oil signified the two peoples:² the same oil that poured from the side of God's beloved Son,³ according to the passage: "Sweet oil emptied out from my Beloved."⁴ From him and through him⁵ will come the full compliment of the faithful.⁶ This is the oil God ordered to be prepared. And Moses received the aromatic reed from the land, but the *smyrna* from the sea. And probably on account of this, Christ took a taste of vinegar when he was on the cross. It was offered on a sponge (from the sea) affixed to a reed (from the land).⁷ Thus, he tasted the bitterness of death, he who had been condemned by two nations to die: the Roman and the Hebrew.⁸ Their type was the pair of criminals: one of whom was saved through his belief; but the Jew was lost through faithlessness.⁹

We also hear of God commanding a garment for the high priest Aaron. He ordered Moses to have it woven from purple thread that was finely spun.¹⁰ Purple thread is made from two living creatures: the terrestrial silk worm and the dye-producing murex of the sea. Therefore, because of this, during the Passion, the two races threw a purple robe on Christ,¹¹ predicting that the Word, the heavenly God, united with the flesh,¹² would rule over these two races.

All this was clearly described beforehand by the other colors, along with the purple of the inner garment, which were woven together in Aaron's other garments.¹³ The linen shone with a brilliance beyond snow,¹⁴ which was a symbol of light, from the light of God the Word.¹⁵ And the woven scarlet wool presented an image of his flesh, for he had a share in the flesh and blood of his children.¹⁶ The garment's azure color, however, was similar to the hue of heaven. For this reason, they who study the weaver's colors also call this color sky-blue.

And we find that the Magi offered to Christ gold from the earth and myrrh from the sea.¹⁷ And exactly so, Joseph and Nicodemus were types of these two people. They anointed Jesus for burial with two unguents: sea myrrh and terrestrial aloe.¹⁸

III 1. From many elaborate demonstrations we learn that the marine and terrestrial animals are a vivid type of these two peoples. And the fish of the Gentiles were blessed, as were the winged birds that evolved from them;¹⁹ but the herds of animals born from the earth did not receive an equal blessing from God.²⁰ And here I am speaking about the people of Israel. So now it is necessary to discuss the reasons why. First: because they were not baptized and had no relationship with the water and the Spirit that is borne upon the water.²¹ Second: they were

¹ Cf Gen 8:21. ² Cf Ex 30:22-25. ³ (beloved Son) Cf Mt 3:17; 12:18; 17:5; Mk 1:11; 9:7; Lk 3:22; 9:35; 2 Pet 1:17. ⁴ S. of S. 1:3. ⁵ Cf Rom 11:36. ⁶ Cf Rom 11:25. ⁷ Cf Mt 27:48; Mk 15:36. ⁸ Cf Mt 20:18-19; 26:65-66; 27:1-26; Mk 14:63-64; 15:1-15; Lk 23:13-25; Jn 18:29-32; 19:4-16. ⁹ Cf Lk 23:39-43. ¹⁰ Cf Ex 28:1-6, 8, 15. ¹¹ Cf Mt 27:28; Mk 15:17; Jn 19:2. ¹² Cf Jn 1:1, 14. ¹³ Cf Ex 28:5-8, 15, 33. ¹⁴ Cf Mt 28:3. ¹⁵ Cf Jn 1:4-9; 3:19-21; 12:46. ¹⁶ Cf Heb 2:14. ¹⁷ Cf Mt 2:11. ¹⁸ Cf Jn 19:38-42. ¹⁹ Cf Gen 1:20-22. ²⁰ Cf Gen 1:24-25. ²¹ Cf Gen 1:2.

234 καὶ] *om.* P 237 λέγων M 242 σκώλικος P 246 ἄλλον N^{acorr} χροιαὶ M
248 ὡς ὑπὲρ χιόνα] ὡσπερ χιόνα P 249 τὸν ἐνησμένον M τὸ νενησμένον P 250 πρὸς -
σαρκός] *om.* P 252 ἀέριον N 253 εὐρίσκειν N τοὺς] ἐτέρους P^{acorr} ἐτέρους P^{corr}
259 εἰπεῖν] *om.* M 262 συγγενειάσαντας M 269 σαλαμών P 270 φυλάσσεται P

γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν Ἰσραήλ, ὅτι ἤμελλον τοὺς
θεῖους νόμους ἀθετεῖν καὶ παραβαίνειν καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς μυρίδας ἐκείνας
κατάραι τὰς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γενέσθαι, πολλῶς πλέον δὲ πάντων διὰ τὴν
μέλλουσιν αὐτῶν εἰς Χριστὸν ἀσέβειαν γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐκ στόματος αὐτοῦ
275 τοὺς μυρίους ἐκείνους ταλαινισμοὺς καὶ ἀποφάσεις τῆς ἐρημώσεως καὶ τῆς
ἀποβολῆς δέχεσθαι.

2. Ὁ δὲ μὴ οὕτω καταδεχόμενος τὰς θείας γραφὰς ἀναπτύσσειν τίνα
ἄρα λέξει ἁμαρτίαν ἡμαρτηκέναι τὰ ζῶα τῆς γῆς πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ὃ τι οὐ
μετέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἰσῆς εὐλογίας τῶν ἰχθύων; Ὅσον γὰρ κατὰ τὴν
280 σωματικὴν κατασκευὴν καὶ φύσιν πολλὴν καὶ ἀσύγκριτον διαφορὰν τὰ
γῆγενῆ ζῶα καὶ κτήνη ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἰχθύας ἔχουσι. Καὶ πειθέτω σε κύων
εὐγνώμων ποιμοφυλάξ καὶ οἰκοφυλάξ καὶ ἀμπελόφρουρος γενόμενος,
καὶ βοῦς καὶ ὄνος ἐπιστάμενοι τοὺς εὐεργέτας αὐτῶν, καὶ ἵππος καὶ
ἡμίονος καὶ κάμηλος ὑπὲρ τὸν λογικὸν ἄνθρωπον πολλάκις τὰς ὁδοὺς, ἃς
285 προσάπαξ ἐβάδισαν, ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ νύκτωρ ἀπλανεῖς ὁδηγοὶ τῶν
οἰκείων δεσποτῶν γενόμενοι. Ὅθεν καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ πολλάκις μετὰ Θεὸν ἡ
τῶν ἵππων καὶ ἡμιόνων καὶ καμήλων ὑπουργία γίνεται σωτηρία, ὧν εἰ
ἠπόρει τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος, διεφθείρετο ἂν μὴ ἐπαρκοῦν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ
ὑπουργίᾳ. Ὅθεν καὶ σοφίαν ἔχειν αὐτὰ ὁ Θεὸς ἐμαρτύρησε πρὸς τὸν
290 συμπαθέστατον καὶ πολυπαθέστατον Ἰωβ διαλεγόμενος πάλαι, ἧς ἀπε-
στέρησε τὴν ἀσίδα καὶ νεσσὰν πετεινὰ τῆς ἐρήμου τυγχάνοντα. Ἐν δὲ
τοῖς θαλαττίοις ἐρπετοῖς τῶν ἰχθύων οὔτε φωνὴ οὔτε γνῶσις οὔτε σοφία
οὔτε ἐπιστήμη οὔτε μνήμη οὔτε γνωριστικὴ αἴσθησις οὔτε πρὸς τὸν
δεσπότην δουλεία τις ἢ εὐνοία ἢ στοργὴ καθέστηκεν, ἅπερ ἅπαντα τὰ
295 τῶν ἰχθύων ἀλόγιστα καὶ ἀναίσθητα ἰδιώματα ἀρμόδια λίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ
λαοῦ τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ νοεῖσθαι καὶ λέγεσθαι. Πρότερον γὰρ κωφὸς ἦν
καθάπερ καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες, μὴ ἀκούων τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ Δεσπότη, ἦν δὲ
ἄφωνος ὥσπερ αὐτοί, οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον,
ἀποφραττόντων αὐτοῦ τὰ ὦτα καὶ τὸ στόμα τῶν δαιμονικῶν ὑδάτων
300 καὶ ἀντισκοτούντων αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιγινῶναι καὶ
ἀτενίσαι τῷ ἡλίῳ Δεσπότη Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ εἰς τύπον
τῶν ἐθνῶν ὁ Θεὸς ἐρπετὰ προσηγόρευσε τοὺς ἰχθύας καὶ ζῶα, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ
ἐρπετὸν ὅμοιον ὑπάρχον τῷ διαβολικῷ ὀφεί τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ
τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς τοῦ στήθους εἰς γῆν ὅλον σύρεται καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν
305 οὐρανίων σκοπεῖ οὐδὲ τῶν ὑψηλῶν θεωρεῖ, ἀλλ' ὅλη τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τῇ γῇ
κεκόλληται ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἕως οὐρᾶς, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς ἕως τέλους τῇ
κοιλίᾳ τῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ τῇ γαστρὶ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ τῆς λαγνείας εἰς γῆν καὶ

deprived of the blessing because the snake was among them, the enemy
that would plot treachery against Eve—rather, against the holy
Church—and they were about to fall beneath Christ's awful curse.¹

In all the Law we do not find a single instance when God, from his
own mouth, blessed someone and then afterwards called down curses
upon him. I know only that he has given blessings accompanied by
provisos. This he did for Israel and Solomon, when he said: "If you keep
my commands and my decrees."² God knew beforehand that both, and
especially Israel, would set aside his divine decrees, and transgressing
they would fall beneath the myriad curses in the Law.³ Yet he knew that
it was going to be far worse, on account of their future sacrilege against
Christ, and that they were going to receive from Jesus' own mouth those
many woeful condemnations of rejection and desolation.⁴

2. Perhaps one does not accept that the Divine Scriptures reveal such
things. Then what sin, you tell me, did the animals commit against God,
so that he did not give to them the same blessing as the fish?⁵

As concerns their physical endowments and their nature, the earth-
born beings and herds are greatly and incomparably superior to the fish.
The good-natured dog will convince you of this. It guards the flocks and
house and watches over the vineyard. Why, even the bull and the ass
know their benefactors. And the horse, mule, and camel often know
roads, which they have travelled once, better than a rational man does.
And at night, they become sure guides for their own masters. Therefore
in war it is often the support provided by the horses, mules, and
camels—after God—that brings salvation. If the human race did not
have these animals, it would be devastated and not capable of helping
itself. These animals have a certain wisdom. God himself testified to this
long ago, when he was speaking to Job, a man who had suffered
grievously and deserved great sympathy.⁶ God, however, deprived the
stork and ostrich, desert birds, of wisdom.⁷ And among the reptiles of
the sea, the fish, there is neither voice nor understanding, neither
wisdom nor much talent, and neither memory nor cognitive sensibility.
There is no service, or good intentions, or affectionate warmth toward
the master.

In fact, all these illogical and senseless idiosyncrasies of fish are
thoughtfully said to be analogous with the people of the Gentiles.
Earlier, these people were deaf, just like the fish, for they did not hear
the voice of their Master. And they were dumb like the fish, for they did
not have in them the Word God. The demonic waters blocked their ears
and mouths, and obstructed their eyes. They could not discern and gaze
upon the sun, the Master, Christ our God.⁸

On account of this, God named both the fish and the animals
"reptiles", to be a type of the Gentiles.⁹ The reptile, being similar to the
diabolical snake¹⁰ in soul, heart, and the thoughts of its heart. It always

271 ἡμῶν P 273 πλέων M^{scor} 277 ἀναπτύσσειν] *correxī* ἀναπτύσειν MNP
278 ἡμαρτηκέναι P 279/80 τὴν σωματικὴν - πολλὴν καὶ] *om.* M^{scor} 280 ἀσύγκριτον]
om. M^{scor} 281 ἀσύγκριτον M^{scor} 283 ἑαυτῶν M 286 γινόμενοι M 289 ἐμαρτύρησε P
291 νεσσὰν] *scripsi* νεσσὰν M^{scor} NP 294 τις] *correxī* τίς MN τε P 296 ἦν M
297 δὲ] *add.* καὶ M 298 ὥσπερ] καθάπερ N 307 κοιλίᾳ] MNP¹ ποιλία P^{scor} ποικιλία P^{scor}

¹ Cf Gen 3:1-5, 13-15. ² Cf Ex 19:5; 1 Kg (3 Kg) 6:12-13; Ezra (2 Esd, Neh) 11:9;
Ezek 20:11-13. ³ Cf Dt 28:15-68. ⁴ Cf Mt 23:37-24:2, 15-22; Mk 13:1-2, 14-20; Lk 13:34-
35; 19:41-44; 21:5-6, 20-24. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:22. ⁶ Cf Job 39:5-8, 19-25. ⁷ Cf Job 39:13-17.
⁸ Cf Is 9:1; Mt 4:16; Lk 1:79. ⁹ Cf Gen 1:20. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 3:1-5.

κόνιν καὶ κόπρον περισυρόμενος. "Οθεν διὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἐρπετὰ τῶν
ἐθνικῶν ἰχθύων πρὸ πάντων τοὺς ἀλιεῖς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκάλεσε.

310 3. Καὶ ὁ πρωτότοκος δὲ υἱός, τουτέστιν ὁ Κάιν, εἰς τύπον τοῦ πρωτο-
τόκου υἱοῦ Ἰσραὴλ γαιπόνος ἐγένετο, ὡς συγγενῆς τῶν γηγενῶν καὶ
ἀνευλογήτων ζώων ὑπάρχων ὁ φονευτὴς τοῦ καλοῦ ποιμένου Ἀβὲλ
Χριστοῦ, περὶ ὧν ἔλεγεν αὐτὸς ὅτι Ὑμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ
315 διαβόλου ἐστέ, τουτέστι τοῦ Κάιν. Πατὴρ γὰρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὁ Κάιν, ὃς
τὰ τοῦ διαβόλου ἔργα μεμίμηται. Ἐκεῖνος ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἦν ἀπ'
ἀρχῆς, τουτέστιν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτίκα τοῦ κόσμου παραγωγῆς τὸν ἴδιον
πεφονευκῶς ἀδελφόν. Καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄρα ἀνθρωποκτόνοι ἐσσεθε κατὰ μίμησιν,
τὸ γὰρ ἀνθρώπινον θανατώσετέ μου τοῦ Ἰησοῦ λύμην οὐδεμίαν ὡς Θεῶ
μοι ἐπάξοντες διὰ τὸ ἀνεγχεῖρητον.

320 4. Ταύτας δὲ πάσας τὰς μαρτυρίας παρηγάγομεν εἰς καύχημα καὶ
ἀγαλλίαμα τῆς ἀγίας Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας. Μεγίστην γὰρ τὴν ὠφέλειαν
καὶ τὸν σπληνισμόν οἱ πιστοὶ κομιζόμεθα μαυθάνοντες ὅτι εὐθέως, ἡνίκα ὁ
οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐκτίζοντο, ἕκτοτε ὁ τῶν θαλασσιῶν ὑδάτων λαὸς τῶν
ἐρπετῶν ἰχθύων τὴν εὐλογίαν παρὰ Θεοῦ ἐκομίσαστο, ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ
325 ἀσώτου υἱοῦ τούτου τοῦ ἐθνικοῦ ὁ εἰς τὸν ἀγρόν τῆς ἀμπέλου τοῦ
Ἰσραὴλ γαιπόνος μεμένηκεν ἀνευλόγητος μὴ καταδεχόμενος ἕως τοῦ νῦν
εἰσελθεῖν καὶ μεταλαβεῖν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ μόσχου τοῦ
σιτευτοῦ. Σιτευτὸς δὲ μόσχος ὁ Χριστὸς ὀνομάζεται, ἐπεὶ διὰ τὸ πολλῶν
τῶν χρόνων τοῦ γάμου καὶ τῆς ἐνώσεως αὐτοῦ τῆς πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
330 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου Πατρὸς εἰς βρώσιν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡντρεπιζέτο καὶ οἰονεῖ
ἐσιτεύετο τὸ μυστήριον. Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς τὴν πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων βουλήν ἀρ-
χαίαν ἀληθινὴν ἀπεκάλυψεν εἰς δόξαν ἡμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν, καθὼς Ἡσαΐας
καὶ Παῦλος βοᾷ.

335 IV 1. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ
καθ' ὁμοίωσιν.

Κατὰ γοῦν τοὺς λόγους τῆς ἀναγωγῆς τὸν Χριστὸν ἐνταῦθα νοήσεις,
ἐφ' οὗ τό· Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον λέγεται, ὅταν τὸν ἄνθρωπον προσελά-
βετο, τὸ δὲ· Ποιήσωμεν οὐχὶ μόνος ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμά φασι, ὁ μὲν
ὡς εὐδοκῶν, τὸ δ' ὡς προετοιμάζον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς ὡς Θεὸς συμφωνεῖ
340 περὶ τοῦ γενησομένου, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν φανῇ ἀσπασζό-
μενος. Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ἐξεαστέτον ἄλλως τὸ ῥῆμα. Καὶ ἤδη μὲν, ἡμῖ, περὶ
τούτου κατὰ τὸ ἡμῖν ἐφικτὸν διεπονθήσαν λόγοι πολλοί, κάκεῖ παρα-
πέμπομεν τοὺς οἷς φίλον ὅλως τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν ἐντυγχάνειν. "Ολως δέ,
ἵνα μὴ δίκην τινὸς ἡκρωτηριασμένου μέλους ἢ σώματος ἢ πραγματείας
345 ὑπάρχει, τὰ ἐν ἐκείνοις ἐλλίπῃ ἀναπληρωτέον ἐνταῦθα. Εἰσὶ δὲ ταῦτα.

311 υἱοῦ] om. N γαιπόνος MN 317 ὑμεῖς] ἡμεῖς M 324 ἐκομίσαντο P 325 τῆς] τοῦ
MN 326 γαιπόνος M 328 Σιτευτὸς] σιτὸς P 334 ποι | Ἡσάμεν P^{corr}
336 ἐνταῦτα P 338 ποι | ἡσάμεν P 339 προετοιμάζων P συμφωνεῖ M 340 τοῦ] om. P
341 ἡμῖ] N^{corr} P ἡμῖ M εἰμῖ N^{corr} cf. a nobis [ἡμῖν] Hn. 345 ὑπάρχει P ἐν P
ἐνταῦτα M

drags itself along the earth. It sees nothing of the heavens; it does not
contemplate the heights. From head to tail it is glued to the ground its
whole life long. With its belly filled with pleasures, its stomach devoted
to sexual license, it drags itself through dirt and excrement along the
earth from beginning to end. Thus Christ called fishermen¹ for these
reptiles, the Gentile fish, before all others.

3. The first-born son, Cain, became a worker of the earth² as a type of
the first-born son Israel. And as a relative of those unblessed animals
born from the earth, he became the murderer of the good shepherd
Abel,³ a type of Christ.⁴ Jesus himself said of them: "*You are from your
father, the devil.*"⁵ That is, from Cain. For the father of the Jews is Cain,
who mimicked the works of the devil. From the very start, he was a
murderer.⁶ That is: at the very beginning of the production of the world,
Cain murdered his own brother.

"And you will be murderers in imitation. You will kill the human part
of me, Jesus. You will cause no damage, though, to me as God, because
that is beyond your reach."

4¹. We have presented all this evidence for the pride and joy of
Christ's holy Church. We the faithful gain much help and stability
learning that as soon as heaven and earth were created,⁷ the people of
the waters of the seas, the crawling fish, received God's benediction.⁸
But the brother of this prodigal son (the Gentile), the one who was a
cultivator of the vinyard of Israel out in the field,⁹ remained unblessed.
And to this day, he has not been allowed to enter and share in the body
and blood¹⁰ of the fattened young bull.¹¹

Christ is called a fattened young bull, because long before his
wedding and unification with the Church,¹² he was prepared by his own
Father as a feast for the nations;¹³ and the mystery was fattened, so to
speak. And this ancient and genuine plan, made before the start of time,
was revealed by God for our glory, the glory of the Gentiles,¹⁴ as both
Isaiah and Paul proclaimed.¹⁵

IV 1. And God said: "*Let us make man in our image and likeness.*"¹⁶

Following the principles of anagogical interpretation, you should
think that the phrase *let us make man* was said about Christ, when he
adopted his humanity. But *let us make*? Not only the Father and Spirit
were speaking. The former approved; and the latter made the prepara-
tion. But also the Son, as God, was speaking with them about what was
to happen, so that even he would be seen as welcoming the Incarnation.

But first, we must analyze this passage in another way. I know that
already, with much hard work, I have written many essays about this
passage—as was within my reach. And I refer you to them—you to
whom it is pleasing to read the works written by me.¹⁷ But so that my
opus might not be like a severed limb or amputated body, the things
that were left out of my previous works are provided here. They are the
following.

¹ Cf Mt 4:18-22; Mk 1:16-20; Lk 5:1-11. ² Cf Gen 4:1-2. ³ Cf Gen 4:8. ⁴ Cf Jn 10:11;
Heb 12:24. ⁵ Jn 8:44. ⁶ Cf Jn 8:44. ⁷ Cf Gen 1:1. ⁸ Cf Gen 1:20-22. ⁹ Cf Is 5:2;
Jn 15:1. ¹⁰ Cf Mt 26:26-29; Mk 14:22-25; Lk 22:14-20; Jn 6:53-56; 1 Cor 11:23-25.
¹¹ Cf Lk 15:13-32. ¹² Cf Mt 22:2. ¹³ Cf Jn 6:55. ¹⁴ Cf 1 Cor 2:7. ¹⁵ Cf Is 25:1.
¹⁶ Gen 1:26. ¹⁷ Cf CPG 7747-9; CCSG 12.

2. Τί δήποτε οὐ διέστειλεν ὁ Θεὸς μεταξύ τῆς τῶν ζώων τῶν ἐκ γῆς ποιήσεως καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καθὰ διείλε μεταξὺ τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ τῶν γηγενῶν ζώων, ἀλλ' ὥς τινος συγγενοῦς αὐτῶν ὄντος τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπον καὶ αὐτὰ ἐδημιούργησεν; Ὡσπερ καὶ τις τῶν ἐξηγητῶν ἐπιλυόμενος διὰ τὸ συγγενὲς Χριστοῦ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους τὸ κατὰ σάρκα εἶναι ἔφησε τὴν τοιαύτην ὁμοκτησίαν. "Ὅθεν φησὶν ὁ αὐτός· Ἔστι θεάσασθαι καὶ θαυμάσαι ὅτι περ ταῦτα πλησίον αὐτοῦ καὶ συγγενῇ τυγχάνοντα κτήνη καὶ ζῶα καταλιπὼν οὗτος ὁ ἀνθρώπος εἰσῆλθε καὶ ἐδόθη ὑπὸ Θεοῦ εἰς τὸν παράδεισον ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ φυλάσσειν.
355 Ἔτερα δὲ τινὰ καὶ δεῦτερα ζῶα, μᾶλλον δὲ θηρία, ἑτερογενῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ μακρὰν ἀπέχοντα ἤγαγε (μὴ) πρότερα, ἀλλὰ ἔσχατα, ἅτινα εἰσὶν αἱ ἀγέλαι τῶν θηρίων ἐθνῶν.

3. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο γνωστόν καὶ σκοπητέον ὅτι αὕτη πρώτη φωνὴ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ | εἴρηται πληθυντικῶς, λέγω δὲ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος σημαντική, ἢ λέγουσα ἐπὶ μόνῃς τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς· *Ποιήσωμεν 931A ἀνθρώπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν*, ὡσανεὶ τριῶν τινῶν διαφορῶν προσώπων, εἰ οὕτω θέμις εἰπεῖν, ἐκ κοινῆς βουλῆς καὶ ὁμονοίας εἰκόνα τινὰ καὶ στήλην κατασκευαζόντων καὶ τοῦ καθ' ἑνὸς τούτων οἰκεῖόν τι ἱνδαλμα καὶ ἀπήχημα καὶ τύπον ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ποιοῦντος, ἵνα ἢ
365 ἐν αὐτῇ σωματικώτερον καὶ παχύτερον τὸ ὁρώμενον, λέγω δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἦν τῶν ἀμφιθέων τεχνιτῶν τὸ ὕψος, τοῦ δὲ ἑτέρου τὸ εὖρος, καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου τὸ βάθος. Οὕτω γὰρ κυρίως ἐστὶν εἰκὼν καὶ στήλη κατὰ μίμησιν καὶ τύπον καὶ εἰκόνα τῶν διαφορῶν αὐτῆς τεχνιτῶν τῆς μιᾶς καὶ ἀδιαίρετου τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ μόνου Θεοῦ οὐσίας καὶ φύσεως, τῆς μὲν ψυχῆς ἐν
370 τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ νοουμένης εἰς εἰκόνα Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός, καθὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς προνομασθεῖσι δύο ἐνομίσαμεν λόγοις τοῖς ἰδίᾳ ἐκδοθεῖσι περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς, τοῦ δὲ λόγου ταύτης τοῦ ἐνδιαθέτου διαγράφωντος τὸν ἐκ Πατρὸς γεννώμενον Θεὸν Λόγον, νοῦ δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα φέροντος τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ παναγίου.

375 4. Τὴν δὲ γε ταύτην ἡμῶν ποτε προβαλλομένων τῷ Ἑβραίῳ φωνῇ, πολλὰς γὰρ καὶ πολλάκις τὰς μετὰ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν συνεστησάμεθα τὰς ἀντιρρήσεις, ἃς καὶ ἐσχεδιάσαμεν, ἀντέφασκεν ὁ κακοῦργος καὶ βασιλέα τινὰ μονώτατον ὄντα δυνατὸν εἰπεῖν τό· *Ποιήσωμεν*, καὶ τό· Ἐκελεύσαμεν. Ἀπαντησάντων δ' ἡμῶν καὶ φησάντων ὅτι Καὶ τί δήποτε
380 πρὸ τῆς ποιήσεως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐ φαίνεται ὁ Θεὸς ἐπ' ἄλλου οἰουδήποτε ποιήματος χρησάμενος τῷ· *Ποιήσωμεν* καὶ εἰπὼν αὐτό, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ μόνου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πάλιν τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα γυναικός, ἡνίκα εἶπε· *Ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθόν*, οὐκ ἦν πρὸς ταῦτα τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ φωνῇ οὔτε πάλιν ἀντίρρησις. Ἀδύνατον γὰρ εἶναι τὸν ἀνθρώπον κατ' εἰκόνα τῶν

2. Why did God not separate the creation of the animals of earth from the creation of humanity? He had already made a separation between the animals born from the earth and the fish.¹ But he crafted the animals and the human being on the same day, as if there were some kinship between them.

In fact, one of the biblical exegetes, trying to solve this puzzle, said that such a similarity in their creation was due to the physical kinship between Christ and the Jews.² This exegete continued, saying: "It is possible to observe and to marvel at the fact that the man left these herds and animals, which were near to and had a kinship with humanity. He entered the garden and was ordered by God to work it and protect it."³

Man brought into the garden, not in the first place but last, some other secondary animals—or rather, wild beasts—that were of a different race from himself and kept far off; these are the herds of the wild races.

3. Next, we need to look closely and understand that this was the first voice in sacred Scripture that spoke in the plural. I think it is indicative of the Holy Trinity, when it says, only at the creation of the human: "*Let us make man in our image and likeness.*"⁴ It is as if three distinct individuals—if it is appropriate to use this language—with a common and unanimous plan were preparing an icon, indeed a monument. And each one of them crafted in the monument one's own form and echo and type. Thus, the visible in it became more physical and more substantial. I mean, it had the height of one of the divine craftsmen, the breadth of another, and the depth of the third. It was definitely an iconic monument, which was a replica, a type, an image of its different craftsmen and likewise of the one and indivisible essence and nature of the one and only God. Our soul can be regarded as the image of God the Father. This was already made public in two of my essays about the creation of man, which we have already mentioned and which were published independently. But our soul's innate reason provides a picture of God the Word, begotten from the Father. And finally, its mind carries the image of the Holy Spirit.

4. We once presented this passage to a Hebrew. (We have had many and frequent impromptu debates with their race.) He argued in wily fashion that any king, although completely on his own, could say: "*Let us make*" and "*Let us call.*"

We countered, saying: "Then why does God not appear at another such act, before the creation of man, using in another statement the royal plural: '*Let us make*'? Why was it only at the creation of man—and again afterwards, at the creation of his wife, when he said: '*Let us make a helper for him*'?"⁵

The Jew had no answer to this. And there was no further argument.

It is impossible that a man be in the image of those saying: "*Let us*

351 ὁμοκτησίαν] MN²corr. P ὁμοκτησίαν NP^{corr.} 356 μὴ] *addidi*; cf. Hv. 361 καθ' ὁμοίωσιν] καθομοίωσιν MP 363 καὶ] ἢ MN 364 στείλη] P^acorr. 371 προνομασθεῖσι] N^acorr. προνομασθεῖσι P^acorr. 372/3 γράφοντος P 375 ποτε] *om.* P 379 ἐκελεύσανμεν M 382 εἶτε N

¹ Cf Gen 1:20-22, 24-25. ² Cf Rom 1:3; 9:4-5. ³ Cf Gen 2:15. ⁴ Gen 1:26. ⁵ Gen 2:18.

385 λεγόντων· Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίω-
σιν, εἰ μὴ φέρει ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐκάστου τούτων τῶν τεχνιτῶν τύπον τινὰ ἴδιον
ἢ ἀπήχημα.

5. "Ὅθεν τὸ μὲν κατ' εἰκόνα τριαδικὸν ἐν τῇ οὐσίᾳ τῆς ἀσωμάτου καὶ
νοερᾶς καὶ ἀύλου καὶ ἀκαταλήπτου ψυχῆς ἡμῶν πάντες ἄνθρωποι
390 ὁμοίως ἔχομεν, τὸ δὲ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ μόνοι οἱ δι' ἐναρέτου πολι-
τείας ἑαυτοὺς ἀνεκτήσαντο οἱ τὸν Θεὸν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔνοικον ἔχοντες καὶ
οἰονεῖ πῶς τῇ χάριτι χριστοὶ ὄντες ἐν θεότητι ἅμα καὶ ἀνθρωπότητι. Διὰ
τοῦτο καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δις ἐξηγουμένη ἡ θεία γραφή καὶ λέγουσα ὅτι *Καὶ*
ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν οὐ
395 *προστίθησι τὸ· Καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, ὡς τοῦ κατ' εἰκόνα μὲν θεοκτίστου καὶ*
φυσικοῦ ὄντος ἐν ἡμῖν, τοῦ δὲ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν προαιρετικοῦ τινος καὶ δι'
ἐναρέτου πολιτείας ἐπεισάκτου καὶ προσληπτοῦ. Διόπερ τοῦτο ἡμᾶς
διδάσκων ὁ συνώνυμος τοῦ Λόγου θεολόγος Ἰωάννης φησὶν ἐπιστέλλων
τισί· Τεκνία, νῦν τέκνα Θεοῦ ἐσμεν, τουτέστι διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, καὶ
400 *οὕτω ἐφανερώθη τὸ τί ἐσόμεθα. Ἐὰν φανερωθῇ, ὅμοιοι αὐτῷ ἐσόμεθα,*
ὅτι ὁψόμεθα αὐτὸν καθὼς ἐστίν. Ὅρᾳς ὅτι μετὰ τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα
ἐνάρετον πολιτείαν λέγει γεννητικὴν τοῦ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, ὅπερ ἐὰν φα-
νερωθῇ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὄψεται αὐτὸν ἐν ἑαυτῇ συμμορφουμένη αὐτῷ καὶ
συνομοιουμένη, καθ' ὅσον χωρεῖ καὶ δύναται ὁ ἄνθρωπος. "Ὅθεν καὶ
405 *τοῦτο ἐσύλησέ τις τῶν ἔξω μωροφιλοσόφων ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας γραφῆς*
φιλοσοφίαν εἶναι εἰπὼν ὁμοίωσιν Θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἀνθρώπῳ,
ταύτῃ τῇ Μωσαϊκῇ ἐγκύψας ἱερᾷ γραφῇ τῇ λεγούσῃ· Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός·
Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, καὶ
ἀρχέτωσαν τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
410 *καὶ τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐρπετῶν τῶν*
ἐρπόντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

V 1. Εὐκαιρον δὲ ἡμῖν ἐνταῦθα παραγενομένοις ὑμῆσαι τὰ πάνσοφα
καὶ πάμφωτα θεοπαράδοτα λόγια τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος καὶ εἰπεῖν·
415 *Λύχνος ὄντως τοῖς ποσὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁ νόμος σου καὶ φῶς ταῖς τρίβοις*
ἡμῶν. Ἀκούσωμεν γὰρ οἷον μέγιστον καὶ ἀκαταμάχητον ὄπλον ἡμῖν
ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Θεὸς συνεστήσατο κατὰ Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ βαρβάρων καὶ
Σαμαρειτῶν τῶν διασυρόντων καὶ διαπαιζόντων τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν
πίστιν ὡς τρεῖς τινες θεοὺς σεβομένων τὴν ὁμοούσιον καὶ ἁγίαν Τριάδα.
420 *Λεγούσης γὰρ τῆς γραφῆς τὰ δύο πρόσωπα, λέγω δὴ τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ τὴν*
Εὐάν, ἓνα ἄνθρωπον καὶ οὐ δύο, ἐλέγχομεν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τῆς ἀληθείας,
ὅτιπερ ὁ ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις ἀνυμνούμενος Θεὸς εἷς Θεὸς ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ
τρεῖς διὰ τὸ ὁμοούσιον τῆς φύσεως, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῆς

make man in our image and likeness—unless he carry in himself a close
type or echo of each of those creators.

5. Therefore, all we humans alike possess the triple *image* in the
essence of our incorporeal, noetic, immaterial, and incomprehensible
soul. They and only they, however, who have revived themselves
through virtuous conduct possess the *likeness*. They have God living in
themselves,¹ and somehow through grace are Christs in both divinity
and humanity. Therefore, Divine Scripture said this once and then a
second time: *And God made the human, in the image of God he made*
*him.*² But it did not add "in the likeness". That which is *in the image* was
created by God and is our inborn nature. But that which is *in the*
likeness is something related to our free will. Through conduct in virtue
it is acquired and added.

John the Theologian, whose name is synonymous with the Logos,
teaches us this. He says in a letter: *Little children,³ now we are children*
of God. (That is, through Baptism.) *But it has not yet become apparent*
what we are going to be. When it is revealed, we will be like him, because
*we will see him as he is.*⁴ You see: he says that after holy Baptism, a
virtuous conduct generates this *likeness*. When this is revealed in the
heart, the heart will see him in itself because it is conforming to him and
is becoming like him⁵—according to the person's ability and how much is
possible.

A stupid pagan philosopher stole this from our Scripture. He said
that philosophy is likeness to God, according to the person's ability. He
was, in fact, peeping at this sacred Mosaic passage, where it says: *And*
God said: "Let us make man in our image and likeness. And let them rule
over the fish of the sea and the birds of heaven and the herds and all the
*earth and all the reptiles crawling upon the earth."*⁶

V 1. Having arrived here, it is a good time for us to sing praises to the
Holy Spirit's words, God-given and full of light and wisdom. Truly, *your*
*Law is a lantern for the feet of the Church and a light for our paths.*⁷ Let
us hear how great and invincible a weapon God put together here for us
against the Jews, barbarians, and Samarites, who are tearing apart and
mocking the faith of Christians. They say that Christians worship the
Trinity—consubstantial and holy—as three gods. But since Scripture
states that the two persons, Adam and Eve, were one human and not
two,⁸ we can confound the enemies of the Truth. God is worshipped in
three Persons, although through the consubstantiality of his nature, he
is one God and not three. This is similar to the situation of Adam

¹ Cf Rom 8:9. ² Gen 1:27, 5:1. ³ 1 Jn 2:28. ⁴ 1 Jn 3:2. ⁵ Cf Rom 8:29; Phil 3:10.
⁶ Gen 1:26. ⁷ Ps 118(119):105. ⁸ Cf Gen 1:27.

392 ἀνθρωπότητι] *add.* καὶ M^a ^{corr.} 393 καὶ] *om.* N 396 ὄντος - προαιρετικοῦ] *om.* M^a ^{corr.}
399 νῦν] *ὅν* P *ad initium lineae* 400 ἐσόμεθα] ἐσώμεθα P 402 ἐνάρετων M^a ^{corr.} 407 τῇ] *om.* M
409 ἀρχέτωσαν N^a ^{corr.} ἀρχετώσαν P 410 τῶν ἐρπετῶν] *om.* M^a ^{corr.} ἐρπετῶν
M^p ^{corr.} 412 ἐνταῦθα M παραγενομένης M 413 πάνφωτα P 417 τὴν] *om.* M^a ^{corr.}
422 καὶ] *om.* M

Εὐας. Διὰ γὰρ τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ ὁμοούσιον αὐτῶν ἄκουσον πῶς καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα τοῦ κόσμου ἓνα ἀνθρωπον ὀνομάζει ὁ Θεὸς λέγων· *Ποιήσωμεν ἀνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν, τοὺς δύο ἓνα λέγων ἀνθρωπον.* Καὶ πάλιν φησὶν· *Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἀνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς.* Ἰδού καὶ ἐνταῦθα τοὺς δύο ἓνα ἀνθρωπον ὀνομάζει, ἵνα σοι καὶ ὅπλα παράσχη τοῦ δεῖξαι ὅτι ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς δύο ὄντες ὑποστάσεις εἰς Θεὸς ὑπάρχει.

2. "Ὅθεν καὶ μέλλων ἐπάγειν τὸν κατακλισμὸν, φησὶ πρὸς τὸν Νῶε ὁ Θεός· *Καιρὸς παντὸς ἀνθρώπου ἔκει ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ.* Ἰδού πληθὸς ἀνθρώπων σημαίνει. Ἀκουσον οὖν πῶς ὅλον πληθὸς τοῦτο ἓνα ἀνθρωπον ὀνομάζει λέγων πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Νῶε· *Ἀπαλείψω τὸν ἀνθρωπον, ὃν ἐποίησα.* Εἰ οὖν τὰς ἀμετρήτους τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων προσώπων μυριάδας ἓνα ἀνθρωπον λέγει διὰ τὸ ὁμοούσιον τῆς φύσεως, πόσῳ γε μᾶλλον οὐ δυνατόν ἐστι τὰ τρία τῆς θεότητος ὁμοούσια πρόσωπα ἓνα λέγεσθαι Θεόν;

3. Καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις δὲ μυρίοις τόποις εὐρήσεις τὴν θείαν γραφὴν ἓνα ἀνθρωπον ὀνομάζουσιν ὅλον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος, ὡς ὅταν πάλιν μετὰ τὸν κατακλισμὸν λέγει περὶ παντὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπινου γένους ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι *Ἐγκτεται ἡ διάνοια τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπιμελῶς ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρὰ ἐκ νεότητος αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάλιν· Ἀνθρώπος ματαιότητι ὠμοιώθη, καὶ Ἀνθρώπος, ὡσεὶ χόρτος αἱ ἡμέραι | αὐτοῦ, καὶ· Τί ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπος, ὅτι* 933A *λογίζει αὐτοῦ; καὶ· Ἠλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους, καὶ Δόξη καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν.* Ἀκούεις, ὦ ἄφρον Ἰουδαῖε, καὶ σὺ βάρβαρε, καὶ ὁ Σαμαρίτης, πῶς πᾶσα ἡ ἀνθρωπότης ὀνομάζεται; Οὐκοῦν τῷ αὐτῷ κανόνι καὶ ἡ θεότης εἰς Θεὸς ἐστὶ καὶ προσαγορεύεται, καὶ ὁ Ἰσραὴλ ἐξακόσια χιλιάδες ὧν εἰς Ἰσραὴλ λέγεται, καὶ ὁ Ἀσσύριος, ὅλον τὸ ἔθνος, μονοπροσώπως καλεῖται, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Πέρσης καὶ ὁ Ὑπερβόρεος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔθνη ἐν μυρίαις μυριάσι πρόσωπα ὄντα μονοπροσώπου τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔχουσι.

4. Τοῦ Θεοῦ περὶ ἡμῶν τῶν Χριστιανῶν κρεῖττον τι προβλεψαμένου, μᾶλλον δ' ἵνα τὰς πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις παρήσω τὰς διὰ μαρτυριῶν συγκροτούμενας, φυσικὴν καὶ αὐτόθεν ἀποδεδειγμένην ἀπὸ τοῦ παρ' Ἰουδαίων ὑβριζομένου ῥήματος τὴν ἀπόδοσιν ποιησόμεθα. Φησὶ γάρ· *Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός, ὅρα τὸ ἐνικόν· Ποιήσωμεν, ὅρα καὶ τὸ πληθυντικόν, καὶ τὸ μὲν πάντως τῇ φύσει προσενείμης, τὸ δὲ τοῖς προσώποις, καὶ οὐκ ἀνάπαλιν.* Εἰ γὰρ τῇ φύσει τὸ πληθυντικόν ἀποδώῃς, τότε συνῆξας τὸ 460 *ἄτοπον, εἰ δὲ τοῖς προσώποις, οὐδὲν τὸ δεινόν, ὁρᾷς γὰρ ἐν μυρίοις*

and Eve. On account of their relatedness and consubstantiality, God refers to them and all humankind as one person. Listen how he says: *"Let us make man in our image and likeness, and let them govern."*¹ He is referring to the two as one person. And again he says: *And God made man, in the image of God he made him, male and female he made them.*² Look, even here he names the two as one human. This is so that he might provide you with weapons to show that the Father and Son, although two Persons, are one God.

2. It was for this reason that God, when he was going to send down the flood, said to Noah: *"The season of every person has come before me."*³ See: he meant a great number of human beings. Now hear how he calls this whole multitude one man, when he says again to Noah: *"I will eradicate the man whom I made."*⁴ He calls countless myriads of individuals one person, because of the consubstantiality of their nature. Then is it not even more possible that the three consubstantial Persons of the Divinity are called one God?

3. You will find that Divine Scripture in many other places uses the term *one man* for the entire human race. For instance, after the flood, God says about humanity: *"From infancy, the thinking of man is focused attentively on doing evil."*⁵ And again: *Man has a resemblance to madness.*⁶ And then: *Man: his days are like grass.*⁷ And: *What is man, that you give a thought to him?* And: *You have made him hardly less than the angels.* And: *You crowned him with honor and glory.*⁸

Do you hear, you senseless Jew and you barbarian and you Samaritan, how all humanity is called? Is it not according to the same principle that Divinity is, and is called, one God? Even Israel, although consisting of six hundred thousand people, is called one *Israel*.⁹ And *the Assyrian*: the entire race is referred to as one person.¹⁰ Likewise *the Persian*, and *the Hyperborean*, and the rest of the races: although they consist of thousands of thousands of people, they are referred to as a single person.

4. God foresaw something better for us Christians. However, rather than going over the many other pieces of evidence from testimonies supporting the argument above, we will give an answer that is natural and proves itself, taken from a remark that was mocked by the Jews:

"Scripture says: *And God said.* See the singular? Then: *'Let us make.'* See the plural? You might certainly assign the former statement to the nature of God, and the latter to the Persons—but not the reverse. For if you assign the plural to the nature, you have introduced an anomaly. But if you assign the plural to the Persons, you have done nothing strange. For one may see one nature existing in a great number of people."

¹ Gen 1:26. ² Gen 1:27. ³ Gen 6:13. ⁴ Gen 6:7. ⁵ Gen 8:21. ⁶ Ps 143(144):4.

⁷ Ps 102(103):15. ⁸ Ps 8:5-6. ⁹ Cf Ex 12:37; Num 11:21; 1 Sam 11:8; Ec 16:10, 46:8.

¹⁰ Cf Mic 5:4; Zeph 2:13.

428 καὶ] om. P 432 ἀνθρώπου] ἀν(θρώπ)ον N 439 εὐρίσεις P 441 κατακλεισμένον P 447 Σαμαρίτης] correxi σαμαρείτης MN σαμαρείτης P 448 προσαγορεύει | βεται M 449 ἀσσύριος P ὅλλον P 451 μυρίοις P 455/6 ἀποδεδειγμένην - ῥήματος] ἀποδεδειγμένου ῥήματος N 456 ἀπόδωσιν P 457 καὶ] om. P 458 προσενείμεις P^{corr} 460 γὰρ] om. P

πλήθουσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων μίαν τὴν φύσιν ὑπάρχουσιν.

5. Ταῦτα ἡμῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βίβλῳ τῇ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων εἰρηκότων πλατύτερον οὐ κατὰ τινὰ λήθην κἀνθάδε ἐτέθη. Φίλον γὰρ ἡμῖν, εἰ δυνατὸν ἦν, καὶ ἐπ' ἀγορῶν καὶ ἀμφοδῶν προκεῖσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς γνῶσιν τε καὶ νόησιν τῶν πιστῶν, αἰσχύνῃν δὲ καὶ ἐντροπῇν Ἰουδαίων καὶ βαρβάρων, ὥς προεῖπον, τῶν κατὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας τὰς γλῶσσας κινούντων.

VI 1. Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐρπετῶν τῶν ἐρπόντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

Ὁκνηρότερους μὲν ἡμᾶς ποιεῖ εἰς τὸ πάλιν τὰ αὐτὰ λέγειν τὸ ἤδη ἐν ἄλλοις περὶ τούτων προεξηγήσασθαι, θαυμάζω δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τοὺς μόνῳ τῷ γράμματι ἐναπομείναντας καὶ ἐνταῦθα καὶ φήσαντας τὴν σωματικὴν τῶν ἰχθύων τε καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ θηρίων πάντων αὐθεντίαν καὶ δεσποτείαν εἶναι τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ. Οὐτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ πρωτόπλαστος εὐρίσκομεν ὅτι ἐδέσποσέ ποτε τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἕτερός τις τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος γεγεννημένων δικαίων. Δεσποτείαν δὲ λέγω οὐ τὴν διὰ τεχνικῆς τινης ἐπινοίας καὶ θηρευτικῶν ὀργάνων τε καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων συνισταμένην, ὥς τισιν ἔδοξε λέγειν, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ὁ Γαβαλεώτης ἐστίν. Ἐκείνη γὰρ οὐ δεσποτεία, ἀλλὰ πανουργία καὶ δολιότης ἐστίν. Ὁ γὰρ δεσπότης τινός, καὶ μάλιστα κατ' ἐπιτροπῇν Θεοῦ, οὐ μετ' ἐπινοίας, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἐξουσίας καὶ αὐθεντίας προφανοῦς δεσπάζει.

2. Εἰ δὲ ὥς εἰκὸς οἱ βασκανοποιοὶ κἀν τούτῳ ἀντιλέγουσιν, ἐκ δύο κορυφαίων τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀγίων ἀνδρῶν τὸν λόγον πιστώσομαι. Οἶμαι δὲ πρὸς σὲ λέγειν πάλιν ὃ τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ εἶπον· Εἰ γέγονέ τις ἐν ἀνθρώποις κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, ἢ ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ ἱεροδρόμος Ἰωάννης ὁ μείζων πάντων τῶν ἐκ γενετῆς γυναικῶν, ὡσαύτως καὶ Πέτρος ἐκεῖνος ἢ κορυφαία καὶ πρεσβυτάτη τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων ἀκρότης, | οὐδ' 934A οὗτοι πάντων ἐδέσποσαν. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν οὐκ ἐδέσποσε Πέτρος πάντων τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης ἄκουσαν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος πρὸς τὸν δεσπόσαντα ἀληθῶς καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν λογικῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς Ἰησοῦν ὅτι Διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτός, ἴσως τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς λατρείας, κοπιᾶσαντες οὐδὲν ἐπιάσαμεν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ῥήματί σου, δηλαδή τῇ εἰς σε πίστει, χαλάσω τὸ δίκτυον τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ λόγου ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ τοῦ κόσμου τῶν ἐθνῶν. Περὶ δὲ πάλιν Ἰωάννου ὁ συνωνυμῶν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίῳ φησὶν ὅτι Ἰωάννης

5. We have discussed these things more fully in our second book of polemic against the Jews. And they were included here not out of forgetfulness. How we would love to proclaim such things in the markets and streets, if that were feasible! The faithful then might think them over and understand. And the Jews and pagans—as I said before—who wag their tongues against Christ and his Church, might feel some shame and learn some modesty.

VI 1. "Let us make man in our image and likeness. And let them rule over the fish of the sea and the birds of heaven and the cattle and all the earth and all the reptiles crawling upon the earth."¹

I am rather reluctant to repeat the things that I have explained already in other books about these sentences. Yet I am amazed at those who at the present time persist in dwelling on the literal meaning alone, even here, and especially those who say that the image and likeness of God in man is his physical authority and domination over the fish and birds and all the beasts. We find that the first-formed man himself did not control all the fish of the sea. Nor did any other of the just that were born in time. I say that dominion is not established through some technological inventiveness or hunting weapons or strategies. (This passage seemed to say so to some, among whom was Severian of Gabala.) This is not dominion, but is trickery and deceit. For, one that rules over something, especially according to God's command, does not do so through ingenuity. Rather, one rules with power and clearly supreme authority.

2. If—as is likely—some malicious people argue against this, I will confirm the statement through two saintly men, who were leaders of the Church. And I think it fitting to repeat to you my remark to the Jew.

If anyone among men was born in the image and likeness of God, surely it was he, the forerunner John,² who was greater than all born from women.³ So also Peter, the leading and most senior head of the holy apostles. Yet even these two were not rulers over all. Indeed, Peter did not control all the fish of the sea. Listen to him speaking to the one that truly ruled the fish of the sea, the birds of heaven, the rational creatures, and all the earth. Listen to him say to Jesus: "Through all the night (that is, throughout Jewish worship), although we worked hard, we caught nothing. But at your word (obviously, through faith in you), I will lower the net of the evangelical Word into the sea of the world of the Gentiles."⁴ And listen to what was said about John by one with the same name, in the gospel according to John: John did not perform a miracle,

¹ Gen 1:26. ² Cf Ex 23:20; Mal 3:1; Mt 11:10; Mk 1:2-4; Lk 7:27. ³ Cf Mt 11:11; Lk 7:28.

⁴ Lk 5:5.

461 φύσιν] om. P 474 τὴν] om. N 481/2 Ἐκείνη - ἐστίν.] om. N 483 μετ' ἐπινοίας] μετ' πινούσας P^{corr} 485 βασκανοποιοὶ N 487 ὃ τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ εἶπον] scripsi τὸν Ἰουδαῖον εἰπεῖν MNP Εἰ γέγονέ] ἐγένετό P 488 καθ'] om. P 489 γενετῆς N 491 πάντων - Πέτρος] om. M per homoeoteleuton 496 λατρείας P 495/6 τῷ ῥήματί] τῶν ἡματί M^{corr}

500 μέν σημείον ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ ἐν. Πῶς οὖν ὁ σημείον μὴ ποιήσας καὶ Πέτρος ὁ
 τῶν ἰχθύων μὴ δεσπόσας κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ δύναται λέγεσ-
 θαι; Ὁ γὰρ τῶν ζώων καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν κατὰ θείαν
 ἐπιτροπὴν δεσπόζων λέγει τῷ λέοντι· Ἐρχου καὶ ἔρχεται, καὶ τῷ ἀετῷ·
 Πορεύου καὶ πορεύεται, καὶ τῷ ἰχθύ· Ἐγγίσσον καὶ ὑποτάσσεται, καὶ τῷ
 505 δράκοντι· Φθάρητι καὶ εὐθέως ἐκπνεῖ. Ἐπίστησον γὰρ ὅτι οὐ μόνον τὴν
 τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ θηρίων καὶ ἐρπετῶν δεσποτείαν δέδωκε τούτῳ τῷ κατ'
 εἰκόνα Θεοῦ καὶ ὁμοίωσιν γενομένῳ ἀνθρώπῳ ὁ Θεός, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης
 τῆς γῆς. Οὕτω γὰρ γέγραπται ἄρχειν αὐτοὺς τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης
 καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατὰ δευτέραν τάξιν, εἴθ' οὕτως λοιπὸν
 510 τῶν θηρίων καὶ τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς, τουτέστι πάντων τῶν
 ὄντων καὶ κατοικούντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ ἔθνων.

3. Εἰ οὖν πάντα ὑπέταξεν ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀληθῶς
 κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἀνθρώπου, πρόδηλον ὅτι καὶ κύριος καὶ δεσπότης ἐστὶ
 πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἄνθρωπος πάντα ὑπὸ πόδας ὡς
 ὑποχείρια καὶ δούλους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔχων. Καὶ πῶς, εἰπέ μοι, Μωϋσῆς
 515 ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ τοσοῦτος οὐκ ἔστι κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ; Ἐφυγε γὰρ ἀπὸ
 προσώπου Φαραώ. Πῶς Ἠλίας ὁ ἐν ἄρματι πυρὸς ἀναληφθεὶς ἐκρύβη
 μακρὰν ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς Ἰεζάβελ; Πῶς ἅπαντες σχεδὸν οἱ προφῆται
 καὶ δίκαιοι καὶ ἀπόστολοι ὑπὸ χειρῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀνῆρέθησαν; Οὐκ ἂν
 520 τοῦτο παθόντες, εἰ ἐδέσποσαν πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντας ὑπέταξαν ὑπὸ
 τοὺς πόδας ἑαυτῶν.

4. Τοιαύτης οὖν καὶ τοσαύτης οὔσης εἰς τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἀμηχανίας
 τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴν φέρων ὡς τάχος ἐπέστη Παῦλος ὁ
 τῶν ἀρρήτων μύστης, ἐν ᾗ ἡμᾶς ἐγκύψαντας ἀπήλλαξε καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης
 ἀσαφοῦς καὶ βαθυτάτης ἀπορίας Χριστὸν εἶναι λέγων τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ
 525 ἀοράτου Θεοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸν ἄρχειν τε καὶ δεσπόζειν πάντων ὡς κληρο-
 νόμον πάντων, καὶ αὐτῷ ὑποτάσσεται τὰ πάντα ἐκτὸς μόνου ἐκείνου
 τοῦ ὑποτάξαντος αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, τοῦ Θεοῦ φημι καὶ Πατρός, καὶ αὐτῷ
 κάμπτειν τὸ γόνυ τὰ ἐπουράνια τε καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια καὶ τὰ καταχθόνια.
 Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ ἄρχειν αὐτὸν τῶν λογικῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ
 530 τῶν νοερῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν κτηνωδῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ
 πάσης τῆς γῆς. Τίθησι δὲ τὴν ὑποταγὴν τῶν ἰχθύων πρῶτην, ἐπειδὴ πρὸ
 πάντων ἐδέσποσε τῶν δι' ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος γεννωμένων καὶ
 ἀναγεννωμένων, ἡμῶν τῶν ἔθνων, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀβύσσῳ τοῦ ἄδου
 535 ψυχῶν τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος καθευδουσῶν ἐν σκοτεινοῖς καὶ ἐν σκιᾷ θανάτου.
 Εἶτα δεύτερα λέγει τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὰς νοεράς δυνάμεις, περὶ ὧν
 φησιν ὅτι Ἐγνώκα πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ | τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Ἀνελθὼν γὰρ ἀπὸ
 γῆς μετὰ σαρκὸς ἐγνώσθη καὶ ὥφθη ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις διὰ

500 δύνασθαι M 504 φθάρητι] *scripsi* φθάρηθι MNP^{corr.} φθάρηθι P^{corr.} 510 τῆς] *om.* M
 510 καὶ] *add.* κτηνω P^{corr.} 520 αὐτῶν P 524 καὶ] *om.* P ἀπορείας P 528 κάμπτει P
 τό] τῷ P 530 κτηνωδῶν] MN κτηνωδῶν P *lege* κτηνώδων 531 πρὸ] *om.* P

not one.¹ Now, how can John, who never performed a wonder, and Peter, who had no control over the fish—how can they be described as in the image and likeness of God? For he who is master over the animals and the fish and the birds—according to God's own command²—says to the lion: "Go!" and the lion goes. He says to the eagle: "Depart!" and the eagle departs.³ And to the fish: "Come close!" and the fish obeys. And to the dragon: "Drop dead!" and it immediately expires.

Know this about the man who was created in the image and likeness of God: God did not give him mastery only over fish and beasts and reptiles. God made him master over all the earth. So it stands written, that they rule over the fish of the sea; and in the second rank: over the birds of heaven; then finally: over the beasts and cattle and all the earth.⁴ That is: over all men and nations that exist and dwell upon the earth.

3. If God subjugated all things beneath the feet of the man that is truly in the image of God,⁵ it is obvious that such a man is lord and master over everything in the world. All things are beneath his feet, as in his power. He has humans as his slaves.

Then how can it be, tell me, that Moses, who was such a person and so great, was not in the image of God? Did he not run away from the face of the Pharaoh?⁶ And why did Elijah, who was later taken up in a chariot of fire,⁷ hide far away from the face of Jezebel?⁸ And why were nearly all the prophets and righteous people and apostles murdered by evil hands?⁹ They would not have suffered this, if they had been masters over all the earth, if they had placed all people beneath their feet.

4. Our weakness before this passage was so overwhelming that Paul, the mystic of things inexpressible,¹⁰ quickly intervened, bearing his letter to the Hebrews, with which he freed us, who had been bent by such uncertainty and deep helplessness. He said that the image of the invisible God is Christ,¹¹ and it is he who leads and rules all things, because he inherited all and all things have been subjugated to him.¹² With one exception: the one who placed all things beneath him, who is God the Father.¹³ The things in heaven and on earth and below the ground genuflect before him.¹⁴ That is, he rules the rational fish of the sea, the spiritual birds of heaven, the brutish men, and all the earth.¹⁵

He places the subjection of the fish first, because before all others he ruled over us the Gentile nations, who were born and reborn through water and Spirit,¹⁶ and also the souls in the depths of Hades, lying in the shadows and darkness of death since the beginning of time.¹⁷ And in the second rank, he says, are the birds of heaven, the noetic forces. He says of these: "I know all the birds of heaven."¹⁸ In fact, when he went up with his body from the earth, it was through the Church that he was seen and recognized by the Principalities and Archangels.¹⁹

¹ Jn 10:41. ² Cf Gen 1:28. ³ Cf Mt 8:9; Lk 7:8. ⁴ Cf Gen 1:26. ⁵ Cf Ps 8:7; 1 Cor 15:27. ⁶ Cf Ex 2:15. ⁷ Cf 2 Kg 2:11. ⁸ Cf 1 Kg 19:2-3. ⁹ Cf Mt 23:29-35; Lk 11:47-51.
¹⁰ Cf 2 Cor 12:3-4. ¹¹ Cf Col 1:15. ¹² Cf Heb 1:2. ¹³ Cf 1 Cor 15:24, 27. ¹⁴ Cf Phil 2:10. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 1:26. ¹⁶ Cf Jn 3:5; 1 Jn 5:6. ¹⁷ Cf Is 9:1; Mt 4:16; Lk 1:79; 1 Th 5:4-7.
¹⁸ Ps 49(50):11. ¹⁹ Cf Eph 3:10; 1 Tim 3:16.

τῆς ἐκκλησίας. "Ὅτε δὲ τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰσέλθῃ, ὑποταγήσεται
 πάντως τῇ Χριστοῦ δεσποτείᾳ καὶ τὰ κτήνη ἐκεῖνα καὶ θηρία τὰ γηγενῆ
 540 καὶ συγγενῆ αὐτοῦ, τουτέστιν ὁ Ἰσραὴλ, περὶ οὗ ἔφασκεν ὅτι *Καὶ ἄλλα*
πρόβατα ἔχω, ἃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τῆς αὐλῆς ταύτης· κάκεινά με δεῖ ἀγαγεῖν,
καὶ τῆς φωνῆς μου ἀκούσουσι, καὶ γενήσεται μία ποίμνη, εἷς ποιμὴν. Καὶ
 οὕτως εἰς Χριστὸν ἐκβήσεται καὶ νοηθήσεται περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς συζύγου
 545 αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ περὶ τῶν δύο λεγόμενον· Ἀρχέτωσαν
 τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν
 κτηνῶν (καὶ) πάσης τῆς γῆς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ ἕως θαλάσσης, καὶ ἀπὸ
 ποταμῶν ἕως περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης.

5. Οἱ δὲ γε σαρκικοὶ σωματικὴν τήνδε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὴν ἐξουσίαν
 περὶ σαρκικῶν ἰχθύων καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ θηρίων
 550 καὶ ἐρπετῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν ὄντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς νοοῦντες οὐκ ἂν
 ἰσχύσωσιν ἡμῖν δεῖξαι τὸν οἰονοῦν ἄνθρωπον, εἰ μὴ Χριστόν, κατ' εἰκόνα
 Θεοῦ τυγχάνοντα ἢ γεγονότα. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος γεγεννημένων,
 οὐ λέγω σοι βασιλέων, ἀλλ' οὔτε δικαίων, ἐδέσποσε κατ' ἐξουσίαν
 κελουσιαστικὴν πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάττης, κἂν τὸ θαυμα-
 555 τουργικόν, κἂν τὸ διορατικόν καὶ προφητικόν ὅλον περιέκειτο χάρισμα,
 πλὴν ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἐκφέρειν δαιμόνια καὶ σημειοποιεῖν ὁ Κύριος τὴν
 τελειότητα τοῦ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὀρίζεται, ὡς
 ὅταν λέγῃ ὅτι *Πολλοὶ ἐροῦσί μοι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· Κύριε, οὐ τῷ σῶ*
ὀνόματι ἐπροφητεύσαμεν, καὶ τῷ σῶ ὀνόματι δαιμόνια ἐξεβάλομεν, καὶ
 560 *τῷ σῶ ὀνόματι* δυνάμεις πολλὰς ἐποιήσαμεν; *Καὶ ἐρῶ αὐτοῖς· Ἀμὴν*
λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐδέποτε ἔγνω ὑμεῖς. Ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶτε, φησί, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
ὑμῶν, καὶ εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς
μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς, καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς, ὅπως
γένησθε ὅμοιοι τοῦ Πατρὸς ἡμῶν τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ τῆς
 565 *ἀγάπης τὸ κατ' ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ ὀριζόμενος, καθὰ καὶ διὰ Παύλου ὁ αὐτὸς*
Χριστὸς λαλῶν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ κανόνι καὶ ὅρῳ ἐχρήσατο, ἡνίκα λέγει ὅτι
Κἂν ταῖς γλώσσαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαλῶ, κἂν εἰδῶ τὰ μυστήρια
πάντα, κἂν πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ πᾶσαν ἔχω τὴν πίστιν ὥστε ὄρη
μεθιστάναι, οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦμαι. Ἀλλὰ περὶ τούτου μὲν ἕως τούτου, ἴδωμεν
 570 *δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς εὐλογίας τί ὑπαινίττεται.*

VII 1. *Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἐποίησεν*
αὐτόν, τουτέστιν, εἰκόνα καὶ προτύπωσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σύνθετον ἐποίησε

542 ἀκούσωσι N 548/9 σαρκικοὶ - περὶ] om. P 550 ὄντων] om. P 551/2 τὸν οἰονοῦν
 ἄνθρωπον, εἰ μὴ Χριστόν, κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ τυγχάνοντα] *scripsi* τὸ οἰονοῦν, εἰ μὴ
 ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμῖν τυγχάνοντα MNP cf. *ullum hominem, praeter Christum, qui sit*
ad imaginem Dei Hv. 552 γεγεν] νημένων N 554 τῆς¹] om. M^acorr. P 555 διορατικόν N
 556 καὶ] *add.* ὁμοίωσιν M^acorr. 557 καθ'] om. MP 558 λέγει P^acorr.
 559/60 ἐπροφητεύσαμεν, καὶ τῷ σῶ ὀνόματι δαιμόνια ἐξεβάλομεν, καὶ τῷ σῶ ὀνόματι
addidi; cf. Mt 7:22 om. MNP *per homoeoteleuton* 561 φησί] om. N 562 ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν M
 ποιῇτε P 564 τοῖς] om. N 568 ὄρη N 572 πρωτύπωσιν N

When the full number from the Gentile nations has been reached,¹
 then even those cattle and wild beasts that were born from the earth
 and are related to him²—who are Israel—will be wholly subjugated to
 the rule of Christ.³ About Israel, he said: "*And I have other sheep, which*
are not from this fold. It is necessary that I lead them too. And they will
hear my voice, and there will be one flock, one shepherd."⁴ And so that
 saying will come true of Christ. And that which was said by God about
 the two of them will be understood of him and his spouse, the Church:
 "*Let them rule over the fish of the sea and the birds of heaven and the*
*cattle and all the earth,*⁵ *from sea to sea and from the rivers to the ends of*
the inhabited earth."⁶

5. They who are of flesh think that the authority of humans is
 corporal: over the corporal fish and birds and all the herds and beasts
 and reptiles and all the beings on the earth. Yet they would not be able
 to show us such a person, except for Christ, who has been or now is in
 God's image. No one born at any time—not any of the kings or any of the
 righteous—has ruled with commanding authority over all upon the
 earth and in the sea. No one, not even if one had all the grace in the
 world for working miracles, second sight, and prophesying.

The Lord did not ordain that the perfection of humanity, according to
 his image and likeness, consists in expelling demons and performing
 miracles. For he said:

"*Many will say to me on that day: 'Lord, did we not perform many*
miracles in your name?'" And I will say to them: "*Amen I say to you,*⁸ *I*
never knew you."⁹

"But love," he said, "your enemies. And bless those who curse you. And
 do good to those who hate you. And pray for those who act abusively
 against you, so that you might be like our Father in heaven."¹⁰

Thus he defined that likeness to God exists in the virtue of love. The
 same Christ—speaking through Paul—made use of such a canon and
 measure when he said: "*If I were to speak in the languages of people, and*
if I were to see all the mysteries, and if I were to have all knowledge and
complete faith, so that I might move mountains, I would gain nothing."¹¹

But more about this later. For now, let us look at the things that
 concern the blessing: what do they suggest?

VII 1. *And God made man. In the image of God he made him.*¹² That
 is, as an image and prototype of Christ, God made man compound:
 mortal and immortal, visible and invisible, corruptible and
 incorruptible. For *male and female he made them:*¹³ on the one hand, by
 his strength and destiny to incorruptibility, completely permanent, on
 the other hand, by his weakness and tendency to corrupt, subject to

¹ Cf Rom 11:25. ² Cf Gen 1:25. ³ Cf 1 Cor 15:28. ⁴ Jn 10:16. ⁵ Gen 1:26.
⁶ Ps 71(72):8. ⁷ Mt 7:22. ⁸ Mt 6:16. ⁹ Mt 7:23. ¹⁰ Mt 5:44-45; Lk 6:27-28. ¹¹ 1 Cor
 13:1-3. ¹² Gen 1:27. ¹³ Gen 1:27.

τὸν ἄνθρωπον, θνητὸν καὶ ἀθάνατον, ὁρατὸν καὶ ἀόρατον, φθαρτὸν καὶ
 575 ἀφθαρτον, ἄρσεν γὰρ καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς, τὸ μὲν διὰ τὸ στερεόν τε
 καὶ πρὸς ἀφθαρσίαν μονιμώτατον, τὸ δὲ διὰ τὸ χαῦνον καὶ πρὸς φθορὰν
 ἐκλυτον. Καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς ὁ Θεὸς λέγων· Αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε
 καὶ πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν, δηλονότι διὰ τῆς ἄρρενος καὶ θήλεος
 τεκνογονίας, καὶ κατακυριεύσατε αὐτῆς καὶ ἄρχετε τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς
 θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ πάντων τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ
 580 πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐρπετῶν τῶν ἐρπόντων | ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

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2. Πρὸ μὲν βραχείος Ἰωάννην καὶ Πέτρον ὁ λόγος εἰς μέσον παρήγαγε
 πρὸς τὸ πεῖσαι τὸν ἀκροατὴν πνευματικῶς νοεῖν τὴν θεῖαν γραφὴν μετὰ
 τὴν κατὰ τὸ γράμμα θεωρίαν. Εἰ δὲ μέχρι τοῦ γράμματος ἀπνεύμων, μὲν,
 πῶς δυνήσκει δεῖξαι καὶ αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ὑπερένδοξον θεομήτορα κατ'
 585 εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ οὖσαν; Ποῦ γὰρ ἤρξεν ἡ ἐδέσποσεν αἰσθητῶν
 θηρίων ἢ ἰχθύων ἢ πετεινῶν ἢ πάσης τῆς γῆς ἢ ἐκ προσώπου Ἡρώδου ἐν
 Αἰγύπτῳ μεταναστεύσασα; Καὶ τίς, εἰπέ μοι, ἀνθρώπων ἢ δαιμόνων
 τολμήσει ταύτην τὴν ὁμοούσιον Θεῶ τὸ κατὰ σάρκα εἰπεῖν μὴ εἶναι κατ'
 εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ ἐξ αὐτῆς τεχθέντος; Πῶς γὰρ καὶ ἔσται μήτηρ
 590 τοιοῦτου υἱοῦ μὴ φέρουσα ἀσινῇ ἐν ἑαυτῇ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ γεννήματος;
 "Ὡστε δέδεικται τῷ εἰρήνης υἱῷ, ἀλλ' οὐ μαχῶν καὶ σκανδάλων ἐργάτῃ
 ὄντι, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν λεγομένων ἰχθύων καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ κτηνῶν
 μόνος ἐκεῖνος κέκτηται ὁ λέγων· Πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς
 μου, καὶ ἔδωκε μοι πᾶσα ἐξουσία ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς, ὅτι Ὁ Πατὴρ
 595 φιλεῖ τὸν Υἱόν καὶ πάντα δέδωκεν αὐτῷ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας. Λαμβάνειν δὲ
 λέγεται παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὡς ἄνθρωπος γεγονώς. Τιμᾶται δὲ πάλιν, κα-
 θὼς φαίνεται, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ὡς ὁμοούσιος αὐτοῦ Υἱὸς καὶ Θεός.

VIII 1. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ὑμῖν πάντα χόρτον σπόριμον
 σπείρον σπέρμα, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐπάνω πάσης τῆς γῆς, καὶ πᾶν ξύλον, ὃ ἔχει ἐν
 600 ἑαυτῷ καρπὸν σπέρματος σπορίμου, ὑμῖν ἔσται εἰς βρῶσιν, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς
 θηρίοις τῆς γῆς καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ παντὶ ἐρπετῷ
 ἐρποντι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὃ ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ ψυχὴν ζωῆς, καὶ πάντα χόρτον
 χλωρὸν εἰς βρῶσιν. Καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. Καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεός τὰ πάντα, ὅσα
 ἐποίησε, καὶ ἰδοὺ καλὰ λίαν. Καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωΐ, ἡμέρα
 605 ἕκτη.

Μέχρι τῶν ἐνταῦθα, φησὶν Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ὁ μέγας ἐν τε φιλοσόφοις
 καὶ διδασκάλοις, εἶναι τὸ πέρας τῆς αἰσθητῆς κτίσεως. Ἡνίκα δὲ λέγει,
 φησὶν, ἡ γραφὴ ὡς ἐν σχήματι ἐπαναλήψεως· Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως
 οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, πάντα περὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ καινῆς κτίσεως
 610 προδιαγράφει τὰ ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πέρας τῶν
 πραγμάτων λαβόντά, ἣν καὶ οἰκουμένην δευτέραν ὀνομάζει ὁ ἱερώτατος

574 γὰρ] om. P 581 Πρὸ] ὁ M ad initium lineae 589 καὶ] om. P 590 τοιόντων N
 592 κτεινῶν M 597 ὁμοούσιον N^{comp} 599 ἔχειν P 602 τῆς] om. P 603 χλωρὸν MP
 604 καλλὰ M 609 ἐξῆς] N^{comp} 610 ἐξῆς M ἐξῆς N^{comp} 611 κτίσεως] add. οὐ(ρα)νοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἧς πάντα, περὶ τῆς ἐν χ(ρι)στῷ M^{comp}

dissolution. And God blessed them, saying: "Increase and multiply and fill the earth."¹ Obviously, as man and woman making children. "And have dominion over the earth. And lead the fish of the sea and the birds of heaven and all the herds and all the earth and all the reptiles crawling upon the earth."²

2. A little while before, the discussion brought in John and Peter in order to teach the listener that, after studying it literally, one should contemplate Divine Scripture spiritually. For if one analyzes it only according to the letter, how will it be possible to show that she, the Mother of God, gloriously transcendent, is in the image and likeness of God? How did she rule or have dominion over the perceptible beasts or fish or birds or all the world, when she fled from the face of Herod into Egypt?³ And which man or demon, tell me, will be bold enough to say that she, who was consubstantial with God in the flesh,⁴ was not in the image and likeness of the one born from her? For how can she be the mother of such a son, if she does not carry intact in herself the image of her child? Thus it has been demonstrated to any son of peace,⁵ but not to some fomenter of wars and scandals, that rule over the aforementioned fish and birds and cattle was acquired by him alone, who said: "All things were given to me by my Father."⁶ And: "All authority in heaven and on earth was given to me,"⁷ because "the Father loves his Son and⁸ gave all things into his hands."⁹ He is said to receive these things from the Father, as he became a man.¹⁰ But he is honored once more, it seems, just as the Father, because he is the consubstantial Son and God.¹¹

VIII 1. And God said: "Look. I have given to you every seed-bearing pasture that sows seed, which is upon all the earth. And I have given to you every tree, which has in itself fruit with seed for sowing. These will be as food for you and for all the wild beasts of the earth and for all the birds of heaven and for every reptile crawling on the earth and which has in itself the soul of life—even every green pasture for food." And so it happened. And God saw all the things, how many he had made. And look, they were very good. And evening came, and morning came. The sixth day.¹²

The definition of tangible creation goes up to these things here, says Olympiodorus, who is outstanding in his philosophical essays and teachings. And he continues: "But when Scripture says as in a form of summary: *This is the book of the genesis of heaven and earth* and so on,¹³ it is predicting all the things concerning the new creation in Christ,¹⁴ those things that receive their definition in later times in the Church." The Church, in fact, is called a second inhabited world by that very holy apostle, who said: *God did not subordinate beneath the angels the inhabited world that is about to be, about which we are speaking.*¹⁵ He calls the Church an inhabited world because it was about to be given a

¹ Gen 1:28. ² Gen 1:28. ³ Cf Mt 2:13-15. ⁴ Cf Gal 4:4. ⁵ Cf Lk 10:6. ⁶ Cf Gen 1:26, 28. ⁷ Mt 11:27; Lk 10:22. ⁸ Mt 28:18. ⁹ Jn 5:20. ¹⁰ Jn 13:3. ¹¹ Cf Jn 10:18. ¹² Cf Jn 5:23. ¹³ Gen 1:29-31. ¹⁴ Gen 2:4. ¹⁵ Cf 2 Cor 5:17. ¹⁶ Heb 2:5.

Ἀπόστολος λέγων· Οὐ γὰρ ἀγγέλοις ὑπέταξεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν οἰκουμένην
τὴν μέλλουσαν, περὶ ἧς λαλοῦμεν, οἰκουμένην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὀνομάζων
διὰ τὸ μέλλειν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πέτρου μὲν θεμελιωθῆναι, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δ' ἀνεγερθῆ-
615 ναι, ὡς περὶ πάλιν καὶ καινὴν κτίσιν ὡς νῦν τότε ἀρξαμένην παράγειν.
Εἰ γὰρ διὰ πάντων τῶν πραγμάτων, ὧν τε ἐθεάσατο ὧν τε κατεσκεύα-
σε Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾶ, τὸν τύπον τῆς ἐκκλησίας προδιέγραφε διὰ τε
τῆς ἁγίας σκηνῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πάσης τῆς νομικῆς
λατρείας, ἢ μὴ θαυμάσης, φησὶν ὁ αὐτὸς πολὺς τὰ θεῖα Ὀλυμπιόδωρος, εἰ
620 τῶν πραγμάτων προκατεσκεύαζε καὶ προδιέγραφεν ὀνομασθέντων, τού-
των καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐκ Θεοῦ ἐδέξατο αἰνιγματωδῶς τε καὶ σκοτεινῶς
καὶ ἀποκρύφως. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐσήμαινεν ὁ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τότε γνόφος καὶ
ζόφος καὶ ἡ θύελλα τῶν μυστηρίων τῶν λαλουμένων τε καὶ διατυπου-
μένων τὸ ἀδηλον, ὅπως μὴ μαθόντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς τὰ ἔθνη
625 μέλλουσιν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γενέσθαι ἐπισκοπὴν, αὐτῶν δὲ ἐγκατάλειψιν,
ἐμπρήσωσι τὴν νομικὴν βίβλον καὶ μάλιστα τῆς προκειμένης Γενέσεως,
καὶ μεγίστη ἐντεῦθεν τῇ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ βλάβη τε καὶ ζημία γένηται.

2. Ἀνανεύει δὲ ὁ πολλάκις προρρηθεὶς φιλόσοφος ὁ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων
τοῖς λόγοις καταφωτίσας ὡς ταύτης διάκονος πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸ φάναι ἐν
630 παντελεῖ ἀθανασίᾳ τε καὶ ἀφθαρσίᾳ γεγενῆσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὴν τε
εὐλογίαν καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ καὶ τὴν σύγκτην τῶν θηρίων καὶ αὐτοῦ
βρῶσιν εἰς ἀπόδειξιν φθορᾶς προβαλλόμενος. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ λουτρόν, φησί,
τῶν ἐν Χριστῷ βαπτιζομένων ἀπόρρυψιν ἀληθείᾳ τε καὶ παντελεῖ ἔχει τῆς
προπατορικῆς τοῦ Ἀδὰμ εἰς ἡμᾶς καταλαβούσης ἀποφάσεως καὶ
635 ἀμαρτίας, δι' ἣν γοῦν αἰτίαν νῆπιοί τινες φωτιζόμενοι πρὸ πάσης τῆς
οἴασθαι ἀνομίας καὶ ἀμαρτίας καθαροὶ ὄντες καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα δεξάμενοι
καὶ Χριστὸν ἐνδυσάμενοι ἀναίτιοι καὶ ἄμωμοι καὶ ἅγιοι, ὡς ὁ Παῦλος
μαρτυρεῖ, τυγχάνοντες πολλάκις κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὥραν ἢ μετὰ τὸ
640 βάπτισμα τελευτῶσιν. Ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐν τούτοις ἐν ἐκ τῶν ὁποτέρων
εἰπεῖν, ἢ ὅτι οὐκ ἠλευθερώθησαν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος καὶ Πνεύματος ἐκ
τῆς προγονικῆς τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἀμαρτίας καὶ ἀποφάσεως, ὅπερ μὴδ' ἐννοῆσαι
τίς, ἢ ὅτι ἐλευθερωθέντες ἀδίκως τῷ θανάτῳ ὑπέπεσαν, ἢ πάλιν ὅτι
ἠλευθερώθησαν μὲν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ προπάτορος αὐτῶν
Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῆς Εὐας θνητὸν περικείμενοι σῶμα. Διὰ θανάτου πρὸς τὴν
645 κρείττω ζωὴν παρελθόντες ἀφθαρτα καὶ ἀθάνατα τότε ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει
ἀπολήψονται τὰ οἰκῆα σώματα ἀποθανόντες νῦν, ἵνα μὴ ἀθάνατον καὶ
αἰώνιον ᾖ τὸ κακόν, ὡς φησὶν καὶ ὁ θεῖος Γρηγόριος, τουτέστιν ἵνα μὴ
διηνεκῶς ἐν τῇ φθορᾷ ὑπάρχωμεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Χριστῷ ἀφθαρσίαν
ἐνδυσώμεθα. Αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. ἰ

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firm foundation by Peter and to be raised by Paul himself,¹ so that once more a new creation, begun then, would be brought forth until now.

Moses drafted a type of the Church through all the things that he saw and prepared on Mount Sinai,² and through the holy tabernacle, all the things in it, and all the worship according to the Law. And do not be amazed, says Olympiodorus, great in divine things, that Moses beforehand described and prepared these things that have been mentioned. He received the words concerning them from God in an enigmatic, shadowy, and recondite way. This, the lack of clarity, was signified by the mist, the darkness, and the storm on the mountain,³ when the mysteries were being spoken and presented obscurely in types.⁴ It was done in this way, so that the Jews might not learn that God was about to visit us, the Gentiles, and abandon them; and so that they might not set fire to the book of the Law, and especially not Genesis here. For this would have been a great harm and loss for Christ's Church.

2. The philosopher that has been mentioned several times before, the deacon that illuminated the Church of Alexandria with his words, does not agree with the statement that man arose completely immortal and incorruptible. And he presents several proofs of his corruptibility: the blessing, the male and female, the close relationship to the wild beasts, and his food.⁵

The absolution of those baptized in Christ, he said, washes away, truly and completely, the ancestral denial and sin of Adam, which was binding on us all.⁶ And there are some infants, who before they break a single law, are illuminated. They are purified of sin, receive the Holy Spirit, and put on Christ.⁷ Thus they become blameless, without stain, and holy—as Paul bears witness. Yet these same infants will often die at that very hour, or soon after Baptism. For this reason, we must admit one of the following. Either that they were not freed through Baptism and the Spirit⁸ from the innate sin and denial of Adam.⁹ But no one will agree to this. Or that, after having been freed, they fell unjustly beneath the hand of death. Or again, that they were freed, but in likeness to their ancestor Adam and Eve, they were wrapped in a mortal body.

Through death they go to a better life. Now undergoing bodily death, in the resurrection they will receive their own bodies back again, this time incorruptible and immortal, so that evil might not be immortal and eternal, as the divine Gregory says. That is, so that we may not always live in corruption, but in Christ we may put on incorruptibility.¹⁰ To him the power and the glory forever. Amen.

¹ Cf Gal 2:7-9. ² Cf Ex 25:40; Heb 8:5; 10:1. ³ Cf Ex 19:16; 20:21; Dt 4:11; 5:22; Heb 12:18. ⁴ Cf 1 Cor 2:7. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:27-30. ⁶ Cf Gen 3:3, 17-19; Rom 5:12. ⁷ Cf Gal 3:27. ⁸ Cf Jn 3:5; 1 Jn 5:6. ⁹ Cf Gen 3:6, 17-19. ¹⁰ Cf 1 Cor 15:53-57.

614 αὐτοῦ] *scripsi* αὐτοῦ MNP 615 νῦν M 616 Εἰ γὰρ] ἐγὼ M^{corr} 619 πολὺς] πολλῆς M^{corr} 623 ζόφος] σκότος P 624 πως P 627 καὶ] καὶ καὶ M^{corr} 628 προρρηθεὶς P 629 τοῖς] τῆς P 631 καὶ] *om.* N 638 μετὰ] κατὰ N 641 καὶ] *om.* M^{corr} ἐννόσαι MP 644 περικείμενον M^{corr} 647 καὶ] *om.* N

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀκολουθῶς εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἕκτην ἡμέραν
λόγος ἑβδομος |

11. Καὶ συνετελέσθησαν ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν. Καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕκτῃ τὰ ἔργα, ἃ ἐποίησε, καὶ κατέπαυσεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, ὧν ἐποίησε.

5 Διὰ γὰρ τούτου ἐμφαίνει καὶ διδάσκει ἡμᾶς ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι ἕτερά τινα μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ ποιεῖ, καθὼς μαρτυρεῖ ὁ λόγος· Ὁ Πατήρ μου ἕως ἄρτι ἐργάζεται, καὶ ἐργάζομαι, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ὁρμώμενοί τινες τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐξηγητῶν ἔφασαν διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν ὅτι Καὶ κατέπαυσεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ δείκνυσιν ὅτι περ ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ αἰῶνι, 10 τουτέστιν ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ χιλιονταετηρίδι, ἡ τοῦ κόσμου συντέλεια γίνεται. Ἐν ἐκάστη γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ, φησί, τῶν ἑξ ἡμερῶν τῆς κτίσεως ἰσάριθμα τῆς ἡμέρας ἔργα ἐποίησε, τουτέστιν ἐν μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὰ ἀπλᾶ στοιχεῖα ἔργον ἓν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ φῶς· ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ δύο, τουτέστι τὸ στερέωμα καὶ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῶν ὑδάτων τῶν ἄνω καὶ τῶν κάτω· τῇ 15 τρίτῃ τρία, τὴν συναγωγὴν τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῆς γῆς καὶ τὴν ἐκβλάστησιν τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς καρπῶν· τῇ τετάρτῃ τέσσαρα, ἀστέρας καὶ ἥλιον καὶ σιλήνην καὶ θεοὺς αὐτῶν· τῇ πέμπτῃ πάλιν ἔργα πέντε, ἡγουν τὰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις καὶ ἰχθύας καὶ κτήνη | καὶ πετεινὰ καὶ τὴν 20 εὐλογίαν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· τῇ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἑξ, ἅτινά εἰσι τὰ ἐκ γῆς ζῶα καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἡ εὐλογία ἡ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία ἡ δοθεῖσα αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ βρῶσις.

2. Ἐν ταύταις γάρ, φαίνει οἱ ἐξηγηταί, ταῖς ἑξ ἡμέραις ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν καθ' ἐκάστην αὐτῶν σύμβολόν τι καὶ τεκμήριον ἐναργὲς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γεγόμενον τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συντελείας καὶ τῶν τότε γενομένων πραγμάτων. Ἐν 25 γὰρ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ χωρισμὸς τοῦ φωτός καὶ τοῦ σκότους ἐκείνην τὴν διαίρεσιν σημαίνει τῶν ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀμαρτωλῶν καὶ δικαίων, ὅθεν καὶ εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον ἐπιτρέπει πορευθῆναι τοὺς ἐξ εὐωνύμων. Ὁμοίως καὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ τὸ ὕδωρ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ὑψωθῆναι καὶ στερέωμα γενέσθαι, τὸ δὲ πάλιν ἐν 30 σκότει ἀβύσσου παραπεμφθῆναι, τὰ περὶ δικαίων καὶ ἀμαρτωλῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς μέλλοντα ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ γίνεσθαι ἐκδιδάσκει. Σαφεστέρως δὲ ἡμᾶς ἡ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγον δείκνυσιν διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν τὸν τότε ποιητὴν, ἐσώτερον δὲ κριτὴν· Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ. Καὶ ἡ ἐπεκβλάστησις δὲ 35 τοῦ χόρτου ἢ ἐκ τῆς γῆς | καὶ τῶν δένδρων τὴν ἀνάστασιν δείκνυσιν,

titulus add. πάνν ὡραῖος in margine sinistro M^{scott}. in linea N πάνν ὡραῖον in margine dextro P^{scott}. 6 καθὼς] add. καὶ P 7 ὁρμώμενοι] scripsi ὡρμώμενοι MNP 8 ἔφασαν M καὶ] om. N 9 ἐν] om. N εὐδόμη M 10 εὐδόμη M 12 τὰ] om. M^{scott} 16 ἐξ αὐτῆς] ἀπὸ γῆς N 18 ἡγουν] ἡγουν N τὴν] om. MP 19 αὐτοῖς] αὐτῆς M 23 ἐναργαῖς P 34 ἐκ τῶν M

This is the seventh book in the series by the same author.
It is about the things after the sixth day.

I 1. And heaven and earth and all their adornments were completed. And God completed on the sixth day the works that he had made. And he rested on the seventh day from all his works, which he had made.¹

Through this passage, Scripture reveals and teaches us that he made and is still making other things after these. Thus one bears witness, the one who says: "My father is working up to this very moment, and I am working."² Inspired by this, some of the original exegetes said that the statement And God rested on the seventh day³ indicates that in the seventh age (that is, in the seventh millennium) the consummation of the cosmos will take place.⁴ For on each day, they said, of the six days of creation, he made works equal in number to the day. That is: on the first day, after the basic elements, he made one work, which was the light.⁵ On the second day, he made two works, which were the firmament and the separation of the waters into those above and those below.⁶ On the third, three: the gathering of the water, the revelation of the land, and the blooming of the fruits from it.⁷ On the fourth, four: stars, sun, moon, and their placement.⁸ On the fifth, again five works: the five senses, fish, cattle, birds, and the blessing upon them.⁹ On the sixth day, six: these were the living beings from the earth, the man, the woman, the blessing upon them, the authority given to them, and their nourishment.¹⁰

2. In each of these six days, the exegetes said, it is possible to see God creating an image of the consummation of the cosmos and offering a vivid sign of the things that will happen then. On the first day, the division of light from darkness signifies the separation of those on the right of Christ from those on the left: the just and the sinners.¹¹ He then commands those on the left to go to the exterior darkness.¹² Similarly, the water of the second day. Some of it is raised to the heavens and becomes the firmament. The rest is dismissed to the abysmal darkness.¹³ This teaches what is going to happen to us, the just and the sinners, at the consummation. The third day, through the statement by the creator, who later will be judge, clearly shows us the reckoning at the resurrection: "Let the water below heaven be gathered into one congregation"¹⁴ in the court of justice." And the grass and trees burst forth from the earth,¹⁵ which indicates the resurrection, as Paul himself

¹ Gen 2:1-2. ² Jn 5:17. ³ Gen 2:2. ⁴ Cf Ps 89(90):4; 2 Pet 3:8. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:3. ⁶ Cf Gen 1:7. ⁷ Cf Gen 1:9-12. ⁸ Cf Gen 1:14-17. ⁹ Cf Gen 1:20-22. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 1:24-30. ¹¹ Cf Gen 1:4; Mt 25:32-33, 46. ¹² Cf Mt 8:12; 22:13; 25:30, 41. ¹³ Cf Gen 1:6-7. ¹⁴ Gen 1:9 ¹⁵ Cf Gen 1:12.

καθὰ καὶ ὁ Παῦλος βοᾷ, τότε γὰρ ὁ καρπὸς ἐκάστου τῶν ἔργων σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀνίσταται. Τὸ δὲ λέγειν τὸν Χριστὸν ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει λάμπουσιν οἱ δίκαιοι ὡς ὁ ἥλιος ἀνερχόμενοι ἐν νεφέλαις εἰς οὐρανοὺς δείκνυσι σαφῶς καὶ τὴν τετάρτην ἡμέραν διὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ φωστήρων τὴν ἀνάστασιν προφητεύουσιν, ἐπεὶ ἐν αὐτῇ χωρισμὸν ἡμέρας καὶ χωρισμὸν νυκτὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἐποίησεν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ Ἐξαγαγέτω τὰ ὕδατα ἔρπετὰ ψυχῶν ζώσων καὶ πετεινὰ πετόμενα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πάνυ προσφυῶς μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν ὁρῶμεν γινόμενον, ἥνίκα οἱ ποτε ὑπὸ ἰχθύων ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἀποπνιγέστες καὶ καταποθέντες ἀνίστανται ψυχὰς ζώσας καὶ ἀθάνατα σώματα ἔχοντες, ἐξ ὧν οἱ μὲν πετεινὰ πετόμενα εἰς οὐρανοὺς γίνονται, οἱ δὲ τῇ ἀβύσσῳ καταλιμπάνονται. Ἐν τῇ ἑκτῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ τοῦ χοῦ πλάσιν εἶπον σύμβολον τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν σωμάτων ἀναστάσεως εἶναι, οἱ δὲ τὴν τῶν διαφόρων θηρίων καὶ ἔρπετῶν καὶ τετραπόδων καὶ κτηνῶν, ἔρπετὰ μὲν καὶ θηρία τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς Ἕλληνας λέγοντες, τετράποδα δὲ καὶ κτήνη τὰ μὲν ἀκάθαρτα καὶ ἄβρωτα τοὺς πίστιν μετὰ ἀμαρτίας ἔχοντας, τὰ δὲ καθαρὰ τύπον τῶν δικαίων τυγχάνειν.

3. Τούτων, φασὶν οἱ ἐξηγηταί, οὕτως ἐχόντων λείπεται πάντως ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ εἰπεῖν ὅτι αὐτὴν τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν μέλλουσαν λεληθότως ἐποίησεν, ἐπεὶ ὡς περ ἐν ἐκάστῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἑβδομάδος τῆς ἐξαήμερου γέγονε σύσσημόν τι τῆς ἀναστάσεως, τῆς τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γεννήσεως, οὕτω καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην χιλιονταετηρίδα τῶν ἐξακισχιλίων ἐτῶν τῶν ἡδὴ παρελθόντων γέγονε τι σύμβολον καὶ τύπος τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον πρὸς ἀφθαρσίαν ἀναστάσεως καὶ μεταθέσεως τῆς κτίσεως, τῷ μὲν διακοσιοστῷ τριακοστῷ ἔτει τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας γεννηθεὶς ὁ Σῆθ, ὅστις καὶ ἐξανάστασις ἐρμηνεύεται, ἔχων εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν, ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὁ Ἀδὰμ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ λαβὼν ἡμαύρωσε διὰ τῆς παραβάσεως, ὡς μέλλομεν κατὰ τοὺς τύπους γενόμενοι τῆς ἀκολουθίας πλατύτερον δεῖξαι. Τῷ δὲ χιλιοστῷ πεντακοσιοστῷ ἔτει τῷ δειλινῷ καὶ μέσῳ τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦ αἰῶνος μετετέθη ὁ Ἐνῶχ ἀπαρχὴ καὶ τύπος γενόμενος τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον τῶν ἀνθρώπων μεταθέσεως καὶ ἀναπλάσεως, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἐνῶχ καὶνισμὸς ἐρμηνεύεται. Ὅθεν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ σημαίνων μετάνεσιν ἑβδομος ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ γενόμενος μετετέθη. Τῷ δὲ δισχιλιοστῷ πεντακοσιοστῷ χρόνῳ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ μέσον τῆς τρίτης τοῦ αἰῶνος ἡμέρας, ἡ ἀνάπλασις τοῦ κόσμου μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐγένετο διὰ τοῦ Νῶε, ἐπεὶ καὶ Νῶε ἀνάπλασις ἐρμηνεύεται. Ὁμοίως καὶ τῷ τρισχιλιοστῷ πεντακοσιοστῷ χρόνῳ, ὅπερ

36 καθὼς Ν 45 ὑποπνιγέστες Ρ ἀνίστανται] *add.* καὶ Ρ 50 θηρίων] *add.* καὶ ἔρπετῶν Μ^{corr.} τετραπόδων Μ^{corr.} 56 εὐδομάδος Μ 61 τριακοστῷ] *om.* Ρ 62 καὶ] *om.* Ρ 65 χιλιοστῷ πεντακοσιοστῷ] χιλιοστῷ πεντακοσιοστῷ Ρ 68 καὶ νιὰ μὲς Μ εὐδόμη Μ 73 τρισχιλιοστῷ Ρ πεντακοσιοστῷ Μ

cries out. For then, the fruit of each person's works arises with him from the earth.¹

Christ said: "In the resurrection, *the just* will shine like the sun,² rising in the clouds to the heavens."³ This clearly points out that the fourth day prophesized the resurrection by means of the luminaries,⁴ since then God made the parting of the day and the parting of the night. Then on the fifth day, God said: "*Let the waters bring forth reptiles with living souls and winged creatures flying above the earth.*"⁵ We see that this too applies quite aptly to the resurrection of the dead: they who were once drowned and gulped down by the fish in the sea, now arise with living souls and deathless bodies. And some from this number become birds flying to the heavens.⁶ But others are left behind in the abyss.

Some have said that the creation of man from dust on the sixth day is a symbol of the resurrection of the dead bodies.⁷ Others have talked about the creation of different beasts and reptiles and quadrupeds and cattle.⁸ The reptiles and beasts, they said, are the impious Greeks. The quadrupeds and herds that are unclean and not to be eaten are the faithful with sin;⁹ while they that are clean are a type of the just.

3. With these things being so, the exegetes say, it remains to state emphatically that on the seventh day, he created the coming kingdom—imperceptibly.

On each day of the week of the six-day creation, there came simultaneously a sign of the resurrection, of the rebirth of the universe and humans. So also, in each millennium of the six thousand years that have already passed, there came a symbolic type of the change in creation and of the resurrection to something better: to incorruptibility.

Seth was born in the two hundred and thirtieth year of the first day.¹⁰ *Seth* is translated as "resurrection". He possessed the image and likeness that Adam had received from God in the beginning, but which Adam had obscured through sin,¹¹ as we are going to show more fully, going through the types in succession. In the one thousand and five hundredth year—which was the afternoon, indeed the middle of the second day of time—Enoch was changed.¹² Thus he became the first fruit and a type of the change and creation anew of humans toward the better. *Enoch* is translated as "renewal". He was the seventh generation from Adam and was changed, thus giving a sign of the change on the seventh day.

In the two thousand and five hundredth year, which was the middle of the third day of time, the world was created anew through Noah after the flood.¹³ *Noah* is translated as "re-creation". Similarly, in the three thousand and five hundredth year, which was the middle of the

¹ Cf 1 Cor 3:13; Phil 1:22. ² Mt 13:43. ³ Cf 1 Th 4:17. ⁴ Cf Gen 1:14-18. ⁵ Gen 1:20.

⁶ Cf Gen 1:20-21. ⁷ Cf Gen 1:27; 2:7. ⁸ Cf Gen 1:24-25. ⁹ Cf Lev 5:2; 7:21; 20:25; 27:11; Num 18:15. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 4:25; 5:3. ¹¹ Cf Gen 1:26-3:6. ¹² Cf Gen 5:24.

¹³ Cf Gen 8:15-9:17.

75 ἐστὶ τὸ μέσον τῆς τετάρτης ἡμέρας, ἐγεννήθησαν οἱ δύο λαοί, ὁ Ἰσραὴλ
καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ. Εἰ δὲ οὐ δέχηι τοῦτο εἰς σύμβολον ἀναστάσεως,
γινώθι ὅτι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Ἰσραὴλ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ
εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἑξοδὸν
οἱ ἐξηγηταὶ οὐ μόνον εἰς τὴν κλῆσιν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐρμηνεύουσιν, | ἀλλὰ καὶ 940A
εἰς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου ἑξοδὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀληθῆ γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας
80 τῆς ἁνῶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰσοδόν, ὅτι τὴν ἐρυθρὰν καὶ πυρίζουσαν θάλασσαν
τοῦ ποταμίου πυρὸς πάντες διαβαίνοντες οἱ ἀληθεῖς πνευματικοὶ Ἰσραη-
λίται, οἱ δὲ Αἰγυπτιαῖοι τοῖς ἔργοις ὑποβρύχιοι τῷ πυρὶ γίνονται.
Ἔχεις καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέσον τῆς πέμπτης ἡμέρας, ἀντίτυπα γὰρ ἦν τὰ ἐν
τῷ ναῷ πράγματα τῆς καταστάσεως τῆς ἁνῶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ὅπου εἰς τὰ
85 Ἅγια τῶν Ἁγίων εἰσῆλθε πρόδρομος Χριστός, ὃν προέγραφεν ἡ
κιβωτὸς ἢ εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσελθοῦσα, ἡνίκα καὶ ἐχώρευσεν καὶ ὠρχήσατο εἰς
τύπον Χριστοῦ ὁ Δαυὶδ ἀγαλλιώμενος, ὅτι ἡ ἀπολωλυῖα κιβωτὸς ἢ
λογικὴ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἐν ἣ ἐν πρώτοις ἀπετέθη ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ Θεοῦ,
εὔρεθι καὶ ἐρρύσθη ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλωτευσάντων αὐτὴν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ
90 πονηρῶν ἀλλοφύλων. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα πρὸς τὰ εἰρημένα πέντε τεκμήρια
ἐν τοῖς πέντε μεσέμβροις τῶν πέντε ἡμερῶν ἦτοι χλιονταετηρίδων τοῦ
αἰῶνος οὐ μόνον τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον τοῦ κόσμου πρὸς ἀφθαρσίαν
μεταθέσεως ἐστὶ σύμβολα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπιφανείας καὶ ἐνανθρω-
πήσεως Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Τῷ γὰρ μεσέμβρῳ καὶ δειλινῷ τῆς
95 ἑκτῆς ἡμέρας ἦτοι τῷ πεντακισχιλιοστῷ καὶ πεντακοσιοστῷ χρόνῳ
σαρκωθεὶς ἐπὶ γῆς ἐπεφάνη, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸ δειλινὸν τῆς ἑκτῆς ἡμέρας εἰς
τύπον ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐπλασε.

4. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τινες στοχαζόμενοι εἰρήκασιν ὅτι τάχα τῷ δειλινῷ
καὶ μέσῳ τῆς ἑκτῆς ἡμέρας ἡ ἀνάστασις γίνεται, ἣν σημαίνουν τὰ ἐξ
100 δειλινά, εἰς τὸ κληρονομήσαι τοὺς ἀξίους τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν,
ἦντινα, φησί, τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐσχάτην πάντων, ὧν ἔκτισεν, ἀρρήτως
καὶ μυστικῶς ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος κατεσκεύασεν, καθὼς αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος
ἡμᾶς διδάσκει φάσκων· *Δεῦτε οἱ εὐλογημένοι τοῦ Πατρὸς μου, κληρο-*
νομήσατε τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ἡμῖν βασιλείαν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, ὅτι
105 ὅτε τὴν κτίσιν κατεσκεύασεν, τότε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἡντρεπίσεν. Τοῦτο γὰρ
ἐστὶ τὸ εἰκοστὸν δεῦτερον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔργον. Εἴκοσι δύο γὰρ ἔργα φασὶ καὶ
Ἰουδαίων καὶ Χριστιανῶν ἐξηγηταὶ πεποιηκέναι τὸν Θεόν, ἐξ ὧν τὰ μὲν
εἴκοσι ἐν ἡδὴ πρὸ βραχέος ἡριθμήσαμεν ἐν ταῖς ἑξ ἡμέραις γενόμενα. Τὸ δὲ
εἰκοστὸν δευτέρον ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος ἡτοιμασμένη βασιλεία
110 καὶ πνευματικὴ θεωρία. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εἴκοσι δύο στοιχεῖα γραμμάτων
μόνα ὁ Ἰουδαῖος ἔχει. Κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ εἴκοσι δύο βιβλία πάσαν τὴν

75 καὶ] *om.* M 78 ἐρμηνεύουσιν N 80 Ἱερουσαλὴμ] *scripsi* (Ἱερουσαλὴμ) MNP
πυρρίζουσαν MP 82 αἰγυπτιαῖοι M 84 Ἱερουσαλὴμ] *scripsi* (Ἱερουσαλὴμ) MNP
86 ναὸν] ἁνῶ M 95 πεντακισχιλιοστῷ P πεντακοσιοστῷ P 101 εὐδόμη M
102 κατεσκεύασεν, καθὼς αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος] *om.* P 104 ὑμῖν MN 108 ἡριθμήσαμεν P
109 αἰῶνος] *add.* ἡ 110 θεωρία M

fourth day, the two races were born: Israel and his brother.¹ If you do not accept this as a symbol of the resurrection, then recognize that on the same fourth day, Israel left Egypt and entered the Promised Land.² The exegetes interpret this exodus from Egypt not only as the calling of the Gentiles, but also as the exodus from the world and the entrance into the true land of the promise, the Jerusalem above.³ This is because we, the true spiritual Israelites, all go through the fiery Red Sea of torrential fire. But they who act like Egyptians in their deeds are drowned by the fire.⁴

In accordance with this, you have the middle of the fifth day. The things in the sanctuary were types of the establishment of the heavenly Jerusalem,⁵ where Christ entered as a forerunner into the Holy of Holies.⁶ The ark, when it entered into the sanctuary, foreshadowed him.⁷ Then David sang and danced in glee, as a type of Christ.⁸ For the lost ark, the rational ark of man, in which the covenant with God had been placed at the very start,⁹ was found and rescued from those evil aliens who had taken it from God.¹⁰

In these five middays of the first five days (the five millennia of the ages), all the things that have been mentioned in these five arguments were symbols not only of a change in the world toward the better, toward immortality, but also of the Epiphany and Incarnation of Christ and of the Church. Then at midday, indeed the afternoon of the sixth day (the five thousand and five hundredth year), he was made flesh and appeared on the earth,¹¹ since around the afternoon of the sixth day he had fashioned Adam as a type of himself.¹²

4. Concerning this, some have speculated and said that Christ's resurrection probably occurred in the afternoon, indeed in the middle of the sixth day, and that the six evenings were a sign of this.¹³ Thus the worthy might inherit the kingdom of heaven,¹⁴ which God the Word (they said) prepared mystically and indescribably on the seventh day, as the last of all things that he had created.¹⁵ God himself, the Word, taught us this when he said: "*Come here, you blessed ones of my Father, and inherit the kingdom that has been prepared for us from the foundation of the world.*"¹⁶ They said that when he prepared creation, he also made ready the kingdom.

This was the twenty-second work of God. Both Jewish and Christian exegetes agree that God created twenty-two works. Of these, a moment ago, we counted twenty-one that had already happened during the six days. The twenty-second is the kingdom of the coming age, which has been prepared,¹⁷ and the spiritual vision. On account of this, indeed, the Jew has only twenty-two letters in his alphabet. And on account of this, he counts twenty-two books in his entire Old Testament. But he does not

¹ Cf Gen 25:24-26. ² Cf Ex 12:37-42; Jos 3:17; 4:10-13; Heb 11:9. ³ Cf Gal 4:26.

⁴ Cf Ex 14:21-29; 1 Cor 10:1-5. ⁵ Cf Gal 4:26; Heb 9:24. ⁶ Cf Heb 6:20; 9:3, 12.

⁷ Cf 1 Kg 8:1-7. ⁸ Cf 2 Sam 6:12-17. ⁹ Cf 1 Sam 5:1-7:1. ¹⁰ Cf Ex 40:20.

¹¹ Cf Mt 2:11. ¹² Cf Gen 2:7; Rom 5:14; 1 Cor 15:45. ¹³ Cf Gen 1:5, 8, 13, 19, 20, 31.

¹⁴ Cf Mt 8:11; 22:8; 25:34. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 2:2. ¹⁶ Mt 25:34. ¹⁷ Cf Mt 22:4; 25:34.

παλαιὰν αὐτοῦ διαθήκην ἀριθμεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδε διὰ τί οὐδ' ἐπίσταται τὸ
 μυστήριον τοῦ εἰκοστοῦ δευτέρου ἀριθμοῦ οὔτε μὴν ἐννοεῖ ὅτι ὁ μὲν
 115 σημαίνων τὸν ἐκ δύο τελείων συγκείμενον Χριστόν, θεότητος λέγω καὶ
 ἀνθρωπότητος, δύο διαθήκας γράψαντα, λέγω δὴ Μωσαϊκὴν δεκάλογον
 καὶ εὐαγγελικὴν. Οὕτω γὰρ πληροῦται ὁ εἰκοστός δευτέρος ἀριθμός ἐκ
 δύο δεκαλόγων καὶ δύο οὔσιων, Χριστοῦ θεότητος καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος.

120 II 1. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὰ περὶ καταπαύσεως καὶ συντελείας τῆς ἐβδόμης
 ἡμέρας ὁ λόγος κατήντησεν, οὐδὲν ἀπείκός, ἵνα καὶ τινὰς φωνὰς τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ, ἃς περὶ συντελείας εἰρήκαμεν, εἰς μέσον ἀγάγωμεν. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ
 τῇ παρὰ βολῇ τῶν δέκα παρθένων μεσοῦσης τῆς νυκτὸς εἶρηκεν ἐξ
 941A οὐρανοῦ ὡς νυμφίον ἑαυτὸν ἐρχεσθαι. Τὸ δὲ μεσονύκτιον τέταρτον τοῦ
 νυχθημέρου ψηφίζεται. Ἐγένετο γὰρ φησὶν ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωΐ,
 125 ἡμέρα μία. Ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα Κυρίου χιλιονταετηρίδος χρόνον ἔχει, ὡς εἶναι
 λοιπὸν τὸ μεσονύκτιον τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἐβδόμης ἡμέρας τὸ διακοσιοστόν
 πεντηκοστόν ἔτος, ὅπερ πάλιν ὁ Κύριος αἰνίττεται λέγων· *Τίς ἄρα ἐστὶν*
ὁ πιστός καὶ φρόνιμος δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος, ὃν ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ εὐρήσει
γρηγοροῦντα. Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῦ
 130 *καταστήσει αὐτόν, καὶ ἐὰν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ τρίτῃ φυλακῇ ἔλθῃ καὶ εὕρῃ*
οὕτως, μακάριός ἐστιν ὁ δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος. Τεσσαρῶν τοίνυν φυλακῶν τῆς
 νυκτὸς οὕσων τί δήποτε οὐ λέγει ὁ Κύριος ὅτι ἄν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ φυλακῇ,
 ἀλλὰ τὴν δευτέραν καὶ τὴν τρίτην ὀνομάσας παρέδραμε τὴν πρώτην καὶ
 τὴν τετάρτην· ὥστε συμφωνεῖ πάλιν τῷ μεσονυκτίῳ ἡ δευτέρα καὶ ἡ
 135 τρίτη φυλακή. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ τελεία καὶ πεπληρωμένη νύξ ἐστὶ τὸ
 πεντακοσιοστόν ἔτος τῆς ἡμέρας, τὸ δὲ μεσονύκτιον τὸ διακοσιοστόν
 πεντηκοστόν ὑπάρχει ἔτος. Ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς δευτέρας
 φυλακῆς καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς τρίτης φυλακῆς ὁ αὐτὸς διακοσιοστός
 πεντηκοστός χρόνος ὑπάρχει.

140 2. Ταῦτα δὲ πρὸς ψυχαγωγίαν οἱ ἐξηγηταὶ στοχαστικῶς, ἀλλ' οὐχ
 ὀριστικῶς εἰρήκασιν. Οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόησαν τὸν λέγοντα ὅτι *Περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας*
καὶ ὥρας ἐκείνης οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ. Πλήν, φασί, τὴν
 ἡμέραν αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν ὥραν ἀπέκρυπεν ὁ Θεός, τοὺς δὲ χρόνους καὶ τοὺς
 145 καιροὺς δυνατὸν στοχάσασθαι τοὺς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔχοντας τὸ καὶ
 τὰ βάθη τοῦ Θεοῦ γινώσκον. Στοχαζόμεθα οὖν, φησὶν, ἐκ τῶν
 πραγμάτων καὶ ρημάτων τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς γραφῆς τῶν περὶ συντελείας
 αἰνιγματωδῶς καὶ ἀποκρύφως εἰρημένων, πλὴν τὴν ἀληθῆ τε ἐκβασιν καὶ
 τὸ πέρας τοῦ αἰῶνος μόνος ἐπίσταται ὁ τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν ἀπάντων
 ποιητής.

150 3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτως οὐδὲν ἡδὺ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ μάλιστα παρ' οἷς τὸ

119 εὐδόμης M 125 χρόνων NP 126 εὐδόμης M 127 ἐνίττεται P 130 καὶ] om. P
 131 μακάριος ἐστὶν MP 133 τὴν] τῇ M add. τὴν P τὴν] om. M 136 πεντακοσιωστόν P
 137 πεντηκοστὸν NP^{corr} 138 φυλακῆς· τρίτης] om. P 140/1 οὐ χωριστικῶς P οὐ χωριστικῶς M

know why. He does not understand the mystery of the twenty-second
 number. No, he does not comprehend that the number twenty is com-
 posed of two perfect numbers, tens, signifying that Christ, who is
 composed of two perfections—I am speaking of the human and divine—
 wrote two Testaments: the Mosaic decalogue and the evangelical.¹ The
 number twenty-two is thus the sum of these two decalogues and two
 natures, the divinity and humanity of Christ.

II 1. This discussion has now arrived at things pertaining to the
 pause and consummation on the seventh day. It is therefore not
 unreasonable that we bring forward some of Christ's statements, which
 we have mentioned concerning the consummation.

He said, in the parable of the ten virgins, that he himself would come
 from heaven like a bridegroom in the middle of the night.² Midnight is
 counted as one fourth of the full period of night and day, for Scripture
 says: *Evening came and dawn came, one day.*³ But the Lord's day is one
 thousand years long.⁴ So midnight of the present seventh day is the two
 hundred and fiftieth year. The Lord suggests this again when he says:
"Who then is that faithful and intelligent slave, whom his lord, when he
*comes, will find awake?"*⁵ *Amen I say to you, that he will put him in*
*charge of all his things.*⁶ *And if in the second and third watch he comes*
*and finds him so,*⁷ *blessed is that slave.*⁸ Since there are four watches in
 a night, why does the Lord not say: "If in the first watch"? Why did he
 name the second and third and pass over the first and fourth? So that
 the second and third watch would be in harmony with midnight. The
 complete and finished night is the five hundredth year of the complete
 day; midnight is the two hundred and fiftieth year. So, both the
 completion of the second watch and the beginning of the third watch is
 the same two hundred and fiftieth year.

2. For the sake of spiritual growth, the exegetes said these things
 speculatively but not precisely. They did not ignore the one that said:
*"No one, not even the angels of God, know about that day and hour."*⁹
 Although God concealed that day and hour,¹⁰ they said, it is still possible
 that they who have the Holy Spirit,¹¹ which knows the depths of God,¹²
 can speculate about the years and seasons. Therefore from the actions
 and words of God and from Scripture, they said, from what has been
 said in a mysterious and hidden fashion concerning the consummation,
 we can speculate. He alone, however, the creator of time and all things,
 knows for sure the real termination and boundary of the age.¹³

3. Since nothing is so enjoyable for people, especially those in whom

¹ Cf Ex 20:1-17. ² Cf Mt 25:1, 6. ³ Cf Gen 1:5. ⁴ Cf Ps 89(90):4; 2 Pet 3:8.

⁵ Mt 24:45-46; cf Lk 12:37. ⁶ Mt 24:47; Lk 12:44. ⁷ Lk 12:38. ⁸ Mt 24:46.

⁹ Mt 24:36; Mk 13:32. ¹⁰ Cf Acts 1:7. ¹¹ Cf 1 Cor 7:40. ¹² Cf 1 Cor 2:10-11.

¹³ Cf Wis 8:8.

βάσκανον τοῦ φθόνου ἀνύλιζεται, ὡς τὸ λοιδορεῖν καὶ ἀνατρέπειν τὰ
 ἀλλότρια ἐπὶ βλάβῃ καὶ καταστροφῇ τῶν ἀκούοντων, καὶ μέλλουσιν, ὡς
 εἰκός, τινὲς ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς ψήφου καὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν χρόνων, ὧν
 155 ἐν τοῖς ἕξ δειλινοῖς καὶ μέσοις τῶν χιλιονταετηρίδων εἰρήκαμεν, ἴσως
 ἑλλειπόντων βραχέων τινῶν χρόνων ἢ καὶ περιττενόντων πρὸς μὲν
 τοὺς ἀξίους πληροφορίας ἐκεῖνο ἀπολογούμεθα, ὅτι ἡ τοιαύτη αἰτία ἐκ
 τῶν κατὰ καιροὺς χρονογράφων γέγονε μὴ συμφώνως ψηφισάντων.
 Δεύτερον δὲ γινώσκειν ἔχρην ὅτι ἄλλως ψηφίζουσιν Ἑβραίων παῖδες τὸν
 χρόνον καὶ ἄλλως ἢ Ῥωμαϊκῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παράδοσις. Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ
 160 τριακοσίων πεντήκοντα τεσσάρων ἀριθμὸν ἀριθμοῦσι τὸ ἔτος καὶ μόνων,
 πλὴν ὅτι οὐκ ἀκριβοῦται ποτε τὸ σπάνιον ἢ ἐκκλησία, ἐπεὶ εὕρισκε καὶ ἐπὶ
 τῶν τετρακοσίων χρόνων, ὧν εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Ἀβραάμ δουλοῦσθαι καὶ
 κακοῦσθαι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων, ὅτι οὐ τετρακοσίους χρόνους
 ἐδούλευσαν Αἰγυπτίοις, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι | ἐτῶν πάλιν, ὧν εἶπεν
 165 ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς Νῶε, μὴ τούτων περατωθέντων, καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλων πλείστων
 χρόνων ὁμοίως.

III 1. Καὶ τὸ μὴ κεῖσθαι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης ἡμέρας κατ' ἰσότητα τῶν
 ἄλλων ἡμερῶν τό· Καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωΐ σύμβολόν ἐστιν
 ἑναργὲς τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ γενομένης συντελείας πρὸ τῆς συμπληρώσεως
 170 αὐτῆς, ὡς φασιν οἱ πατέρες καὶ μάλιστα οἱ περὶ τὸν ἱερὸν Κλήμεντα καὶ
 Εἰρηναῖον καὶ Ἰουστίνον τὸν μάρτυρα καὶ φιλόσοφον, ὅστις λίαν τε
 ὑπερσφῶς εἰς τὸν ἕκτον ὑπομνηματίζων τῆς ἑκτῆς ἡμέρας ἀριθμὸν τὴν
 νοερὰν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν καὶ τὰς πέντε αὐτοῦ αἰσθητικὰς αἰσθήσεις
 λέγει γὰρ ἕξ ἔργα τῆς ἑκτῆς ἡμέρας. "Ὅθεν καὶ πολλὰ διεξελθὼν περὶ τοῦ
 175 ἕκτου ἀριθμοῦ πάντα φησὶ τὰ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ δημιουργηθέντα ἐξαχῶς
 διαίρεσθαι, τουτέστιν εἰς νοερά καὶ ἀθάνατα, οἳοὶ εἰσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι, καὶ εἰς
 λογικὰ θνητά, οἵτινές εἰσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ εἰς αἰσθητικὰ ἄλογα, οἳ εἰσι
 τὰ κτήνη καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες, καὶ εἰς ἐκπορευτὰ μεταστατικά
 ἀναίσθητα, οἳ εἰσιν οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ αἱ νεφέλαι καὶ τὰ ὕδατα καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες,
 180 καὶ εἰς αὐξητικὰ ἀμετάστατα, οἳ εἰσι τὰ δένδρα, καὶ εἰς ἀναίσθητα
 ἀμετάστατα, οἳ εἰσι τὰ ὄρη καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. Πάντα γὰρ τὰ
 κτίσματα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς μιᾶς τινος τούτων τῶν ἕξ
 διαστολῶν ἅπτεται καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς περιώριστα. Ἐπίστηθι γὰρ ὁ καλῶς
 185 ἐξαήμερου κτίσεως δημιουργὸς Χριστὸς ἐξ ἐξαχοῦ τινος οἰονεῖ πως συνέ-
 στηκεν ἀριθμοῦ, τῆς τετραστοίχου λέγω σαρκὸς | καὶ ψυχῆς νοερᾶς καὶ
 τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος.

942A

943A

malicious envy is lurking, as to mock and refute things that are not their
 own, causing catastrophic harm for those listening, indeed some are
 probably going to attack the calculation and the number of years that we
 have stated about the six afternoons and the middles of the millennia,
 since probably some few years were left out or were incorrectly added.
 For those that deserve such information, we make the defense first that
 such a tally arose from chroniclers who counted season by season, but
 who were not always in harmony. Second, it is necessary to realize that
 the scholars among the Hebrews calculate time in one way and the
 Roman [Constantinopolitan] tradition of the Church in another way.
 The former count three hundred and fifty four days in a year—and only
 that many. The Church, however, never calculates precisely the
 shortfall. For example, God said to Abraham that Israel must serve and
 suffer under the Egyptians for four hundred years;¹ but the Church
 finds that they did not serve the Egyptians four hundred years.² And
 again, God said to Noah one hundred and twenty years;³ but they were
 not terminated then. And the situation is similar with respect to many
 other dates.

III 1. The phrase *and evening came and morning came*⁴ was not
 applied to the seventh day, as it was to the other days. This is a vivid
 symbol that the consummation took place on this day⁵ before the day's
 completion. That is what the Fathers say, especially those around Saint
 Clement and Irenaeus and Justin the martyr and philosopher.

The latter makes note, in a way that is exceedingly wise, of the
 number six of the sixth day, i.e. the intelligent soul of man and his five
 senses of perception; for he is explaining the six works of the sixth day.
 And having gone through many things about the number six in detail,
 he then says that all things created by God were divisible into six
 categories. More specifically: into the noetic and immortal (who are the
 angels); the rational mortals (who are men); those that have senses but
 are without reason (which are the cattle, birds, and fish); those that
 change places and move about, but are without sense perception (which
 are the winds, clouds, waters, and stars); those that do not change
 places, but increase (which are the trees); and senseless things that do
 not change places (which are the mountains and the earth and such).
 Every thing created by God in heaven and on earth is comprehended by
 these six categories and belongs to one of them.

You, who examine well the good things of God the good creator, fix
 your mind on knowing that Christ himself, the maker of the six-day
 creation, is also somehow a composite of the sum of six. I am speaking of
 his body with its four elements, his intelligent soul, and his divinity.

¹ Cf Gen 15:13. ² Cf Ex 12:40-41. ³ Cf Gen 6:3. ⁴ Gen 1:5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31.

⁵ Cf Mt 13:39-40, 49; 24:3; 28:20.

161/2 τὰ - βλάβῃ] τὰ ἐπὶ βλάβῃ M^{corr} τὰ ἀλλότρια· ἐπὶβλάβῃ P 163 εἰκὼς P
 155 περιτενόντων N 167 καιροῦς] add. καὶ P ψηφισάντων P 158/9 ψηφίζουσιν -
 ἄλλως] om. M 160 μόνων P 162 Ἀβραάμ] scripsi Ἀβραάμ MNP 167 εὐδόμης M
 168 καὶ] om. P 174 γὰρ] MNP ἐξ N 180 αὐξητικὸς M ἀμετάστατα P^{corr}
 ἀναίσθητα] add. καὶ P 183 περιώριται M 184 γινώσκει MP 185/6 συνέστησεν(εν) N
 186 τετραστοίχου] correxi τετραστίχου MNP 187 αὐτοῦ] om. P

2. Οὐκοῦν, εἰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτόν συντείνοντα ἔκτισται τὰ ἐν
οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς, ὡς Παῦλος βοᾷ, πάντως τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀριθ-
190 μου ἑξάδα σημαίνει καὶ δηλοῖ ταύτην πᾶς ὁ ἐν παλαιᾷ καὶ καινῇ διαθήκῃ
ἔκτος ἀριθμός. Διό, ὡς τοῦ Χριστοῦ περιέχοντος καὶ δεσπύοντος
πάντων, τούτου χάριν ὁ ἑξακισχιλιοστὸς ἀριθμὸς τῆς ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι
λεγομένης μονάδος ἐστὶ πάσης ψήφου καὶ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ μονάδων καὶ
195 δυνάδων καὶ τριάδων ἐν τε τοῖς ἐπιγείοις καὶ μετεώροις κτίσμασι
περικεκτοῦ, πάσης ἀριθμητικῆς ἐπιστήμης καὶ ποσότητος σημαντικὸς ὢν.
Καὶ τούτου χάριν τῇ ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ πρῶτος Ἀδὰμ γέγονεν ὡς τὴν εἰκόνα
τῶν ἀμερίστων μερῶν τοῦ ἑξαήμερου ἀδιαίρετου Χριστοῦ τοῦ δευτέρου
Ἀδὰμ προδιατυπούμενος τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐπὶ γῆς
συντεθέντος καὶ ἐπιφανέντος, λέγω δὴ τῷ πεντακισχιλιοστῷ πεντακοσι-
200 οστῷ χρόνῳ, ὅπερ ὑπάρχει μέσεμβρόν τε καὶ δειλινὸν καὶ τῇ ἑκτῇ ὥρᾳ
μεσάζον, δηλαδή τῇ ἑκτῇ ποσότητι τοῦ αἰῶνος, ὥστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ
ἐν τῇ ἑκτῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς ἑκτῆς ἡμέρας τῷ δειλινῷ τότε ἐν τῷ κήπῳ καὶ
παραδείσῳ ὁ Ἀδὰμ γέγονεν ἐκ γῆς καὶ θείου ἐμφυσήματος, λέγω δὴ ἐξ
ὁρατῆς καὶ ἀοράτου φύσεως, τὸν ὁρατὸν καὶ ἀόρατον προδιαγράφων
205 Χριστὸν τὸν τῇ ἑκτῇ ὥρᾳ εἰς εἰκόνα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῇ δρυὶ
τῇ Μαμβρῇ τῷ Ἀβραάμ ὀφθέντα καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἐκεῖ τοῦ μόσχου
ποιήσαντα, τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ προτυποῦντα, καὶ βρώσεως ἀνθρωπίνης
μεταλαμβάνοντα, τὸ σαρκικὸν ἑαυτοῦ προτυποῦντα, καὶ τὴν στερίωσιν τῆς
Σάρρας λύσαντα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τίκει γὰρ οὐχ ἓνα, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς
210 Ἰσαάκ, καὶ ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τυπικῶς προσκηνώσαντα, ἐνοικεῖ γὰρ καὶ
ἐμπεριπατεῖ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεός. Μέσεμβρον δὲ καὶ πάλιν καὶ δειλινὸν ἦν
καὶ ἑκτῇ ὥρᾳ, ἡνίκα Ἰωσήφ εἰς εἰκόνα Χριστοῦ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφοῖς
ἐμφανισθεὶς συνηρίστησε καὶ τὸ πάσχα Χριστοῦ παραδόξως προδιέγρα-
ψε καὶ τότε τὸν λάκκον κατῴκισε προμηνύων τὸν μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐκεῖνο
215 βληθησόμενον τῷ λάκκῳ τοῦ τάφου Χριστόν. Ἐκτῇ ὥρᾳ ἦν κάκεινη,
ἡνίκα ἡ θαυμαστὴ Ροῦθ ὡς καλὴ ἐκκλησία τῷ βόοζ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ
προσπελάσασα, ὡς Χριστῷ λιμώττουσα, διεδράφη παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
ὁμόζυγος αὐτοῦ καὶ σύζυγος γέγονεν, ἦν καλῶς μιμησαμένη ἐκείνη ἡ
ἐθνικὴ ἐκκλησία ἡ πάνσοφος Σαμαρεῖτις, ἡ ζητοῦσα πῶς δεῖ καὶ ποῦ
220 προσκυνεῖν τῷ θεῷ, τῇ ἑκτῇ ὥρᾳ Χριστῷ προσέδραμεν ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ
καθεζομένη τὸ τῆς κολυμβήθρας καὶ τὸ τοῦ λόγου καὶ αὐτὴν
προσδεχομένη ἐκπαλαι, ἡνίκα ἡλευθέρωσε τοῦ δουλεύειν καὶ ὑδροφορεῖν
τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις εἰδώλοις ἡτοῦν ἰδρώττειν ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτὰ πονεῖσθαι,
ὡς ἐκείνη τοῖς Σαμαρεῖταις ὑδροχόει.

3. Πάντα δὲ ταῦτα τὰ δειλινὰ τῆς ἑκτῆς ὥρας ποιεῖ Χριστὸς δι' ἐκεῖνον
225 τὸν ἐν παραδείσῳ ἄνθρωπον ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ δειλινῷ παρατραπέντα ἐν

2. If *everything* in heaven and on earth *was created through him and strives for him*, as Paul says,¹ then surely every number six in the Old and New Testaments suggests and reveals this six-fold sum in him.

Christ embraces and rules all things. On account of this, the number six thousand embraces every monad mentioned in the Scriptures—every number and sum and all monads and dyads and triads in the things on earth and in the air—because it is indicative of every mathematical amount that is known. And on account of this, the first Adam came into being on the sixth day. He was prefiguring the image of the undivided parts of the second Adam,² of the indivisible Christ of the six days, who was put together and became visible on earth on the sixth day of time.³ I am speaking about the five thousand and five hundredth year, which is both midday and afternoon; it is in the middle, in the sixth hour. Obviously it is in the sixth portion of time. On account of this, indeed in the sixth hour of the sixth day, in the afternoon, in the garden of Paradise, Adam came into being from earth and God's breath⁴—I am speaking now of his visible and invisible nature. He foreshadowed the visible and invisible Christ, who as an image of himself and the Church, appeared in the sixth hour to Abraham at the oak of Mamre.⁵ He made a sacrifice there of a lamb, thus creating a type of his death, and took mortal food, creating a type of his Incarnation. He also cured the sterility of Sarrah, the Church, which gives birth not to one, but to many Isaacs.⁶ And he settled in the tent, as a symbol: for God lives and moves about in the Church.⁷

It was midday again, the afternoon, the sixth hour, when Joseph as an image of Christ appeared to his brothers and shared a meal with them.⁸ So, unexpectedly, he prefigured the Paschal Lamb, Christ. And then he occupied the cistern.⁹ This also was a premonition of Christ, who after the Last Supper was going to be thrown into the cistern of his tomb.¹⁰

And it was the sixth hour when the marvelous Ruth approached Boaz in the field, like the beautiful Church, in hunger, approaching Christ. And she was nourished by him and became his partner and wife.¹¹ She was beautifully imitated by that wise Samaritan woman, the gentile Church, who inquired how and where one must worship God. In the sixth hour she met Christ, who was sitting at the well of the font, the well of the Word, and who for a long time received her hospitably. Then he freed her from carrying water and serving foreign idols, indeed from the sweat of her labor for them. For she was carrying water for the Samaritans.¹²

3. Christ did all these things in the afternoon, at the sixth hour. He did them on account of that person in Paradise, who went astray that

¹ Col 1:16. ² Cf Gen 1:27, 1 Cor 15:45-49. ³ Cf Mt 2:11. ⁴ Cf Gen 2:7. ⁵ Cf Gen 18:1. ⁶ Cf Gen 18:9-15; 21:1-2. ⁷ Cf Lev 26:12; 2 Cor 6:16. ⁸ Cf Gen 45:1-15. ⁹ Cf Gen 50:26. ¹⁰ Cf Mt 26:20-29; 27:57-60; Mk 14:17-25; 15:42-46; Lk 22:14-38; 23:50-54; Jn 13:1-17, 26; 19:38-42. ¹¹ Cf Ru 2:2-14; 4:1-13. ¹² Cf Jn 4:6-7, 15, 20.

192 τοῖς Μ 193 λεγομένοις Ρ 199 πεντακισχιλιωστῷ Ρ 199/200 πεντακοσιωστῷ Ρ 202 τῇ om. Ρ ἑκτῆς] om. Ρ 206 ἀβραάμ] MNP lege Ἀβραάμ 207 ποιήσαντα] add. καὶ Ρ 210 προσκηνήσαντα Ν 211 ἐκκλησίᾳ] add. ὁ Ν 215 βλαθησόμενον Μ^{corr.} 218 ὁμόζυγος Μ^{corr.} 219 ἐθνική Ρ δεῖ] δὴ Μ 220 τὸ] τῷ Ρ 226 παραιτραπέντα Ν

ἐκείνῳ τῷ κήπῳ. Δι' αὐτὸν γὰρ τὸν πρωτόπλαστον Ἀδὰμ ἐπὶ τὸν
κῆπον τοῦ Γολγοθᾶ ἐκεῖ κείμενον νεκρὸν ἐν δειλινῷ καὶ ἕκτη ὥρᾳ ἐν
σταυρῷ ἀνέρχεται τῇ ἕκτη ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐν | τῇ ἕκτη ὥρᾳ τῆς 944A
αὐτῆς χιλιονταετηρίδος καὶ τῇ ἕκτη ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐβδομάδος καὶ τῇ ἕκτῃ
ὥρᾳ τῆς ἕκτης ἡμέρας, ἣν σαφῶς προδιέγραφεν ἡ προκειμένη ἡμῖν ἕκτη
ἡμέρα τῆς ἐξαήμερου κτίσεως εἰς διήγησιν. Εἴ τις γὰρ βούλοιτο ὥσπερ ἐν
μέσῳ τούτων τῶν δύο ἡμερῶν σκοπεῖν, λέγω δὴ ἐκείνης τῆς ἕκτης ἡμέρας
καὶ τῆς ἐν ἣ ὁ δευτέρως Ἀδὰμ Χριστὸς ἐκουσίως τὸ πάθος ἔπαθεν, εὐρή-
σειε ταύτας ὥσπερ ἀπαρallάκτους τινὰς καὶ ἀντιτύπους καὶ ἰσοφυεῖς
δύο εἰκόνας ἀλλήλας μιμουμένας καὶ ἀλλήλαις διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων
ἐξομοιουμένας. Καὶ ἤδη μὲν εἴρηται καὶ διὰ πλάτος ἐν τῇ μυστικῇ θεωρίᾳ
τῶν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ σωτηρίων Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν παθημάτων,
κακέϊσε παραπέμπομεν τὸν φιλομαθῆ ἀκροατήν.

IV 1. Ὁμοίως, ἐπεὶπερ ὁ πᾶς ἡμῶν σκοπὸς οὗτός ἐστι τῆς παρούσης
πραγματείας ὥστε δεῖξαι ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ ἐξαήμερος ἐπουράνιος τε καὶ
ἐπίγειος κτίσις τὴν σάρκωσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
προδιαγράφουσι, ἀναγκαῖον λοιπὸν ὀλίγα ἐκ πολλῶν τῆς ἀρχαίας
ἐκείνης ἕκτης ἡμέρας παραστήσαι, πῶς προδιαγράφουσι τὰ σωτήρια
πάθη τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἅπερ ἐν τῇ ἕκτη ἡμέρᾳ ἔπαθεν, πῶς αὐτεξούσιος ὁ
Ἀδὰμ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γενόμενος ἐκουσίως καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τινος ἀνάγκης ἔπαθεν,
αὐτεξουσίως καθ' ἐκούσιον γνώμην καὶ ὁ Δεσπότης τὸ πάθος ὕψιστι.
Πρόσεχε καὶ τοῖς ῥηθησομένοις, καὶ ὅψει τοὺς τύπους ἕκτοτε
προδιαγράφοντας τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

2. Ἀπὸ βρώσεως ὁ Ἀδὰμ τὸν θάνατον ἔπαθε· διὸ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπὸ
βρώσεως τοῦ δεῖπνου ἀναστὰς ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἦλθε. Διὰ
τῆς Εὐας ἔπαθεν ὁ Ἀδὰμ· ὁμοίως καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἔπαθεν ὁ
Χριστός. Καὶ ἵνα συνελών εἶπω, ἔφαγεν ὁ Ἀδὰμ, ἔφυγεν, ἐκρύβη ἐν κήπῳ,
ἐζητήθη, εὐρέθη, κατεδικάσθη, καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως ἀπέθανεν. Ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ
Χριστὸς ἔφαγε τὸ δεῖπνον, ἔφυγεν ἐκουσίως εἰς τὸ ὄρος προσευξόμενος,
ἐκρύβη ἐν τῷ κήπῳ τοῦ χειμάρρου τῶν κέδρων, ἐζητήθη ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων
καὶ εὐρέθη ὑπὸ Ἰούδα δόντος σύσημον τὸ φίλημα, ἐξεβλήθη δεδεμένος
ἐκεῖθεν ἐκ τοῦ κήπου ὡς ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἐνυβρίσθη τὸ ξύλον
φέρων ἐπ' ὤμων καὶ κατὰρα γεγωνὼς διὰ τὸν καταραθέντα κατακρίθη,
ἄξιός ἐστιν εἰπόντων τῶν συνελθόντων θανάτου ἐστί, καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἔξω τῆς
Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀπέθανε διὰ τὸν ἔξω τοῦ παραδείσου ὑποστάντα τὸν
θάνατον πρωτόπλαστον. Ἀπὸ κήπου ἐξηλθε καὶ ἐν κήπῳ εἰσῆλθε σταυ-
ρωθεὶς ἐπὶ ξύλου διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἐν τῷ κήπῳ προδοθέντα καὶ εἰς
τὸν κῆπον τοῦ κόσμου εἰσελθόντα, ἵνα ὡς λάχανα χόρτου πάντα
ἐμβόσκηται, βοσκηματώδης γὰρ καὶ ἄλογος μετὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐγένετο.

afternoon in that garden.¹ On account of that first-formed Adam,² lying
dead there in the enclosure of Golgotha, in the sixth hour of the
afternoon, Christ ascended the cross on the sixth day of time, in the
sixth hour of the same millennium, on the sixth day of the week, in the
sixth hour of the sixth day.³ And this was clearly foreshadowed by the
sixth day of the six-day creation, lying here before us as a narrative.

If one should wish to look, as if standing between them, at these two
days—I am speaking of that sixth day and the day when Christ the
second Adam⁴ willingly suffered his passion⁵—one would find them like
types corresponding indistinguishably, like two similar representations,
recalling one another and assimilating one another through their
actions. But we have already discussed this at length in our mystical
contemplation of the sufferings and salvation of Christ our God, as
recorded in the Good Word. The reader that is eager for knowledge is
referred there.

IV 1. If the whole object of our present enterprise is to demonstrate
that all of the six-day creation of heaven and earth foreshadowed the
Incarnation of God the Word and the Church, then it is necessary still to
present a few of the many elements from that original sixth day. How
did they foreshadow the salvific Passion of Christ, which he suffered on
the sixth day? Why did Adam, who had been created free by God, suffer
by his own will and under no obligation? And why did the Lord, by his
own will and according to his own intention, undergo his Passion?

Pay attention to the things that will be said, and you will see the
types that even then prefigured the truth.

2. Adam suffered his death after a meal.⁶ On account of this, Christ
went to his passion and death after he had risen from eating the
supper.⁷ Adam suffered on account of Eve.⁸ Likewise, Christ suffered on
account of the Church.⁹ In brief: Adam ate, fled, hid in the garden, was
sought, was found, was condemned, and so died.¹⁰ Similarly: Christ ate
the supper;¹¹ fled willingly to the Mount of Olives to pray;¹² hid in the
garden of the Valley of Cedars; was hunted by the Jews; and was found
by Judas, who gave a kiss as a signal.¹³ He was bound and cast out of
the orchard,¹⁴ as was Adam, out of the garden.¹⁵ Carrying the tree upon
his shoulders,¹⁶ he was ridiculed.¹⁷ And having become a malediction¹⁸
on account of the one who had been cursed,¹⁹ he was condemned. They
came together and said: *"He is worthy of death."*²⁰ And he went out of
Jerusalem and died,²¹ on account of the first-formed one, who had sub-
mitted to death outside of Paradise.²²

He went out from a garden²³ and entered into a garden, where he was
crucified on a tree.²⁴ And this was done on account of the person that
had been betrayed in the garden,²⁵ and who then entered into the gar-
den of the world, where he might graze upon every green pasture. For

¹ Cf Gen 3:1-6. ² Cf Gen 2:7. ³ Cf Mt 27:45; Mk 15:33; Lk 23:44; Jn 19:14. ⁴ Cf 1 Cor 15:45. ⁵ Cf Jn 10:17-18. ⁶ Cf Gen 3:1-6, 19; 5:5. ⁷ Cf Mt 26:30-29:50; Mk 14:26-15:37; Lk 22:38-23:46; Jn 14:31; 18:1-19:30. ⁸ Cf Gen 3:6-7. ⁹ Cf Eph 5:25-27. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 3:6-19; 5:5. ¹¹ Cf Mt 26:20-29; Mk 14:17-25; Lk 22:14-38; Jn 13:1-17:26. ¹² Cf Mt 26:36; Mk 14:26, 32; Lk 22:39-40. ¹³ Cf Mt 26:47-49; Mk 14:43-45; Lk 22:47-48; Jn 18:1-5. ¹⁴ Cf Jn 18:12-13. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 3:23-24. ¹⁶ Cf Jn 19:17. ¹⁷ Cf Heb 10:29. ¹⁸ Cf Gal 3:13. ¹⁹ Cf Gen 3:17-19. ²⁰ Mt 26:66. ²¹ Cf Jn 19:17, 30. ²² Cf Gen 2:7; 3:23-24; 5:5.

228 ἐν] *add.* τῷ P 229 τῆς] *om.* P 230 εὐδομάδος M ἐβδόμης N^{a,corr.} 232 εἰς] *om.* P 236 ἀλλήλαις] ἀλλήλαι M 238 Θεοῦ] χ(ριστο)ῦ N 245 αὐτεξουσίως M^{a,corr.} P 248 ὅψη P ἔκτοτε] *forsitan* ἔκτους; cf. Hn. 251 θάτον P 253 συνελθὼν M 254 ἐζητήθη P 258 παραδείσου] *add.* ὁ P 259 φέρον P ὁμιον N 260 εἰπων M^{a,corr.} 264 λάχανα] λάνα P

"Οθεν ἐν τῷ Κρανίῳ κῆπος, ἔνθα ὁ Ἀδάμ νεκρὸς ἔκειτο. Ἐκεῖ ἐλθὼν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου κρεμάμενος τὸν παράδεισον ἠνέωξε τῷ ληστῇ. Νυκτὶ δὲ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐσθίει τὸ πάσχα τοῦ πάθους, ἐπειδὴ ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ ἔφαγεν ὁ Ἀδάμ καὶ προεδόθη, πρὶν ἡ διανοιχθῶσιν αὐτοῦ οἱ ὀφθαλμοί.

270 3. Τρία ξύλα ἦν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, τὸ μὲν ἵνα | ἐσθίῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, τὰ 945A
δ' ἄλλα δύο τὸ μὲν τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς, τὸ δὲ τὸ ξύλον τοῦ γινώσκειν
καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τρία ξύλα ἐπάγησαν ἐν τῷ κήπῳ τοῦ
Γολγοθᾶ, τὸ μὲν ξύλον τοῦ σωθέντος ληστοῦ, ἵνα τρυγῶμεν δι' αὐτοῦ
τὸν ἀδιάρρευστον τῆς θεολογίας καρπὸν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος, τὸν παράδεισον καὶ
275 τούτου φαγόντες εὐφρανθῶμεν οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ αἰεὶ τοῦτον ἐσθίοντες. Ὁ
δὲ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ ξύλον ἐστὶ τῆς ζωῆς, ἐν ᾧ ὁ βότρυσ ὁ πέπει-
ρος ἀπηώρητο καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἐμπροσθεν ἡμῶν ὠρᾶτο κρεμαμένη, οὗ
τῇ δυνάμει καὶ πολλοὶ ἐκ τῶν μνημάτων ζωωθέντες ἠγείροντο. Τὸ δὲ
ξύλον τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν ὁ τοῦ βλασφήμου ὑπῆρχε
280 σταυρὸς, ὃς εἰς καλὸν μὲν ἐπάγη ἐκείνῳ, εἰ ἤθελεν, εἰς κακὸν δ' ἐτελεύτησε
τὴν γλώσσαν ἐκτείναντι μετὰ γνώμης ἀγνώμονος ἐκ προπετείας καὶ ἀντὶ
θεολόγου κακῶς βλασφημήσαντι καὶ φαγόντι τὸν εἰς ἀπώλειαν θάνατον.

4. Τρεῖς κατὰ δίκην ἡμάρτον ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ὁ Ἀδάμ καὶ ἡ Εὐὰ καὶ ὁ
ὄφις, ἐξ ὧν οἱ μὲν δύο ἐσώθησαν, ὁ δὲ εἰς ἀπώλετο, ὥστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
285 καὶ ἐν τῷ Κρανίῳ τριῶν καταδίκων κρεμωμένων (ὠνομάζετο γὰρ καὶ ὁ
Κύριος ἁμαρτία καὶ τοὶ καταδίκαι δι' αὐτὴν μὴ ὦν, τοῦ δ' εἶναι τὸ λέγεσ-
θαι μόνον ἔχον) ὁ εἰς ἀχάριστος ληστής τύπος ὑπάρχων τοῦ διαβόλου
καὶ τοῦ ὄφεως καὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα τοῦ ἐν ξύλῳ ἀπαγξαμένου ἀπώλετο.
Ὡς περ γὰρ γέγραπται ὅτι δόλῳ ἠπατήθη ὁ Ἀδάμ, οὕτως καὶ ὁ Ἰούδας
290 φιλήματι καὶ δόλῳ τὴν προδοσίαν πεποίηκε, καὶ ὡς περ εἴρηται ὅτι ὁ
διάβολος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ὄφιν, οὕτως γέγραπται ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Σατανᾶς
εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ Ἰούδα τοῦ μαθητοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Μαθητὴς
δὲ ἦν ποτε καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐν οὐρανοῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἁγίων
μαθητῶν, λέγω δὴ τῶν ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχόν-
295 των αὐτῶν εἰς ἐτύγχανε, περὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ εἴρηται ὅτι Ὑμεῖς δὲ ὡς
ἄνθρωποι ἀποθνήσκετε καὶ ὡς εἰς τῶν ἀρχόντων πίπτετε. Διὸ καὶ ὁ
Ἰούδας εἰς ὑπῆρχεν ἐκ τῶν κορυφαίων τῶν μαθητῶν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ
γλωσσόκομον τοῦ ἀργυρίου ἐνέλεχε χεῖριστο.

5. Καὶ ὅπως μὴ ταῦτα λέγοντες, ἅπερ, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐν τῇ μυστικῇ
300 θεωρίᾳ τῶν Χριστοῦ παθημάτων εἰρήκαμεν, ἡγήροι τινες τοῖς πολλοῖς
εἶναι δόξωμεν οἱ σπουδαίως ὑπακούοντες τοῦ ἐπιτρέποντος καὶ
λέγοντος. Ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς γραφάς, λαβέτωσαν μετὰ χεῖρας τὰς βίβλους
τὰς ἱεράς, λέγω δὴ ταύτην τὴν λέγουσαν· Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος οὐρανοῦ καὶ

after sin, man became irrational like a grazing beast. The garden where Adam lay dead was that of the skull [Calvary].¹ There Christ went; and hanging from the wood, he opened up Paradise for the thief.²

At night Christ ate the Passover of his Passion,³ since it was like night when Adam was betrayed and ate.⁴ It was before his eyes were opened.

3. There were three trees in Paradise. One was for humans to eat. The other two were the tree of life and the tree of knowing good and evil.⁵ On account of this, three trees were also planted in the garden of Golgotha.⁶ The one was for the robber that was saved.⁷ It was there so that we—like him—might pick the always ripe fruit of the knowledge of God; and having eaten it, we might enjoy Paradise; and not just once, but eating it forever.

Christ's cross is the tree of life. A cluster of ripe grapes hung dangling from it. Indeed, our life could be seen hanging there, before our eyes. And through its power, many have been brought to life and been raised from their tombs.⁸

The cross of the blasphemer was the tree of knowing good and evil. It was planted for his good, if he had wanted it so; but it ended in his destruction. For he, ignorant with knowledge, recklessly wagged his tongue and wickedly railed against the one that spoke of God. He ate the death of damnation.⁹

4. Three culprits sinned in Paradise: Adam, Eve, and the snake. From these, two were saved and one was destroyed.¹⁰ On account of this, three criminals were hanging at Calvary.¹¹ (The Lord was called "sin", but he was not a criminal on account of a sin: he was only accused of being so.)¹² The robber without grace,¹³ only one, a type of the devil and the snake and even of Judas, who was strangled in a tree, perished.¹⁴

It stands written that Adam was deceived through treachery.¹⁵ So also Judas carried out his betrayal with a treacherous kiss.¹⁶ And as it is said that the devil entered into the snake, so also it is written that the same Satan entered into the heart of Judas, the apostle of Christ.¹⁷ In fact, Satan was once a disciple of God in the heavens with the rest of the holy disciples. Here I am speaking about the angelic powers.¹⁸ But there was one of the archangels about whom it was said: "You, like men, will die; and like one of the leaders, you will fall."¹⁹ Judas too was one of the leaders of the disciples;²⁰ they entrusted him with their chest of silver.²¹

5. And so that we may not look silly to many people, by repeating the same things that, as has been said, we spoke about in the mystical contemplation of Christ's sufferings, those who eagerly obey the one who commanded, "Investigate the Scriptures,"²² let them take the holy books between their own hands. I am speaking of the book that states, *This is the book of heaven and earth*,²³ and the book that writes, *The book*

²² Cf Jn 18:1, 12. ²⁴ Cf Jn 19:41-42 ²⁵ Cf Gen 3:6. ¹ Cf Jn 19:17, 41. ² Cf Lk 23:43.

³ Cf Mt 26:20, 39, 42; Mk 14:17, 36; Lk 22:42. ⁴ Cf Gen 3:6-7. ⁵ Cf Gen 2:9. ⁶ Cf Lk

23:33. ⁷ Cf Lk 23:40-43. ⁸ Cf Mt 27:52-53. ⁹ Cf Lk 23:39. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 3:1-6, 14-19.

¹¹ Cf Lk 23:33. ¹² Cf 2 Cor 5:21. ¹³ Cf Lk 23:39. ¹⁴ Cf Mt 27:5. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 3:12; 1 Tim

2:14. ¹⁶ Cf Mt 26:3-4, 14-16; Mk 14:1, 10-11; Lk 22:48. ¹⁷ Cf Jn 13:2. ¹⁸ Cf Jb 1:6; 2:1.

¹⁹ Ps 81(82):7. ²⁰ Cf Mt 26:47; Mk 14:43; Lk 22:47; Acts 1:17. ²¹ Cf Jn 12:6; 13:29.

²² Jn 5:39. ²³ Gen 2:4.

268 ἐν] om. P 270 ἐσθίει M ἐσθίει P 274 διάρρευστον M 276/7 πέπυρος M
277 ἀπηώρητον M ὠρᾶτο P 278 ζωωθέντες P 279 γινώσκει M 280 ἐκεῖνος P
ἐτελεύτησεν MN 281 ἐκτείναντι P 282 θεολόγου] θεο P βλασφημήσαντι M^{corr}
287 ἔχον M 289 om. N ἠπατήθη M 290 πεποίηκεν N 292 τοῦ] om. P 296 πίπτεται
M^{corr}

305 γῆς καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν τὴν γράφουσιν· βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ
 ποιητοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, κάκεῖ ἐπιμελῶς ψηφίσαντες τὰ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ
 ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν παραδείσῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου Ἀδὰμ γενόμενα καὶ τὰ ἐν
 ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Ἀδὰμ ἐν τῷ πάθει γενόμενα εὐρή-
 σουσι λεπτομερῶς πάντα καὶ ἀνελλιπῶς ὁμοιοτρόπως ἐν ἀμφοτέροις
 310 ἐγκείμενα, Ἀδὰμ πρῶτον καὶ Ἀδὰμ δεύτερον, κῆπον παραδείσου καὶ
 κῆπον ἐν ᾧ Χριστὸς ἡλίσθη, παρακοὴν ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐκκοπὴν ἐνταυθοῖ ἀκοῆς,
 τὴν μὲν διὰ πρωτοπλάστου, τὴν δὲ διὰ πρωτοθρόνου, ξύλα τὰ ἐν
 παραδείσῳ καὶ ξύλα τὰ ἐν Γολγοθᾷ, βρῶσιν ἐν παραδείσῳ καὶ βρῶσιν ἐν
 315 δείπνῳ μυστικῷ, Ἀδὰμ ὕπνον ἐκστατικὸν καὶ ὕπνον Χριστοῦ ἐν
 σταυρῷ, πλευρὰν εἰς γυναῖκα λαμβανομένην καὶ πλευρὰν εἰς τρῶσιν
 γεγυμνωμένην, γύμνωσιν μετὰ βρῶσιν Ἀδὰμ καὶ γύμνωσιν μετὰ δείπνον
 Χριστοῦ, ἀποτίθεται γὰρ τὰ ἱμάτια, προδοσίαν δι' ὄφεως καὶ προδοσίαν
 δι' υἱοῦ ἐχίδνης μαθητοῦ, δειλινὸν ἐν ᾧ κρύπτονται ἀπὸ Θεοῦ οἱ
 320 πρωτόπλαστοι καὶ δειλινὸν ἐν ᾧ Θεὸς τὴν τοῦ Ἀδὰμ κεφαλὴν ὑποκει-
 μένην τῷ Κρανίῳ ἐνορᾷ, ἀκάνθας μετὰ τριβόλων ἐκ γῆς καὶ ἀκάνθας τὰς
 ἐν κεφαλῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, λύπην τὴν ἐν τῷ τίκτειν τέκνα καὶ λύπην τὴν ἕως
 θανάτου τὴν ψυχὴν Χριστοῦ συνταράσσουσιν, ἰδρῶτα τὸν ἄρτω συμ-
 μιγῇ μετὰ κόπου καὶ ἰδρῶτα τὸν ὥσει θρόμβοι τοῦ αἵματος, ῥομφαίαν
 ἀποφράττουσαν τὴν εἰσοδὸν τῆς Ἑδέμ καὶ ῥομφαίαν ἀνοίγουσαν τὴν
 325 πλευρὰν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ οὐ ταῦτα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δύο τινῶν ὁμοιότη-
 τας, ἐκεῖ διάβολον καὶ ὄφιν, ἐνταῦθα Πιλάτον καὶ Καϊάφαν, ἐντεῦθεν καὶ
 ἐντεῦθεν Ἀδὰμ καὶ Εὐὰ καὶ μέσον ξύλον, καὶ ὧδε βλάσφημον ληστὴν
 ἔνθεν καὶ θεολόγον ἄλλον ἐκεῖθεν καὶ μέσον ξύλον, ἀλλὰ σταυροῦ, καὶ
 ἔνδυσιν ἀπὸ συκῆς ἐκεῖ καὶ ἔνδυσιν ἀπὸ ὀθόνης ὧδε, καὶ κατὰπαισιν τῷ
 330 τότε καὶ σαββατισμὸν ἐνταῦθα τέλειον, δύο γὰρ καταπαύσεις
 διδασκόμεθα ἐκ τῆς προκειμένης βίβλου τῆς λεγομένης Μωσαϊκῆς.

V 1. Καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑκτῇ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, ἃ
 ἐποίησε· τινὰ δὲ τῶν ἀντιγράφων, Ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
 περιέχουσιν· αὕτη μία κατὰπαισις. Ἀκουσον καὶ τῆς δευτέρας· λέγει γὰρ
 335 εὐθέως ὅτι Καὶ κατέπαυσεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀπὸ πάντων
 τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, ὧν ἐποίησε. Καὶ εὐλόγησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν
 ἑβδόμην καὶ ἡγίασεν αὐτήν, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ κατέπαυσεν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν
 340 ἔργων αὐτοῦ, ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ Θεὸς ποιῆσαι. Εἰ οὖν κατέπαυσεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, ὧν ἐποίησε, πῶς
 μετὰ ταῦτα λέγει ὅτι Καὶ ἐξανέτειλε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἔτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς πᾶν
 ξύλον ὡραῖον εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρῶσιν, καὶ ἐφύτευσε παράδεισον,

of the origin of Jesus Christ,¹ the creator of heaven and earth. And there, let them carefully go over the things that happened to the first Adam on the sixth day in the garden, then also the things that happened on the sixth day to the second Adam during his Passion.² They will find all these things incorporated into both: in minute detail, lacking nothing, and in like fashion.

The first Adam and the second Adam. The garden of Paradise,³ and the garden in which Christ kept his vigil.⁴ The disobedience there,⁵ and the severing of the ear here.⁶ The disobedience concerned the first-formed, Adam;⁷ and the severing concerned the first bishop, Peter. The trees in Paradise,⁸ and the trees at Golgotha.⁹ The eating in Paradise,¹⁰ and the eating at the mystical supper.¹¹ The ecstatic sleep of Adam,¹² and the sleep of Christ on the cross.¹³ A rib was removed to form the woman,¹⁴ and a rib was exposed at the wound.¹⁵ The nakedness of Adam after the apple;¹⁶ and the nakedness of Christ after the supper, when he removed his outer garments.¹⁷ The betrayal through the snake,¹⁸ and the betrayal through the disciple, the son of the viper.¹⁹ The afternoon when the first-formed hid themselves from God,²⁰ and the afternoon at Calvary, when God watched Adam lowering his head.²¹ The thorns and thistles from the earth,²² and the thorns on the head of Christ.²³ The grief in giving birth to children,²⁴ and the grief that disturbed the spirit of Christ to the point of death.²⁵ Hard labor's sweat, mixed with bread,²⁶ and the sweat like drops of blood.²⁷ The blade that blocked the entrance to Eden,²⁸ and the blade that opened the side of Christ.²⁹

And not only the above, but also the similarities of these two pairs: there, the devil and the snake,³⁰ and here, Pilate and Caiaphas.³¹ There, Adam on one side, Eve on the other side, and the tree in the middle;³² while here, the thief that blasphemed on the one side, the one that spoke of God on the other side, and the tree, but of the cross, in the middle.³³ There, a fig leaf was put on;³⁴ and here, a shroud.³⁵

Then, the rest from activity;³⁶ and here, the perfect Sabbath observance.³⁷ Indeed, from the Mosaic book that we are examining, we learn about two rests.

V 1. And God completed on the sixth day his works, which he had made.³⁸ (Some of the copies add: which God had made upon the earth.) This is the first rest. Now listen to the second. It immediately says: And God rested on the seventh day from all his works, which he had made. And God blessed the seventh day and made it holy, because on it he rested from all his works, which God had begun to create.³⁹

If therefore God rested on the seventh day from all his works that he had created, how can it say afterwards: And the Lord God still caused to spring up from the earth every tree beautiful to look at and good to eat.

305 ψηφίσαντες P 306 γινόμενα P 308 ἀμφοτέροις P 310 οὐλίσθη M 311 ξύλον M^{2c} 314 λαμβανομένην] aad. καὶ πλευρὰν εἰς γυναῖκα λαμβανομένην· M per dittographiam 315 γύμνωσιν²] γύμνωσις N 316 ἀποτίθεται P 318 πρωτόπλαστοι P 321 ἄρτον P 326 ὧδε MP 328 ὀθόνης M ὧδε MP 334 εὐδόμη M 336 εὐδόμην M κατέπαυσιν M 338 εὐδόμη M 339 ἔτι] ἔτη M 340 βρῶσιν N ἐφύτευσε M

¹ Mt 1:1. ² Cf 1 Cor 15:45-49. ³ Cf Gen 1:8, 15. ⁴ Cf Jn 18:1. ⁵ Cf Gen 3:6. ⁶ Cf Jn 18:10. ⁷ Cf Gen 2:7. ⁸ Cf Gen 2:9. ⁹ Cf Mt 27:33, 35, 38; Mk 15:22, 24, 27; Lk 23:33; Jn 19:17-18. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 2:16. ¹¹ Cf Jn 4:32-34; 6:27, 55. ¹² Cf Gen 2:21. ¹³ Cf Mt 27:50; Mk 15:37; Lk 23:46; Jn 19:30. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 2:21-22. ¹⁵ Cf Jn 19:34. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 3:7, 10-11. ¹⁷ Cf Jn 13:4. ¹⁸ Cf Gen 3:1-6, 13. ¹⁹ Cf Mt 26:45-50; Mk 14:41-46; Lk 22:47-48, 54; Jn 13:2, 21-30; 18:2-3, 12. ²⁰ Cf Gen 3:8. ²¹ Cf Jn 19:30. ²² Cf Gen 3:18. ²³ Cf Mt 27:29; Mk 15:17; Jn 19:2, 5. ²⁴ Cf 3:16. ²⁵ Cf Mt 26:38; Mk 14:34; Jn 12:27.

καὶ ἔπλασεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα τὰ θηρία τοῦ ἀγροῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ
τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Οὐκοῦν νοητέον πάλιν εἰς Χριστόν, καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ
ἕκτῃ κατέπαυσεν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, ὧν ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τῆς
γῆς, ἀποθανὼν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σαρκί. Αὕτη πρώτη κατάπαυσις. Πορευθέν-
τος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ τοῦ ᾗδου πνεύμασιν ἐκεῖ πάντα τὰ
345 ἔργα εἰπεῖν τῆς ἐπιδημίας αὐτοῦ, ἃ ἤρξατο ποιῆσαι, τοῦτο δευτέρα
κατάπαυσις, ἥντινα ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν ὡς σωτήριον τῇ κτίσει καὶ ἀγίαν
οὖσαν εὐλόγησεν αὐτήν, ὅτι καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κατέπαυσεν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν
ἔργων αὐτοῦ.

2. Ἐν αὐτῇ σωτηρία γέγονε τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ὥσπερ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.
Ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ ᾗδης ἐσκυλεύθη. Ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ Ἀδάμ τῶν ὀδυνῶν ἀπηλλάγη. Ἐν
ταύτῃ ἐκυρίευσεν καὶ νεκρῶν ὥσπερ καὶ ζώντων ὁ Χριστός. Τότε ἐν
ἰχνεσιν ἀβύσσου περιεπάτησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐκεῖ κατελθὼν. Τότε
ἠνοίγησαν αὐτῷ φόβῳ πύλαι θανάτου. Τότε τὸν θάνατον ἐξηρέυνησεν.
355 Τότε τὸν τύραννον ἐδέσμευσε. Τότε ἐτέλεσε τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, δι' ἃ ἐπεδή-
μησεν. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ κατέπαυσεν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν
ἔργων αὐτοῦ ἀναστὰς τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων καὶ εὐλόγησας αὐτήν.
Τινες μὲν καὶ οὕτω φασίν, ὅτι τῇ μὲν ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ συνετέλεσε τὰ ἔργα
αὐτοῦ τὰ τῆς κτίσεως, καταπαύει δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἀπὸ
360 πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ τῶν τοῦ κηρύγματος, ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ Θεὸς
ποιῆσαι ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος, ἥτις ἐστὶ καὶ τέλος καὶ ἀρχὴ
ἐκατέρως κτίσεως.

VI 1. Λοιπὸν μὴ μεγαλοφρονεῖτωσαν οἱ σαββατολάτραι καὶ
σαββατοφάγοι Ἰουδαίων παῖδες. Οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τὸ σάββατον εὐλόγησεν
365 ὁ Θεὸς τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς κτίσεως, οὐ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ κατέπαυσεν ἀπὸ
πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. Εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐν αὐτῷ κατέπαυσεν, εὐδελον ὅτι
οὐκ αὐτὸ εὐλόγησε, καὶ ἀγανακτεῖ ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ὁ Ἰουδαῖος λέγων
ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ κατέπαυσεν ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν
ἔργων αὐτοῦ. Ἐλέγχει δὲ καὶ ἐπιστομίζει αὐτὸν ἡ θεία γραφὴ
370 μαρτυροῦσα ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν Ἐξανέτειλεν ὁ Θεὸς ἔτι ἐκ τῆς
γῆς πᾶν ξύλον ὡραῖον, καὶ ἐφύτευσε παράδεισον, καὶ ἔπλασεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς
ἔτι θηρία καὶ κτήνη καὶ πετεινά, καὶ ἔδωκε τῷ Ἀδάμ ἐντολήν, καὶ ἐποίησε
χιτῶνας δερματίνους, καὶ ἔταξε τὰ Χερουβὶμ φυλάττειν τὸν παράδεισον,
καὶ ἐποίησε τὸ τόξον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ. Καὶ ἕτερα δὲ πλεῖστα φαίνεται
375 ποιήσας ἔργα ὁ Θεὸς μετὰ τὴν ἐβδόμην, καθὰ καὶ πρὸ βραχέως εἶπον.

2. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ μέγα τὸ φρόνημα καὶ ἡ ἀλαζονεία τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡ καθ'
ἡμῶν περὶ τοῦ πολυθρησκίτου αὐτῶν καὶ γαστριμάργου σαββάτου,
μανθανέτωσαν οἱ ἀπαίδευται ὅτι περ οὐχ εὐρίσκομεν τὸν Θεόν

And he planted a paradise.¹ And he fashioned from the earth all the
beasts of the field and all the birds of heaven?²

Therefore this should be considered as applying again to Christ. For
he rested on the sixth day from all his works that he had done upon the
earth:³ he died in the flesh for us. This was the first rest.

Then he went to the spirits in the confines of Hades in order to relate
there all the works of his sojourn, which he had begun to do. This was
the second rest. And he blessed this seventh day as a source of salvation
for his creation and made it holy, because on it he had rested from all
his works.⁴

2. On this day, salvation came to those under the earth, just as it had
for those upon the earth. On this day, Hades was harrowed. On this day,
Adam was freed from his pains. On this day, Christ became lord over the
dead, as he was over the living. Then, having descended there from the
cross, he walked in the paths of the abyss. Then, the gates of death, in
fear, opened up for him. Then, he sought out death, bound the tyrant,
and finished the works for which he had come. On this the seventh day,
he rested from all his works.⁵ And he blessed it, by rising on the first day
of the week.⁶

Some, however, also say that on the sixth day he completed his works
of creation; and then on the seventh day of time, he rested from all his
works of proclamation. He had begun to do the latter on the sixth day of
time,⁷ which was both the end and the beginning of the two creations.

VI 1. The children of the Jews, who are servants to the Sabbath and
eat the Sabbath meal, should not be too arrogant. God did not bless that
Sabbath, the one at the beginning of creation, for he did not rest from all
his works on that day. And if he did not rest on it, it is obvious that he
did not bless it—even if what has been said upsets the Jew, who insists
that on that seventh day God rested from all his works.⁸ It is Divine
Scripture that disproves and silences him, for it testifies: *God still
caused to spring up from the earth every beautiful tree.*⁹ *And he planted a
garden.*¹⁰ *And from the earth he still fashioned beasts and herds and
birds.*¹¹ *And he gave to Adam a command.*¹² *And he made clothes of
leather.*¹³ *And he ordered the Cherubim to guard the garden.*¹⁴ *And he
placed his rainbow in the cloud.*¹⁵ And God appears to have done many
other works after the seventh, as I said just a short time ago.

2. Great is the arrogance and the boastfulness of the Jews against us
with respect to their Sabbath, which is advertised broadly and which is
gluttonous. Let the uneducated learn that we never find that God

²⁵ Cf Gen 3:19. ²⁷ Cf Lk 22:44. ²⁸ Cf Gen 3:24. ²⁹ Cf Jn 19:34. ³⁰ Cf Gen 3:1-5,

13-15. ³¹ Cf Mt 26:3-4, 57; 27:2, 15-26; Mk 15:1-15; Lk 23:1-25; Jn 11:49, 51; 18:13-14,

24; 18:28-19:16. ³² Cf Gen 3:8. ³³ Cf Lk 23:33, 39-43. ³⁴ Cf Gen 3:7. ³⁵ Cf Jn 19:40.

³⁶ Cf Gen 2:2-3. ³⁷ Cf Lk 23:56. ³⁸ Gen 2:2. ³⁹ Gen 2:2-3. ¹ Gen 2:8-9. ² Gen 2:19.

³ Cf Gen 2:2. ⁴ Cf Gen 2:3. ⁵ Cf Gen 2:2. ⁶ Cf Lk 24:1; Jn 20:1, 19. ⁷ Cf Gen 2:2-3.

⁸ Cf Gen 2:2. ⁹ Gen 2:9. ¹⁰ Gen 2:8. ¹¹ Gen 2:19. ¹² Gen 2:16. ¹³ Gen 3:21.

¹⁴ Gen 3:24. ¹⁵ Gen 9:13, 14, 16.

345 ἐν¹] om. MN τοῖς τῆς M 347 ἐβδόμην M 351 ἀπαλλάγη M 355 τύραννον P
ἐδέσμευσεν P 355/6 Τότε ἐτέλεσε - ἐπεδήμησεν] om. P 356 ἐβδόμη M 357 τῇ] om. P
359 ἐβδόμη M 359/61 ἀπὸ - αἰῶνος] om. N 363 Λοιπὸν] ad. ἥτις ἐστὶ καὶ τέλος καὶ
ἀρχὴ M² con. per dittographiam 366 αὐτῷ] om. M² con. 368 ἐβδόμη M 370 ἐβδόμην M
375 ἐβδόμην M 378 μανθανέτωσαν] MN² con. P

εὐλογήσαντα οἰονδήποτε πράγμα καὶ πάλιν μετὰ τοῦτο στραφέντα καὶ
 380 μισήσαντα καὶ καταρασάμενον αὐτό, ὡς καὶ ἄλλοτε εἶπον καὶ ὡς
 μέλλομεν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπιτιμῷ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ παραστήσαι. Εἰ δὲ τὴν αἰσθητὴν
 τοι ταύτην ἡμέραν ὑμῶν τοῦ σαββάτου εὐλόγησε καὶ ἡγίασεν ὁ Θεός,
 πῶς τὴν λατρείαν τὴν σαββατικὴν ὑμῶν κατέλυσε καὶ ἐξωλόθρευσε;
 385 Πῶς τὰ σάββατα ὑμῶν κατηράσατο καὶ ἐμίσησε λέγων διὰ τοῦ προφή-
 του πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅτι *Τὰς νεομηνίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ σάββατα μισεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου*.
 Πράγμα θεομίσητον, πῶς δύναται εἶναι ἅγιον; Ἡμέρα θεομίσητος, ποῖαν
 εὐλογίαν Θεοῦ ἔχει; Καλῶς δὲ καὶ θεοπρεπῶς εἶπεν ὅτι τὰ σάββατα
 ὑμῶν ἐμίσησεν ὁ Θεὸς ὡς βέβηλα καὶ παράνομα.

3. Οὐ μὴν τὰ σάββατα ἡμῶν τὰ πνευματικά ἀπώσατο ἢ κατηράσατο
 390 ὁ Θεός. Σοὶ μὲν γὰρ τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ ἐνομοθέτησε τὴν τοῦ σαββάτου ἀργίαν
 πρὸς ἔλεγχον τῆς σῆς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀποστασίας καὶ παρανομίας ὡς προγι-
 νώσκων ὅτι μέλλεις ἀθετῆσαι τὰ αὐτοῦ προστάγματα καὶ τοῖς εἰδώλοις
 λατρεῦσαι, ἵν' ὁπότε θεάσῃται σε ὁ υἱὸς προσκυνοῦντα τοῖς εἰδώλοις, εἴτα
 ἀργοῦντα τῷ σαββάτῳ καὶ μηδὲν ἐργαζόμενον, διερωτήσῃ σε τὴν
 395 αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν ἀναπαύει τῷ σαββάτῳ καὶ μηδὲν ἐργαζόμενος. Πρὸς ὃν
 ἀναγκασθῇ λοιπὸν εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις ὁ Θεὸς ἔκτισε τὸν οὐρανὸν
 καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, τῇ δὲ ἑβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σαββάτου
 κατέπαυσεν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. Πρὸς ἃ πάντως
 ἀποκριθήσεται σοὶ ὁ υἱὸς σου λέγων· Καὶ εἰ ἄρα ἐστὶν ὁ Θεὸς κτίστης
 400 οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐχρῆν σε μᾶλλον αὐτῷ
 προσκυνεῖν καὶ λατρεῖν ὡς κτίστῃ, καὶ μὴ τοῖς κτίσμασιν. Αὕτη ἡ αἰτία
 καὶ ἡ ὑπόθεσις, ὡς φαῖν οἱ ἐξηγηταί, δι' ἣν ὁ Θεὸς ἐνομοθέτησεν Ἰου-
 δαίοις μετὰ πολλῆς τιμῆς τῆς ἐπιτάσεως καὶ ἀπειλῆς τὴν ἀργίαν τοῦ
 σαββάτου, ὅπως διηγουμένοι αὐτὴν καὶ ἐρμηνεύοντες τοῖς ἐρωτῶσιν
 405 αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων στομάτων εὐρεθῶσι κατήγοροι τῆς ἀσεβείας
 αὐτῶν. |

4. Ἐπεὶ, εἰ σωματικῶς νοήσωμεν τὰ προστάγματα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἃ
 ἐνετείλατο μὴ ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ, τί συντείνει εἰς εὐαρέστησιν Θεῷ τὸ
 μὴ πῦρ καίειν σε ὅλως ἐν σαββάτῳ, ἀλλ' ἐσκοτισμένον διάγειν; Τί δὲ
 410 ὄφελος τὸ ἀργεῖν τὴν κάμηλον καὶ τὴν ὄνον ὑμῶν καὶ τὸν βοῦν ἐν τῷ
 σαββάτῳ; Τί δὲ ὠφελεῖται ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ βαδίζειν τὸν Ἰουδαῖον ἐν
 ὁδῷ ἐν σαββάτῳ; Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα πνευματικῶς νοοῦνται καὶ πλη-
 ροῦνται. Εἰ γὰρ τιμιωτέρα ἦν ἡ ἑβδόμη πασῶν τῶν ἡμερῶν, διὰ τί τῇ
 ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ Θεὸς προσέταξε περιτέμνεσθαι καὶ οὐ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ; Οὐ γὰρ
 415 ἔχει ὁ Ἰουδαϊκὸς νόμος ἀναγκαιότερόν τι τῆς περιτομῆς. Εἰ περὶ σωματι-
 κοῦ βαστάγματος ἐπέτρεπεν ὁ Θεὸς μὴ αἶρειν ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ, πῶς ἐν

382 τοι ταύτην] P^{ms}. τοιαύτην MN ταύτην P^{ms}. 383 ἐξωλόθρευσε P 385 τὰ] om. P
 389 ὑμῶν P 393 ὁπότε θεάσῃται - εἰδώλοις] cum videret Deus colentem idola Hn.
 εἰσῃται M ad initium lineae 394 σε] τε M 395 μὴ δὲν P πρὸ P 397 ἑβδόμη M ἡμέρᾳ
 τοῦ σαββάτου] om. N 403 πολλοῖς M 405 αὐτοῖς] P^{ms}. αὐτοῖς MNP^{ms}. 410 κάμηλον
 MP 411 ὠφελεῖτε M^{ms}. ὠφελεῖτ MP^{ms}. 412 νοοῦντε M 413 ἢ] om. P 414 προσέταξε M^{ms}

blessed anything, then afterwards turned and hated and cursed it—as I
 have already said at another time, and will present again in my
 discussion of the punishment of Adam.

If God blessed and made holy this day of yours, the Sabbath, the
 tangible one, then why did he dismiss—in fact, utterly destroy—your
 Sabbath worship? Why did he curse and despise your Sabbaths?
 Through his prophet he said to you: *“My soul hates your New Moons and
 Sabbaths.”*¹ A thing despised by God: how can it be holy? A day despised
 by God: what sort of blessing does it have from God? He spoke well and
 as befits God when he said that God despised your Sabbaths as
 something impure and sinful.

3. Our Sabbath, the spiritual one, was not rejected or cursed by God.
 But for you, the Jew, he made the idleness of the Sabbath a law, in order
 to condemn your lawlessness and rebelliousness against him. For he
 knew beforehand that you were about to spurn his commands and serve
 your idols.² When your son observes you—on the one hand, worshiping
 your idols, and on the other hand, being idle on the Sabbath and
 accomplishing nothing³—he will ask you the reason why you rest on the
 Sabbath and do nothing. Then you will be compelled to say to him that
 in six days God created heaven and earth and everything in them; but
 on the seventh day, the Sabbath, he rested from all his works.⁴ To this,
 your son will surely answer you by saying:

“If indeed God is the creator of heaven and earth and everything in
 them, then you ought to worship and serve him, the Creator, and not
 worship his creations.”

These are the grounds and reason why—according to the exegetes—
 God, with many a command and threat, made the idleness of the Sab-
 bath a law for the Jews.⁵ When they try to explain and interpret it to
 those who inquire, from their own statements they will be found guilty
 of impiety.

4. Let us examine God's commands superficially, what he forbade to
 do on the Sabbath. When you do not light a fire on the Sabbath, but do
 things in the dark, how does that lead to God's contentment?⁶ What good
 is it that your camel, donkey, and ox stand idle on the Sabbath?⁷ When
 the Jew does not walk on a road during the Sabbath, what does God
 gain? All these things should be considered and fulfilled spiritually. For
 if the seventh day is worthier than all the other days, why did God
 command that circumcision take place on the eighth day and not the
 seventh?⁸ Jewish law considers nothing more crucial than circumcision.
 And if it was with respect to lifting physical burdens that God issued a
 moratorium on the Sabbath, why did all of Israel at Jericho carry their

¹ Is 1:13-14. ² Cf Dt 31:16-18, 20, 29. ³ Cf Ex 20:8-10; Dt 5:12-15. ⁴ Cf Gen 2:3;
 Ex 20:11. ⁵ Cf Ex 20:8-11; 31:12-17; 35:2; Dt 5:12-15. ⁶ Cf Ex 35:3. ⁷ Cf Ex 20:10;
 23:12; Dt 5:14. ⁸ Cf Lev 12:3.

ἱερικῶς ἐπτά ἡμέρας ἐφεξῆς ὅλος ὁ Ἰσραὴλ βαστάζων τὰ ἄρματα αὐτοῦ
καὶ τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ ἐκύκλωσε τὴν πόλιν· Εἰ περὶ σωματικοῦ καὶ αἰσθητοῦ
420 πυρὸς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Θεὸς μὴ ἄπειν ἐν σαββάτῳ, πῶς μετὰ τὸν νόμον
ἐλθὼν ὁ Μωϋσῆς ποιῆσαι τὴν σκηνοπηγίαν ἐπὶ δώδεκα ἡμέρας καθεξῆς
δεχόμενος τὰς προσφορὰς καὶ θυσίας τῶν δώδεκα φυλάρχων καθ'
ἐκάστην ἡμέραν πῦρ ἀνῆψε καὶ θυσίας προσήγαγεν·

5. Οὐκοῦν, ὦ Ἰουδαῖε, οὐ καθὼς σὺ νομίζεις τὸ σωματικὸν σάββατον
τὸ παρερχόμενον καὶ ἀπολλύμενον καὶ μηκέτι φαινόμενον εὐλόγησεν ὁ
425 Θεός, οὐδὲ τὰς καμήλους καὶ ὄνους καὶ ἡμιόνους προσέταξε σαββατίζειν,
ἐπεὶ ἄρα καὶ περιτέμνεται τὰ ζῶα εἶχε διακελεύεσθαι, οὔτε περὶ ὕλικου
βαστάγματος σοὶ νομοθετεῖ, καὶ γὰρ κατὰ σάββατον ἡ λεχὼ αἶρει τὸ
βρέφος λοῦσαι καὶ σὺ βαστάξεις τὸν υἱόν σου καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα σου ἐπὶ
τῶν ὤμων σου, ὅπερ σαρκικὸν βάσταγμα ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ πνευματικόν.
430 Προσετάγῃς δὲ μὴ ποιῆν πᾶν ἔργον λατρευτὸν, εἰ μὴ ὅσα ψυχῆς καὶ εἰς
ψυχὴν. Οὐκοῦν δεῦρο, παρ' ἐμοῦ διδάχθητι πῶς καλῶς καὶ θεοπρεπῶς δεῖ
σε σαββατίσαι καὶ τὴν ἐβδόμην σου ἡμέραν, τουτέστι τὴν κατάπανσιν
πάντων τῶν ἔργων σου καὶ τοῦ βίου τὴν ἀνάπανσιν, ποιῆσαι «καὶ» ἔξ
ἡμέρας διὰ τῶν πέντε σου αἰσθήσεων καὶ τῆς ἀθανάτου ψυχῆς καλῶς
435 ἔργασαι, πιστεύων Χριστῷ τῷ τῇ ἔκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐνανθρωπή-
σαντι, τὴν δὲ ἐβδόμην τοῦ σαββάτου νομικὴν λατρείαν παύσαντι καὶ
ἀργήσαντι καὶ ἄπρακτον καὶ ἀνέργαστον καταστήσαντι καὶ τὸ πῦρ τῆς
θυσίας αὐτῆς σβέσαντι καὶ κελεύσαντι μηκέτι ἄπειν πῦρ τοιοῦτον τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σαββάτου, ἀλλ' ἀργεῖν λοιπὸν τὸν βούν σου καὶ τὰ κτήνη
440 σου, τουτέστι μηκέτι θύειν Θεῷ τὴν κτηνώδη θυσίαν, ἀλλὰ λογικὴν θύειν
Θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνέσεως καὶ ἀντὶ πυρὸς αἰσθητοῦ φωτισμὸν ὑφάπτειν θεῶν
ἐν τῷ ναῷ, μήτε βαστάζειν βάσταγμα τὸ τοῦ σαρκίου καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν
κατωθεῖν ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπιθήσεσι, μηδὲ βαδίζειν ἐν τῇ τραχείᾳ ὁδῷ, ἣν
καλῶς ἐκώλυσεν ὁ εἰπὼν· Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ὁδός. Λοιπὸν ἀπόστηθι τῆς ἐβδόμης
445 ἡμέρας σου καὶ φθάσον εἰς τὴν ὁγδόην καὶ πρώτην Χριστοῦ, ἵνα λάβῃς
τὴν πνευματικὴν περιτομὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν σου τὴν Τριάδα τὴν ἁγίαν
δεχόμενος καὶ γινόμενος καλὴ ὁγδοάς.

VII 1. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς | τὸν Ἰουδαῖον διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ μεγα-
λαυχίαν, ἣν ἐπὶ τῷ σωματικῷ σαββάτῳ κέκτηται μέχρι τῆς δεῦρο καλῆς
450 σαββατίσεως μὴ ἐπιστάμενον. Σάββατον γὰρ καὶ σαββατισμός καὶ
ἀνάπαυσις ἐστὶν ἀληθινή «ἡ» τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἀπόθεσις, ἣν ἐγὼ ὁ πιστὸς
σαββατίσαι διακελεύομαι καὶ ἐορτάσαι ἐν τῇ καταπαύσει καὶ πληρώσει
τοῦ βίου μου, ἐν ᾧ σαββάτῳ κελεύει μοι ὁ Θεὸς μὴ αἶρειν μετ' ἐμοῦ

equipment and war-chariots and circle the city for seven days in a row?¹
If God gave his command against igniting a physical and tangible fire on
the Sabbath,² then why did Moses, after the Law, create the Feast of the
Tents for twelve days in a row? Receiving the offerings and sacrifices of
the twelve tribes, he ignited a fire and made a sacrifice on each day.³

5. And so, Jew, it is not as you imagine. God did not bless the physi-
cal Sabbath, the one that passes, ceases to exist, and is seen no longer.
God did not command the camels, asses, and mules to keep the Sabbath.
(Or did he order the animals to be circumcised too?) The law that was
given to you was not regarding physical burdens. Every Sabbath a
mother lifts her newborn infant to wash it. And you carry your son and
daughter on your shoulders. These are physical burdens, not spiritual
ones. Yet you were ordered not to do any servile labor, just work of the
soul and for the soul.⁴

Therefore, come. Learn from me how you should keep the Sabbath
and make your seventh day both beautiful and pleasing to God. I mean:
the cessation from all your works,⁵ the rest from your earthly life. Learn
from me how to work through your six days beautifully with your five
senses and your deathless soul. Believe in Christ, who became man on
the sixth day of time. He halted, put to rest, and opposed as fruitless and
pointless the seventh-day worship of the Old Law. He extinguished the
fire of its sacrifice and commanded never to light such a fire on the day
of the Sabbath.⁶ Your ox and your cattle should be left alone: that is, he
ordered never to sacrifice to God a sacrifice of cattle,⁷ but to offer a
rational offering of praise to God.⁸ In place of tangible fire, ignite a
divine lamp in the sanctuary. Do not carry the burden of the flesh⁹ nor
submit the soul to the importunities of the flesh. Do not walk the thorny
road.¹⁰ He forbade this beautifully when he said: "*I am the Way.*"¹¹ So
get away from your seventh day—and hurry to the eighth day and first
day of Christ, that you might have the spiritual circumcision of your
senses. Then you might receive the Holy Trinity and become the
beautiful "Eight".

VII 1. These things are directed against the Jew because of his
arrogance, which he acquired on the basis of his corporal Sabbath, as he
does not know—even to the present day—the beautiful sort of Sabbath.
For the Sabbath, the keeping of the Sabbath, and true rest consist of
putting aside sin. Because I am a believer, I am urged to celebrate and
keep the Sabbath by putting my earthly life to rest and fulfilling it. On
such a Sabbath, God orders that I not take up my burden

¹ Cf Jos 6:2-16. ² Cf Ex 35:3. ³ Cf Num 7:1-88. ⁴ Cf Ex 12:16. ⁵ Cf Gen 2:2.
⁶ Cf Ex 35:3. ⁷ Cf Ex 20:10; 23:12; Dt 5:14. ⁸ Cf Ps 49(50):14; Rom 12:1. ⁹ Cf 2 Esd
23:19; Jer 17:21-22, 24, 27. ¹⁰ Cf Jer 2:25; Bar 4:26. ¹¹ Jn 14:16.

421 προσφορὰς καὶ θυσίας | θυσίας καὶ προσφορὰς N φιλάρχων M 423 σωματικόν |
σαββατικόν P 426 ἐπὶ M 431 διδάχθητι | scripsi διδάχθη τῇ M διδάχθητι, N διδάχθη
τι, P 432 σε | om. M εὐδόμην M 435 πιστεύω M τῇ | om. P 435/6 ἐν ἀνθρωπήσαντι
MP 436 εὐδόμην M 437 καὶ | om. MN 440 θύειν | θείειν M 443 βαδίζειν P^{corr}
444 εὐδόμης M 450 σαββατίσεως | σαββατήσεως N σαββατισμόν M^{corr} 451 ἀληθινή P
452 διακελεύομαι M

455 βάσταγμα ἀμαρτίας, φορτίον ἐκ τοῦ βίου, περὶ ὧν ἔλεγέ τις· "Ὅτι αἱ
ἀμαρτίαι μου ὑπερῆραν τὴν κεφαλὴν μου, ὥσει φορτίον βαρὺ ἐβαρύν-
θησαν ἐπ' ἐμέ. Διὸ μήτε ἐξάπτειν πῦρ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ σαββάτῳ τῆς
τελευτῆς διακελεύομαι, τουτέστιν ἀποσβέσαι πᾶσαν πύρῳσιν ἐπιθυμίας
καὶ τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ τὰ πεπυρωμένα τὰ πρὸς τὴν αἰώνιον φλόγα
συνωθοῦντα. Κωλύει δὲ ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ βαδίζειν ἐν ὁδῷ ἐν σαββάτῳ
460 κατ' ἐκείνους τὸν λέγοντα· Ἐκ πάσης ὁδοῦ πονηρᾶς ἐκώλυσα τοὺς πόδας
μου. Ἐπιτρέπει δὲ σαββατίζειν καὶ δεσμεῖν καὶ ἀργεῖν τὴν ὄνον καὶ τὸν
βοῦν, τουτέστι τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἄλογα πάθη.

2. Ἀλλὰ καὶ γῆς σαββατισμὸν καὶ ἀργίαν προστάσκει γίνεσθαι καὶ
μὴ σπεῖρεσθαι μήτε σπεῖρειν τοῖς τὴν παρθενίαν αὐτῆς τῆς σαρκὸς ἀσκεῖν
465 δυναμένοις ἢ δυναμέναις, ὅτι ὁ εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς σαρκὸς σπεῖρων ἐκ τῆς
σαρκὸς θερίσει φθοράν. Πολλῶ πλεον πάντων ἡμῖν διακελεύεται
διαναπαύειν τὴν παιδίσκην ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν παῖδα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σαββάτου,
τουτέστι τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα μὴ δουλεύειν τῷ ἄρχοντι τοῦ αἰῶνος
τούτου, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ ἀπαθείᾳ ὑπάρχειν. Αἱ γὰρ ἑπτὰ ἡμέραι τὰς
470 ἑπτὰ ἡμῶν ἡλικίας δηλοῦσι, δι' ὧν ὁδεύομεν εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν ζωὴν, ἵνα
τὴν ὁγδόην ἡμέραν τὴν ἀλάτρευτον φθάσωμεν τὴν μέλλουσαν, ὅτε
οὐκέτι θυσιὰ ἢ λατρεία ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτιῶν προσφέρεται τῷ Θεῷ. Πρώτη
γὰρ ἡμέρα ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ βρέφους, ἵνα εὐθὺς φωτισθῶμεν τῷ βαπτίσματι,
καὶ γὰρ τὸ φῶς τῇ πρώτῃ ἐγένετο. Δευτέρα ἡ τοῦ παιδὸς ἡλικία, ἵνα τοῖς
475 οὐρανίοις λόγοις στερεωθῶμεν, καὶ γὰρ τὸ στερέωμα τῇ δευτέρᾳ
ἐγένετο. Τρίτη ἡ τοῦ μείρακος, ἵνα τῇ ἀγνείᾳ ξηραίνωμεν τὴν ὑγρότητα
τῶν τότε κινουμένων παθῶν, καὶ γὰρ τῇ τρίτῃ Θεὸς τὴν ξηρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς
ὑγρᾶς διακέκρικε. Τετάρτη ἡ τοῦ νεανίσκου, ἵνα τὰς τέσσαρας ἀστρο-
φορῆς ἀρετὰς καὶ φαίνῃ[ς] ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ οἷα φωστήρ, καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος τῇ
480 τετάρτῃ ἐγένετο. Πέμπτη ἡ μεσῆλιξ κατὰστασις, ἵνα τὰ πέντε σου ζῶα
τῶν αἰσθήσεων χαλινοῖς, ὡς ἂν μὴ εἰς τὴν ἀμαρτίαν σκιρτῶσι, καὶ γὰρ
τὰ ζῶα τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγένετο. Ἑκτὴ ἡ πρεσβυτικὴ τιμιότης, ἵνα τὴν
ἐξ ἀρχῆς σου εἰκόνα οἷα ἀληθοῦς ἀνθρώπου λόγῳ ἀσφαλιζόμενος ᾦς, καὶ
τὸν πηλὸν τοῦ σώματος διαπλάττης καὶ ρυθμίζης ταῖς ἀρεταῖς, καὶ γὰρ
485 τῇ ἑκτῇ ὁ ἀνθρώπος γέγονεν. Ἑβδόμη ἡ τοῦ γέροντος πεπολιωμένη
συνειδήσις καὶ πολιτεία σεμνὴ καὶ εὐσέβεια, ἵνα καὶ τῇ γῇ προσκληθῇς διὰ
θανάτου ἀναπαυθεῖς, ὅτε ὡς λευκοφόρος ἄσταχυς καὶ ὡς σῖτος ὥριμος
ἀπ' ἐλευσῇ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ κατὰ καιρὸν συγκομιζόμενος, ἀπελθὼν πρὸς
490 τοὺς πατέρας σου, τραφεῖς ἐν γῆρᾳ καλῶ, καὶ γὰρ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ὁ Κύριος
ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν κατέπαυσεν ἐν τῷ τάφῳ.
Καὶ τὴν ὁγδόην λοιπὸν ἐγκαρτερήσεις, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου φημί

950A

of sin,¹ the load from my life. About these things, one said: "My sins rose above my head. Like a heavy load, they pressed down upon me."² Accordingly, on such a Sabbath of the final [day], I am ordered not to ignite a fire.³ That is, I am ordered to extinguish every flame of desire and the burning arrows of the evil One,⁴ which push one into the eternal fire.⁵ God also forbids us to walk on the road during the Sabbath, in accordance with the statement: *From every road of evil I have kept my feet.*⁶ He commands us to keep the Sabbath, and to tether and leave idle the ass and the ox,⁷ which are pleasure and rage and the other irrational passions.

2. And he directs that the earth observe the Sabbath rest and not work.⁸ That is, the men and women that are able to practice corporal virginity should not receive seeds or spread seeds.⁹ He who spreads seeds into the earth of the flesh will reap the corruption of the flesh.¹⁰ Most important of all, we are ordered to give rest to our male servant and female servant on the day of the Sabbath.¹¹ That is, our body and soul should not serve the Prince of this age.¹² They should be free from passion.

The seven days reveal the seven stages of our lives, through which we travel through our present life, so that we might reach the eighth day that will be. This will be a day free of servitude, when sacrifice and liturgical service for our sins are no longer offered to God. The first day is the stage of infancy, when we are illuminated at once by Baptism; for light came into being on the first day.¹³ The second day is the stage of childhood, when we are made firm by heavenly words; for the heavenly firmament arose on the second day.¹⁴ The third day is the age of adolescence. Through chastity, we dry up the moisture of the passions that are then stirring; for on the third day God separated the dry from the wet.¹⁵ The fourth day is the age of young adulthood. You bear the four virtues like stars, and you appear in the world like a shining orb; for the sun rose on the fourth day.¹⁶ The fifth day is the settled condition of middle age. You hold by the reins the five horses of your senses, so they do not gallop into sin. For on the fifth day, animals came into being.¹⁷ The sixth day is the honor of the elder. By reason you confirm your original image as a true man, as you mold the clay of your body into conformity with the virtues. For on the sixth day came the human being.¹⁸ The seventh day is the grey-haired understanding, revered conduct, and piety of old age. You lean toward the earth and are put to rest through death, when like an ear of corn that is clothed in white, or like wheat that is ripe, you are harvested in season and depart for the grave. Sustained by a noble old age, you go to your fathers. For on the seventh day, the Lord in his grave paused from the works of his Good Word.¹⁹ And finally, you will patiently wait for the eighth day. I

¹ Cf Jer 17:21. ² Ps 37(38):5. ³ Cf Ex 35:3. ⁴ Cf Eph 6:16. ⁵ Cf Mt 10:28; Lk 12:5.

⁶ Ps 118(119):101. ⁷ Cf Ex 20:10; 23:12; Dt 5:14. ⁸ Cf Ex 23:10-11. ⁹ Cf Mt 19:12.

¹⁰ Cf Gal 6:8. ¹¹ Cf Ex 20:10; Dt 5:14. ¹² Cf Jn 12:31; 16:11; 1 Cor 2:6. ¹³ Cf Gen 1:3.

¹⁴ Cf Gen 1:6. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 1:9. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 1:14-16. ¹⁷ Cf Gen 1:20. ¹⁸ Cf Gen 1:26-27.

¹⁹ Cf Gen 2:3; Mt 27:57-60; Mk 15:42-46; Lk 23:50-56; Jn 19:38-42; 1 Cor 15:4.

455/6 εὐαρύνθησαν M 456 ἐξάπτει M 461 τὴν] om. P 462 καὶ²] add. ἀργεῖν τὴν M^{corr.}
464 σπεῖρεσθαι] πείρασθαι M 467 παιδίσκειν N 471 Ὅτι M 472 οὐ Κέτι et k in margine
sinistro P 473 ἵν' N 476 ἢ] om. P ξηραίνωμεν P 480 πέμπτη M 480/2 ζῶα - τὰ] om. P
482 τιμιότητος M 484 ριθμίζης P 485 πεπολιωμένη M^{corr.} 487 ἀναπαυθεῖς] correxi
ἀναπαυθεῖς MNP ὅτε] ὅτι P 489 γῆρῃ N^{corr.} εὐδόμη M

ἀνέγερσιν καὶ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναχώρησιν, καὶ γὰρ τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη ὁ Κύριος. Ἐὰν ἐν τούτοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις πράγμασι τοῦ Θεοῦ σαββατίσῃς, τοῦτο ἀληθῶς τὸ σάββατον εὐλόγησε καὶ ἡγίασεν ὁ Θεός.

495 VIII 1. Σοὶ μὲν οὖν τῷ σαρκικῷ Ἰουδαίῳ, ὡς δοκεῖς, ἀναγκαῖα ἡ τοῦ σαββάτου συντήρησις εἰς ἔλεγχον κειμένη τῆς σῆς παρανομίας, ὡς προβραχέως εἶπον. Ἐμοὶ δὲ τῷ πιστῷ τῷ τελείως ἀποστάντι τῆς πρὸς τὰ εἰδωλα λατρείας οὐδὲ μία χρεῖα τοῦ πολυμαγείρου σου σαββατισμοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἡ ὄνος σου καὶ ὁ κάμηλος καὶ ὁ κύων συσαββατίζουσι σοι ὡς ἀλόγῳ
500 ὄντι. Δοκεῖς γὰρ ὅτι ὡς κεκοπιακῶς ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν ἑξ ἡμερῶν τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένης κτίσεως καὶ οἶονεῖ ἄτονος γεγονῶς τούτου χάριν εὐλόγησε τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἑβδόμην ὡς ἀνάπαυσίν τινα καὶ ἀνεσιν ἐκ τοῦ κόπου λαβὼν ἐν αὐτῇ; Ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως. Ἀκουσον γὰρ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος ὅτι Ὁ Θεὸς μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρός, οὐ πεινάσει οὐδὲ κοπιάσει.
505 Οὐκοῦν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ καταπαύει καὶ πληροῖ τὴν κτίσιν ὁ δημιουργός, ἵνα δείξῃ τὴν Τριάδα ἁκτιστον. Ἐπτὰ γὰρ καὶ τρεῖς δέκα γίνονται, ὁ δὲ δέκατος ἀριθμὸς ἐστὶν ὁ περιεκτικὸς καὶ πληρωτικὸς πάντων τῶν ἀριθμῶν, ὡς οἱ ταῖς ἀριθμητικαῖς μεθόδοις ἐγκαλλωπιζόμενοι εἰρήκασι.

2. Καὶ ὁ τέταρτος δὲ πάλιν ἀριθμὸς ὁ τῆς τετάρτης ἡτοι πρώτης
510 τελείας ἡμέρας, ὅτε ὁ ἥλιος γέγονε, τέλειός ἐστι καὶ ἀνελλιπής, τὸν γὰρ δέκατον ἀριθμὸν περιέχει καὶ πληροῖ. Αἱ τέσσαρες γὰρ καὶ αἱ τρεῖς αἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ αἱ δύο αἱ πρὸ τούτων καὶ ἡ μονὰς ἡ πρὸ αὐτῶν δεκάς τελεία εὐρίσκεται. Καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ μονάδος δὲ δυνάμεις μέχρι τετράδος δεκάδα ποιοῦσι. Μία γὰρ καὶ δύο τρεῖς, καὶ τρεῖς ἑξ εἰσι, καὶ τέσσαρες δέκα
515 ποιοῦσιν. Ὡς περ γὰρ πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις, οὕτω καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀριθμοὶ τὸ κατὰ Χριστὸν μυστήριον διαγράφουσιν. Μονὰς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὡς μοναδικὸν ἔχων τὸ πρόσωπον· δυὰς δὲ ὡς ἐν θεότητι καὶ ἀνθρωπότητι τέλειος· τριάς ὡς ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι καὶ θεότητι· τετράς ὡς ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων ἀνακαινίσας ἀνθρώπον· πεντάς ὡς σὺν τῷ τετραστοίχῳ
520 σώματι ἀνανεώσας καὶ τὴν κατ' εἰκόνα ψυχὴν· ἑξὰς ὡς τῇ ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῷ κόσμῳ ἐπιφανείς· ἑπτὰς ὡς ἀναπαύσας ἡμᾶς τοῦ σαββάτου τοῦ νομικοῦ· ὀκτάς διὰ τὴν τοῦ βαπτίσματος περιτομήν· ἑννὰς δὲ ὡς ἐν τρισὶν νόμοις τὸ τριαδικὸν κηρύξας μυστήριον, τῷ φυσικῷ, τῷ γραπτῷ, καὶ τῷ μυστικῷ (τρισσάκις δὲ τρεῖς ἑννέα)· δεκάς δὲ ὡς τέλειος καὶ πλήρωμα νόμου τοῦ δεκαλόγου ὁ προαιώνιος Λόγος καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. Αὐτῷ ἡ
525 δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. |

Πλήρωμα, λόγος ἑβδομος, καὶ τέλος τῆς σωματικῆς ἑξαήμερου κτίσεως, μεθ' ἣν λοιπὸν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς καινῆς ἐν Χριστῷ κτίσεως
κρεῖττονα παρὰ τὰ ἤδη εἰρημένα ἔχουσα τὰ νοήματα. |

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epilogus

493 ἐν²] om. MN 495 ὡς δοκεῖς] ut videtur Hv. 500 ὅτι] om. P κεκοπιακὸς NP^{corr}. P 502 εὐδόμη N 505 εὐδόμη M 508 ἐγκαλλωπιζόμε(ν)ος N 509 δέ] om. P 510 ὅτι N τὸν] τὸ M 513 δεκάδω M 514 καί] om. MN 515 κτίσεως NP^{corr}. 516 διαγράφουσι MP 517 ἔχον P 522 τρισὶ MN epilogus εὐδομος M κτίσεως] κτήσεως P

am speaking of the resurrection from the grave and your rising up from the dead. For on the eighth, the Lord rose from the dead.¹

If you practice your Sabbath through these and other such acts of God, then God will bless and sanctify it as a true Sabbath.²

VIII 1. The observance of Sabbath is obligatory for you, the Jew of the flesh—so it would seem. But it exists, in fact, to expose your sinfulness, as I mentioned just above. But for me—a believer who absolutely abhors the worship of idols—there is no need for your Sabbath observance, with its varied cooking. Your ass and camel and dog keep your Sabbath with you,³ as if you too were irrational. Do you suppose that God blessed the seventh day because he was exhausted by the works of six days of creating, as if he had lost his vigor? Do you suppose that he blessed it because he had received on that day a restful vacation from his labor?⁴ It was not so. Why, listen to the prophet that says: *God is great and powerful.⁵ He will not become hungry or tired.⁶* Rather, on the seventh day the craftsman completed and ceased his creating, so that he might show that the Trinity is uncreated? Seven and three make ten. The number ten embraces and completes all numbers—or so it is said by those who take pride in mathematics.

2. Again, the number four is perfect and lacks nothing. It is the number of the fourth day, the first perfect day, when the sun came into being.⁷ It both embraces the number ten and fills it out. For four plus the three before it, plus the two before them, plus the one before them, are found to be a perfect ten. And the products of one to four make ten: one plus two is three, plus three is six, plus four makes ten.

Just as all creation, so also all numbers delineate the mystery of Christ.⁸ One: he was an individual. Two: he was perfect in his divinity and humanity. Three: in soul, body, and divinity. Four: he renewed the human being, who was made of four elements. Five: along with the four elements of the body, he renewed the soul according to his image.⁹ Six: on the sixth day, he appeared to the world. Seven: he gave us rest from the Sabbath of the Law¹⁰ through eight, the circumcision of Baptism. Nine: in three kinds of laws—the law of nature, written law, and mystical law—he heralded the tri-fold mystery. (Three times three is nine.) Ten: the Logos, born before time, the Son of God, is perfect and the fulfillment of the Law of the Ten Commandments.¹¹

His are the glory and power forever. Amen.

Book seven was the fulfillment and end of the physical creation in six days. After this is the beginning of the new creation in Christ.¹² Its reflections are more important than those that have already been discussed.

¹ Cf Mt 28:5-6; Mk 16:6; Lk 24:5-6; Jn 20:9; 1 Cor 15:4. ² Cf Gen 2:3. ³ Cf Ex 20:10; 23:12; Dt 5:14. ⁴ Cf Gen 2:3. ⁵ Dt 10:17; Jer 39(32):18; Dan (LXX) 9:4. ⁶ Ec 16:27.

⁷ Cf Gen 1:14-16. ⁸ Cf Col 2:8. ⁹ Cf Gen 1:26-27. ¹⁰ Cf Mt 11:28. ¹¹ Cf Rom 13:10.

¹² Cf 2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀκολουθῶς ἐκ δευτέρου
λόγος ἑβδομος

951A
titulus

11. Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡμέρα ἐν ἣ
ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.

Ἀνοιγέτω τὰ ὥτα νουνεχῶς ἡ ἐκκλησία· πλατυνέτω τὴν καρδίαν·
ἀτενίζέτω τρανῶς τοῖς νοεροῖς ὁμμασι· καὶ θυροκρουστέτω πολλὰ πρὸς
5 τοὺς τὰς κλεῖς τῆς γνώσεως κατέχοντας λέγουσα· Ἀνοίξατέ μοι πύλας
δικαιοσύνης τῶν θείων καὶ ἀποκρύφων μυστηρίων, καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐν
αὐταῖς ὁ λαὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ κατανοῆσαι δυνηθῇ πῶς τίνος χάριν πρὸ μὲν
τῆς θεοπλάστου ἐκ γῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς ἀπλῶ τινι ὀνόματι ἡ
θεία γραφή καλεῖ καὶ προσαγορεύει τὸν δημιουργόν, τουτέστι Θεόν,
10 μηδεμίαν τινὰ σύνθεσιν ἢ προσθήκην συνάπτουσα τῷ τοιοῦτῳ ὀνόματι,
ὥς ὅταν λέγῃ· Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ
πάλιν καθεξῆς· Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός, Καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεός, Καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ Θεός,
Καὶ διεχώρισεν ὁ Θεός, γενομένου δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διπλοῦ, λέγω δὲ τοῦ
συντεθέντος ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ τοῦ θείου ἐμφυσηματος, εὐθέως ἡ θεία γραφή
15 σύνθετον καὶ διπλοῦν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἐποίησε Κύριον καὶ
Θεὸν αὐτὸν προσαγορεύουσα καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἅπαξ, οὔτε δῖς, οὔτε
ἐπτάκις, οὔτε δεκάκις, ἀλλ' ἐπτά καὶ δέκα κεφαλαίοις ὁρδίνου καὶ καθεξῆς
Κύριον καὶ Θεὸν αὐτὸν ὠνόμασεν, ἡνίκα δὴ ἐπλάσθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος,
ὥσανεὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τοῦ διπλασιασμοῦ καὶ τοῦ συνθέτου ὀνόματος
20 διδάσκουσα ἡμᾶς τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ λέγουσα· Γινώτε, ὦ οὔτοι,
ὅτι ὁ πάλαι πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων ἀπλοῦς καὶ ἀσύνθετος οἰκητήριον ἑαυτοῦ
τὸ ἀνθρώπινον κατασκευάσας ἐνωθήσεται αὐτῷ ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς καθ'
ὑπόστασιν καὶ σύνθετος γενήσεται, ὁ πρῶτον ἀπλοῦς καὶ ἀσύνθετος
σύνθετον προσηγορίαν διὰ σαρκώσεως κομιζόμενος καὶ Κύριος καὶ Θεὸς ὁ
25 Χριστὸς ὀνομαζόμενος, τουτέστι Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ὃν καλῶς ψηλα-
φήσας καὶ μαθὼν ὁ Θωμᾶς καὶ ἐωρακῶς ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν συζυγίαν τῶν δύο
φύσεων ἀνέκραγε λέγων· Ὁ Κύριός μου καὶ ὁ Θεός μου.

2. Εἰ δὲ ἀντιλέγει τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὁ Ἰουδαῖος, δέχομαι τὴν ἀντίρρῃσιν,
ἀλλ' ἀνταπορῶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἵνα εἴπῃ μοι αὐτὸς δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐκ
30 ἐδιπλασίασε τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἡ θεία γραφή, ἕως οὗ ἐκτίσθη ὁ
ἄνθρωπος διπλοῦς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γενομένου, ὑλικός τε καὶ αὐλός, θνητὸς καὶ
ἀθάνατος, ἐπίγειος καὶ οὐράνιος. Ὡς φησιν ὁ ἐν θεολογίᾳ θεῖος
Γρηγόριος, ὅπως καὶ διὰ πραγμάτων καὶ διὰ ῥημάτων τὴν σύνθεσιν καὶ
σάρκωσιν τοῦ ποτε ἀπλοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ προδιαγράφη ἡ
35 γραφή, διὸ καὶ αὐτὸν μᾶλλον καὶ οὐ τοὺς ἀγγέλους κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ
ὁμοίωσιν αὐτοῦ πεποίηκεν ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος. Πάντα γὰρ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς

titulus ἀκολουθῶς] *correxī* ἀκόλουθος M ἀκολούθος N ἀκόλουθως P ἐκ δευτέρου] MP
ἐξ ἑβδόμου N 4 θυροκρουστέτω P 14 συντεθέν M^{corr.} συνθέντος P^{corr.} 15 διπλός N
18 ὠνόμασεν P 24 καὶ] *om.* MN 25 καλῶς M^{corr.} 29 εἴπῃ μοι] *correxī* εἴποι μοι MNP
32 θεῖος] *om.* N 34 προδιαγράφη P

This is the second part of the seventh book
in the series by the same author.

11. This is the book of the genesis of heaven and earth, when the day
began in which God created the heaven and the earth.¹

Let the Church be mindful and open its ears. Let it spread its heart
wide.² Let it focus clearly with spiritual eyes. Let it knock repeatedly on
the door and call out to those that hold the keys of understanding:³
"Open up for me the gates of righteousness⁴—of the divine and hidden
mysteries!" May the people of God enter through them⁵ and be em-
powered to understand to some extent why, before the preparation of
man, who was divinely fashioned from earth,⁶ did Divine Scripture
identify the craftsman with only a simple name? That is: God. It did not
join an addition to this name or compound it. For instance: In the
beginning, God made the heaven and the earth.⁷ And again, one after the
other: And God said⁸ ... And God saw⁹ ... And God called¹⁰ ... And God
separated.¹¹ But then man, a duality, came into being. I am speaking of
the one compounded from earth and divine inspiration.¹² And
immediately, Divine Scripture also doubled the name of the craftsman
into a combination. It called him Lord and God. And this not once, not
twice, not five times nor ten. It named him Lord and God in seventeen
passages in a row, beginning when man was made.¹³

It was as if Divine Scripture, in the Holy Spirit, were trying to teach
us something by this simultaneous occurrence of dual creation and com-
pound name. It was as if it were saying: "Know this, O you people! The
One that prepared his human habitation long before the ages: he was
simple and not complex. But in the future, he will become unified in na-
ture with this man and will become a combination. So he, who formerly
was simple and uncomplicated, is here given a compound name, on
account of his future Incarnation. Christ is now called Lord and God."

That is: God and man. It was beautiful when the apostle Thomas
touched Christ and learned, and saw this conjunction of two natures in
him.¹⁴ He cried out and said: "My Lord and my God."¹⁵

2. If the Jew objects to what has been said, I welcome his objection,
but question him in turn: "Tell me the reason, then, why divine Scrip-
ture did not double the name of the craftsman until after God had
created the two-fold man as both material and immaterial, mortal and
immortal, earthly and heavenly?"

Gregory, divine in his theology, says that Scripture, through actions
and words, describes beforehand how the Logos, once simply God,
became flesh and was joined with man. And on account of this, God the
Logos created man in his image and likeness¹⁶—and not the angels.

¹ Gen 2:4. ² Cf 2 Cor 6:11. ³ Cf Lk 11:52. ⁴ Ps 117(118):19. ⁵ Ps 117(118):19.

⁶ Cf Gen 2:7. ⁷ Gen 1:1. ⁸ Gen 1:3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 20, 24, 26, 29. ⁹ Gen 1:4, 8, 10, 12, 18,
21, 25, 31. ¹⁰ Gen 1:5, 8, 10. ¹¹ Gen 1:4, 7. ¹² Cf Gen 2:7. ¹³ Cf Gen 2:8-3:23.

¹⁴ Cf Jn 20:27, 29; 1 Jn 1:1. ¹⁵ Jn 20:28. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 1:26-27.

αὐτὸν ἐγένοντο τὴν σάρκωσιν καὶ σύνθεσιν καὶ τὸν συνδυασμὸν αὐτοῦ
προδιαγράφοντα, τὰς δύο ἀδιαιρέτους φημὶ Χριστοῦ οὐσίας, τὴν
ἀόρατον αὐτοῦ τῆς θεότητος καὶ τὴν ὁρατὴν τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀδιαιρέτου
40 αὐτοῦ ἀνθρωπότητος, σαφῶς πάσης ὁρατῆς καὶ ἀόρατου κτίσεως ἐξ-
εικονιζούσης αὐτόν. | Οὐκοῦν διὰ τοῦτο δύο οὐρανοὺς ἐποίησε, τὸν μὲν
ἀνώτερον ἀόρατον καὶ ἀδιήγητον καὶ ἀνερμήνευτον τὴν οὐσίαν ἔχοντα
παρὰ ἀνθρώποις εἰς τύπον καὶ εἰκόνα τῆς ἀόρατου καὶ ἀνερμηνεύτου
οὐσίας τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον οὐρανὸν ἀπὸ γῆς ἀνήγαγε
45 καὶ ὁρατὸν αὐτὸν τέθηκε καὶ στερέωμα αὐτὸν προσηγόρευσεν εἰς τύπον
τῆς ἀχράντου αὐτοῦ σαρκός, ἥτινα ἀπὸ γῆς λαβὼν ἀνήγαγεν ἄνω.

3. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ μέσον τῶν δύο τούτων οὐρανῶν ὕδωρ ζῶν εἰς εἰκόνα
καὶ τύπον τῆς ἀγίας καὶ ζωοποιου ψυχῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεσιτευούσης, ὡς
φησι πάλιν ὁ θεολόγος Γρηγόριος, θεότητι καὶ σαρκὸς παχύτητι. Διὸ τοῦ
50 μὲν ἀνωτέρου οὐρανοῦ κατώτερόν ἐστι τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο, τουτέστιν
ἐλάττω τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου οὐσίαν ἢ νοερά καὶ λογικὴ ψυχὴ φέρει. Τοῦ δὲ
παχέος καὶ ὀρωμένου στερεώματος, φημὶ τοῦ σώματος, ἀνωτέρα καὶ
τιμιωτέρα ὑπάρχουσα ἐστὶ, καθὰ καὶ ἄλλοτε ταῦτα εἶπον. Ἰστέον γὰρ
ὅτι ὁ ὀρώμενος οὐρανὸς καὶ ὁ ὑπεράνω τοῦ ὕδατος ὁ μὴ ὀρώμενος
55 οὐρανὸς ἀχώριστος καὶ ἀδιαιρέτος τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχουσιν, ὥσπερ τις μία
Χριστοῦ σύνθετος ὑπάρχουσα ὑπόστασις ἐκ δύο ἀόρατων καὶ ἑνὸς
ὁρατοῦ σώματος ὑπάρχουσα. Ἀόρατος γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ,
τὸ σῶμα δ' ὁρατόν, ὅπως ἀληθεύσῃ ὁ Παῦλος λέγων ὅτι *Πάντα εἰς*
Χριστὸν ἐκτίσται, τὰ τε ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, τὰ τε ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ
60 *ἀόρατα*, ὥστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δύο γαῖαι ὑπάρχουσιν ὁρατὴ καὶ
ἀόρατος, ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς δηλαδὴ καὶ ἡ ἀόκλητος ἢ ὁ παράδεισος, καὶ δύο
ζῶα ἄγγελος καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ὁρατὸν καὶ ἀόρατον, καὶ δύο ὕδατα
φανερὸν καὶ ἀφανές, δύο πνεύματα τὸ πνευματικὸν καὶ θεῖον καὶ ὁ
ἄνεμος. Διττὸν τὸ πῦρ, ὕλικόν καὶ αὐλὸν τὸ ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τῷ μέλλοντι.
65 Διττὸν φῶς, ὁρατὸν καὶ ἀόρατον. Δύο γένη ψυχώσεων καὶ κινητῶν
δυνάμεων, θνητὸν (λεγέσθω γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἐν ἀλόγοις ζῴοις πνεῦμα ψυχὴ
καταχρηστικῶς) καὶ τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν ἀθάνατον. Διπλᾶ ζῶα, ἐπίγεια καὶ θα-
λάσσια. Διττὴ ζωὴ, πρόσκαιρος καὶ αἰώνιος. Διττὴ γένεσις, ἐκ γυναικὸς
καὶ ἐκ νεκρῶν. Διττὸν βάπτισμα, δι' ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος. Διττὴ γινῶ-
70 σις, ἡ παρούσα καὶ ἡ μέλλουσα. Διττὰ ἀγαθὰ, πρόσκαιρα καὶ αἰώνια.
Δύο νόμοι, γραπτὸς καὶ πνευματικὸς. Δύο διαθήκαι· δύο λαοί. Δύο
διηγῆσεις περὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ Ἀδάμ, μία ἀπλῆ, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα παχεία
καὶ χοϊκὴ καὶ οἷον διπλῆ, μεθ' ἣν εὐθέως διπλασιάζει τὰ πράγματα ὁ

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Indeed, all things came into being through him and for him¹ and thus
described beforehand his Incarnation, his composition, his coupling. I
am speaking of the two inseparable natures of Christ: the invisible
nature of his divinity, and the visible nature of his humanity, which is
inseparable from him. Clearly, every creation that is visible and in-
visible is a representation of him. Therefore on account of this he created
two heavens.² The upper one is invisible and indescribable; its nature
cannot be translated into human terms. It is a type and representation
of the invisible and untranslatable nature of His divinity. The second
heaven, however, was raised by him from the earth and positioned quite
visibly. He called it the firmament,³ as a type of his undefiled flesh,
which he would receive from the earth⁴ and which he would raise up.

3. Between these two heavens is living water. This is an icon and
type of the holy and life-giving soul of Christ. Again, Gregory the
Theologian said of this soul that it mediates between the divinity and
the solidity of the flesh.⁵ Therefore, this water is lower than the upper
heaven. That is, the intelligent and rational soul bears a nature that is
less than God the Logos. It exists, however, higher and more honorable
than the solid and visible firmament—and here I am speaking of the
body. I have discussed these things elsewhere; but you must know that
both the visible heaven and the invisible heaven above the water have
an existence that is inseparable and indivisible. Just so, the one
combined hypostasis of Christ exists and is made up from two invisible
and one visible body. For God the Logos and his soul are invisible, but
his body is visible.

So Paul was right when he said: *Everything was created for Christ, the things upon the earth and in the heavens, the things visible and invisible.*⁶ Indeed because of this, there exist two earths, the visible and the invisible. One is apparent to us. And the other is uninhabited: Paradise. And there are two living beings: the angel and the human, the invisible and the visible. And two waters: seen and unseen. And two spirits: the spiritual divinity and the wind. Fire is also double: material and immaterial—the fire of the coming age. Light is double: visible and invisible. And there are two kinds of life-giving and moving forces: the immortal among us and also the mortal. For let even the spirit in irrational creatures be called a *soul*, although it is a misuse of the term.

Animals are twofold: terrestrial and marine.⁷ Life is double: temporary and eternal.⁸ Birth is double: from a woman and from the dead.⁹ Baptism is double: from water and Spirit.¹⁰ Understanding is double: that of the present and that of the future.¹¹ Goods are double: temporary and eternal.¹² There are two Laws: the written and the spiritual.¹³ Two Covenants. Two peoples.¹⁴

And there are two narrations about the preparation of Adam.¹⁵ One is simple. The second is denser, involves earth, and is like a double. The

37 τὸν] om. M συνδυασμὸν N 40/1 ἐξεικομιζούσης P 44 τὸν] τὸ M 45 τέθεικε MN
48 μεσιτευούσης M 54 οὐρανὸς - μὴ ὀρώμενος] om. P 57 ὑπάρχουσα] MN^{pcorr}
ὑπάρχουσα. v. P^{pcorr} γὰρ] add. ὁ θεὸς Λόγος M^{pcorr} 60 καὶ] om. P 62 καὶ] om. MN
64 τὸ] om. MN 65 κινήτων P 66 θνητὸν] scripsi θνητῶν MNP 67 καταχρηστικῶς M
κατὰ χρηστικῶς N 73 διπλῆ] add. ἡ δὲ δευτέρα M^{pcorr} add. ἡ δὲ δευτέρα M^{pcorr}

¹ Cf Jn 1:3; Col 1:16. ² Cf Gen 1:1; 1:7. ³ Cf Gen 1:8. ⁴ Cf Gen 2:7. ⁵ Cf Gregory of Nazianzus *Orations* 38:13, 45:9. ⁶ Col 1:16. ⁷ Cf Gen 1:20-21. ⁸ Cf 2 Cor 4:18.
⁹ Cf Gal 4:4; Col 1:18. ¹⁰ Cf Jn 3:5; 1 Jn 5:6. ¹¹ Cf 1 Cor 13:12; 2 Cor 5:7; 1 Jn 3:2.
¹² Cf 2 Cor 4:18. ¹³ Cf Rom 7:14. ¹⁴ Cf Gal 4:24. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 1:26-27; 2:7.

προφήτης Μωϋσῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ λαλῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, ὡς σύμβολα
75 ὑπάρχοντα τῶν δύο ιδιοτήτων Χριστοῦ.

4. "Οθεν καὶ διττὸν τινα φυτουργὸν δείκνυσιν αὐτόν, διττὸν ξύλον
αἰσθητὸν καὶ νοητὸν, δύο διηγούμενος ὑδάτων ποταμούς, δύο τινὰς
φυτείας, δύο βρώσεις καρπῶν, δύο πλάσεις ζώων, δύο γενέσεις πετεινῶν,
85 διττὴν θέσιν ἀνθρώπου ἐν παραδείσῳ, δύο ἐντεύξεις πρὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ,
μῖαν τῶν ζώων καὶ μῖαν | τῆς ζωῆς, τουτέστι τῆς Εὕας, καὶ δύο δὲ ἐρ-
95 γασίας αὐτῷ προστάττει ὁ Θεός, δύο περιβολὰς ἐν αὐτῷ διηγούμενος,
μῖαν ἐκ φύλλων σημαίνουσαν τὴν τοῦ Λόγου θεότητα τὴν λεπτήν τὴν ἐκ
πατρικῆς ρίζης προϊοῦσαν, ἐτέραν δὲ ἐκ δερματίνου χιτῶνος, τῆς
τεκούσης δύο διηγῆσεις γυναικός, δύο προσηγορίας ἀνδρός, πρότερον
90 γὰρ ὁ πλασθεὶς ὀνομασθεὶς ἄνθρωπος, ὕστερον ὠνομάσθη Ἀδάμ,
τουτέστιν αἱματώδης γῆ, ὁμοίως καὶ δύο προσηγορίας γυναικός, ἐκλήθη
γὰρ ἐν πρώτοις γυνή, εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα Εὕα, τουτέστι ζωή.

5. Οὐ μόνον δὲ εἰς Χριστὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰς δύο ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόζουσι
τὰ διπλὰ τῆς γραφῆς πράγματα, ἃ νῦν παρήγαγον διὰ τὸν διπλασιασ-
90 μὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Δεσπότη. "Ο πρότερον Θεὸς ὀνομαζόμενος,
ἡνίκα ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν, εὐθέως προσηγορεύθη Κύριος καὶ Θεός, τὴν
ἐνσαρκον οἰκονομίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου τηλαυγῶς ἡμῖν τῆς γραφῆς
προσημαίνουσης. "Οτι γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπώσεως αὐτοῦ λαμβάνεται τὸ
95 *Κύριος* ὄνομα, ἄκουσον τοῦ Δαυὶδ λέγοντος· *Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν*
ὀνόματι Κυρίου· Θεὸς Κύριος καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν. Καὶ πάλιν· Εἶπεν ὁ
Κύριος τῷ Κυρίῳ μου· Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, τουτέστι μετὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν,
τὸ γὰρ καθέζεσθαι σωμάτων ἴδιον. "Οθεν καὶ ὁ Γαβριὴλ ταύτην ἤγαγεν
ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν λέγων τῇ πανενδόξῳ Θεοτόκῃ· *Χαίρε,*
100 *κεχαριτωμένη, ὁ Κύριος μετὰ σοῦ.* Ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ συνάγγελοι τοῦ
Γαβριὴλ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Βηθλεὲμ ποιμένας φασὶν *"Οτι ἐτέχθη ἡμῖν Χριστὸς*
Κύριος ἐν πόλει Δαυὶδ, μεθ' ὧν καὶ ἡ Ἐλισάβετ, ὡς καλὴ ἰσάγγελος
ἀγγέλου μήτηρ, πρὸς τὴν ἰσάγγελον αὐτῆς ἡ ἄγγελον καὶ ἀρχάγγελον
καὶ ὑπεράγγελον θεομήτορα ἔλεγεν ὅτι *Καὶ πόθεν μοι τοῦτο, ἵνα ἡ μήτηρ*
τοῦ Κυρίου μου ἔλθῃ πρὸς με; Καὶ Παῦλος δὲ τὸ σωματικὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ
105 Κύριον ὀνομάζει. *Οὐκ ἂν, γὰρ φησι, τὸν Κύριον τῆς δόξης ἐσταύρωσαν.*
Καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἄδην καταβάσει καὶ ἐν τῇ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναλήψει
Κύριον κραταῖον καὶ δυνατὸν καὶ Κύριον τῶν δυνάμεων τὸν Χριστὸν οἱ
ἄγγελοι προσηγόρευσαν.

6. Εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν Κύριος ὠνομάσθη ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος
110 μετὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν, ἐρμηνεύσω θαρρῶν, τὰς θείας γραφὰς καὶ τοὺς
ιερούς αὐτῶν θεοφάντορας συνηγόρους ἔχων. Ὁ πολὺς τοίνυν καὶ τῶν
θείων μύστης ἀποστολικὸς Διονύσιος φησιν ἐν ταῖς πανσόφοις αὐτοῦ

prophet Moses—or rather, the angel that was speaking through him¹—
made a double of things as living symbols of the two selves of Christ.

4. For this reason he shows him twice creating a garden.² He shows
the tree twice: material and spiritual.³ He describes two rivers of water,⁴
two vegetations,⁵ two nourishments consisting of fruit,⁶ two creations of
animals,⁷ two bringing forth of birds;⁸ and man is placed in the garden
twice.⁹ There are two encounters with Adam: one concerning the ani-
mals,¹⁰ and one concerning his life (that is, Eve).¹¹ And God assigns him
two tasks.¹²

He describes two kinds of clothing.¹³ The one from leaves symbolizes
the divinity of the Word, proceeding from the root of the Father, the
light [inner] garment. The second is the outer tunic made of skin. There
are two descriptions of the woman giving birth.¹⁴ Man is given a name
twice. When he is first shaped, he is called *man*.¹⁵ Later, he is called
Adam,¹⁶ which means "bloody earth". Similarly, woman is named twice.
At first she is called *woman*.¹⁷ Afterwards, she is called *Eve*,¹⁸ which
means "life".

5. The doubled things of Scripture are in harmony not only with
Christ, but also with the two Churches. I have now reviewed them
because of the doubling of the name of the Ruler. At first he was called
God; but then, as soon as man came into being, he was addressed as
Lord and God.¹⁹ Thus Scripture very clearly suggested to us beforehand
the plan of the Incarnation of God the Word.

That the name *Lord* was assumed for his humanity can be heard
already from David. He said: *Blessed is the one coming in the name of the*
*Lord. The Lord God indeed has become manifest among us.*²⁰ And again:
*The Lord said to my Lord, "Sit at my right."*²¹ This is after the Incarna-
tion, for to sit down is something characteristic of corporal bodies.
Therefore, Gabriel brought this name from heaven, when he said to the
glorious Mother of God: *"Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with you."*²² So
also the angels accompanying Gabriel said to the shepherds at Bethle-
hem: *"Christ the Lord has been born to us in the city of David."*²³

Joining them was Elisabeth, the excellent mother of the angel mes-
senger,²⁴ who herself was like an angel when she spoke to the Mother of
God. And Mary too was like an angel—either an angel, or archangel, or
super angel, because she was the Mother of God. Elisabeth said: *"Why is*
*this happening to me—that the mother of my Lord comes to me?"*²⁵ And
Paul used the name *Lord* for the physical person of Christ when he said:
*They would not have crucified the glorious Lord.*²⁶ And in the descent to
Hades and then the ascension to Heaven, the angels addressed Christ as
the Lord, mighty and powerful, the Lord of the Powers.²⁷

6. If you want, I shall be bold and explain the reason why the Word
God after the Incarnation was named *Lord*. My advocates will be Divine

¹ Cf Dt 33:2; Acts 7:30, 35, 38; Heb 2:2. ² Cf Gen 1:11-12; 2:8-9. ³ Cf Gen 1:11-12, 29;
2:9. ⁴ Cf Gen 1:10; 2:6, 10-14. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:11-12; 2:8-9. ⁶ Cf Gen 1:29-30; 2:9, 16.
⁷ Cf Gen 1:24-25; 2:19. ⁸ Cf Gen 1:20-21; 2:19. ⁹ Cf Gen 1:26-29; 2:15. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 2:19-
20. ¹¹ Cf Gen 2:22-23. ¹² Cf Gen 1:28; 2:15. ¹³ Cf Gen 3:7, 21. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 4:1-2, 25.
¹⁵ Cf Gen 2:7. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 2:16. ¹⁷ Cf Gen 2:22-23. ¹⁸ Cf Gen 3:20. ¹⁹ Cf Gen 2:7.
²⁰ Ps 117(118):26, 27. ²¹ Ps 109(110):1. ²² Lk 1:28. ²³ Lk 2:11. ²⁴ Cf Mal 3:1; Mk 1:2.
²⁵ Lk 1:43. ²⁶ 1 Cor 2:8. ²⁷ Cf Ps 23(34):8, 10.

77 διηγούμε(εν)ον N 79 θέσις N 80 μίαν] *add.* καὶ M^{a-corr.} 80/1 καὶ δύο - Θεός] *om.* P
83 πατρικῆς] *add.* ὁ N^{a-corr.} 89 πράγματος M διὰ] *add.* τὸ M 92 τῇ λαυγῶς M
τηλαυγῶς P 93 ἐνάνθρωπήσεως P 101 καὶ] *om.* P 104 τὸ] *om.* N 106 τῇ εἰς] τοῖς
M^{a-corr.}

θεολογίαις ὅτι Θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ θεωρεῖν τὰ πάντα εἶρηται, Κύριος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ
κυριεύειν καὶ κρατεῖν καὶ δεσπόζειν λέγεται. Κύριος γὰρ τὸ κράτος
115 λέγεται, ὡς ἄκυρον τὸ ἀργοῦν καὶ μὴ κρατοῦν, ἀλλὰ καταργούμενον.
Οὐκοῦν καλῶς καὶ ἀρμοζόντως καὶ πρεπόντως οὕτως ἐν τῇ πρὸς
ἀνθρώπους ἐπιδημία, ὅτε ἐσαρκώθη καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ὤφθη ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος,
τότε καὶ Κύριος προσηγορεύθη. Πρώην μὲν γὰρ Θεὸς ὠνομάζετο ὡς
θεωρητῆς καὶ ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ κόσμου. | Ἡνίκα δὲ ἐπιδημήσας διὰ σαρκὸς
120 τὸν τύραννον ἡμῶν ἐπάταξεν, ὅτε τὸν θάνατον ἐνέκρωσεν, ὅτε
ἡμᾶς τῆς χειρὸς τῶν δαιμόνων ἀπέσπασεν, ὅτε θεογνωσίαν τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς
ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτε τὰ ἔθνη εἰς κληρονομίαν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἔλαβεν, ὅτε κατέσχε
τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς, ὅτε κατεκυρίευσεν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἕως θαλάσσης
καὶ ἀπὸ ποταμῶν ἕως περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης, τότε Κύριος ὡς κυριεύ-
125 ὼν ἡμῶν ἐκλήθη τῶν πρὶν κυριευομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου. Καὶ τοῦτο
σαφῶς ὁ Δαυὶδ προφητεύων ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ· Κύριε ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν, ὡς
θαυμαστὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ, ὅτι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου μέχρι
δυσμῶν αἰνετὸν τὸ ὄνομα σου Κυρίου καὶ ὑψηλὸς ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ὁ
Κύριος Ἰησοῦς. Καὶ Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν, εὐπρέπειαν σαρκὸς ἐνεδύσατο,
130 ἐνεδύσατο Κύριος τὸν ἄνθρωπον, δύναμιν τοῦ σταυροῦ δι' αὐτὸν
ἀσθενοῦντα, καὶ περιεζώσατο. Καὶ τούτου χάριν Κύριον τὸν Θεὸν
προσηγόρευσεν ἡ γραφή, ἡνίκα ὁ διττὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐκ πηλοῦ καὶ θείου
ἐμφυσηματος συνετέθη ἄνθρωπος. Ἐπλασε, γὰρ φησιν, ὁ Θεὸς τὸν
ἄνθρωπον χοῦν λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον
135 αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζώσαν.

II 1. Ἡβουλόμεν νῦν σαρκὶ παρεῖναι μοι αὐτὸν τὸν Μωσέα τὸν
ταύτης τῆς βίβλου συγγραφέα καὶ αὐτὸν διερωτῆσαι τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ
τοιούτου διπλασιασμοῦ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰ μὴ ἐνέπτυσεν εὐθέως
εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς ἀναισχύντου συναγωγῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Τίς γὰρ
140 οὐκ ἐξέστη, εἰπέ μοι, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς ἐξαήμερου πάσης κτίσεως
ἐλθὼν ποιῆσαι τὴν ἀνακεφαλαίωσιν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου Μωϋσῆς εὐθέως τὸν
διπλασιασμόν καὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰσήγαγε
σημαίνων τὴν ἑνσαρκον τοῦ Χριστοῦ οἰκονομίαν, ὅτι ἐλεύσεται ἀνακεφα-
λαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα καὶ ἀνακαινίσαι, καὶ καινὴν κτίσιν ποιῆσαι καὶ
145 καινὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ καινὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ καινὴν γῆν καὶ καινὰ ζῶα καὶ
καινὰ πετεινὰ καὶ καινοὺς καρπούς καὶ νέους παραδείσους καὶ νεαροὺς
ποταμούς καὶ καινὴν οἰκουμένην καὶ νέον ἄνθρωπον, ὅπερ ὁ Παῦλος
σαφῶς ἐπιστάμενος ἔλεγεν· Εἰ τις ἐν Χριστῷ καινὴ κτίσις, τὰ ἀρχαῖα
παρῆλθεν· ἰδοὺ γέγονε τὰ πάντα καινὰ.

2. Τὸ δὲ πάσης ἐκπλήξεως ἄξιον ἐκεῖνό ἐστιν, ὅτι περ διὰ πάσης τῆς

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Scripture and the divinely inspired men who have revealed it. The apostolic Dionysius, that great mystic of divine things, said in the deep wisdom of his *Divine Names* that God is called *God* (Θεός) because he perceives all things (θεωρεῖν). He is called *Lord* (Κύριος) because he holds, rules, and lords over (κυριεύειν).¹ Power is called "lordship" (κύριος), just as "lack of lordship" (ἄκυρος) is what one calls the inactive and the not powerful but helpless. Therefore, it was beautiful, harmonious, and befitting his visit to men, that when God the Word became incarnate and was seen upon the earth,² he was addressed also as *Lord*.

Earlier he was called *God*, as the one who watches and supervises the cosmos. Then he visited in the flesh and toppled the hostile tyrant. He killed Death. He tore us from the grip of the demons. He taught knowledge of God to the impious, and he brought the Gentile nations into the inheritance of the Father.³ He took hold of the boundaries of the earth, and he ruled from sea to sea and from the rivers to the ends of the inhabited world.⁴ It was then that he was called *Lord*, because he lords it over us, who were once under the dominion of the devil.

David clearly prophesied this, when he said to him: *Lord, our Lord, how admirable is your name in all the world!*⁵ *From the sun's rising to its setting, your name, Lord, is worthy of praise.*⁶ And raised over all the nations is the Lord,⁷ Jesus. And the Lord reigned, he put on the comeliness of the flesh, the Lord put on the man, the power of the cross, for him who was weak. And he girded himself.⁸

On account of this Scripture addressed God as *Lord*, after that duality of clay and divine inspiration had been put together as man. It said: *God made man by taking dust from the earth. And he breathed into his face the breath of life. And man came into being as a living soul.*⁹

II 1. I wish that Moses himself, the author of this book, were here now in the flesh. I would ask him why there was such a doubling of the name of God. Was it not so that he might spit straight into the face of the shameless congregation of Jews? For who is not amazed, tell me, that after the completion of all the six-day creation, Moses, when he came to make his recapitulation of man, introduced the doubling—indeed the compounding—of the name of God? Thereby he gave a sign of Christ's incarnate dispensation:¹⁰ that he would come to sum up and renew all things;¹¹ that he would come to make a new creation,¹² a new man,¹³ a new heaven, a new earth,¹⁴ new animals, new birds, and new fruits; fresh Paradises, young rivers, a new world, and renewed man.¹⁵ This is what Paul, in his clear understanding, said: *If there is a new creation in Christ, the old things have passed away. Look: all things have become new.*¹⁶

2. This is something worthy of our full admiration. Throughout all

115 ὡς] *add.* καὶ M 117 ὁ] *om.* P 122 κατέσχευεν N 124 τότε] *add.* καὶ P 128 σου] N
129 ἐβασίλευσεν M σαρκὸς] *om.* N 130 τοῦ σταυροῦ] *correcti* τὸν σταυρὸν MNP
131 ἀσθενοῦντα] *add.* καὶ περιεζώσατο δύναμιν τὸν σταυρὸν δι' αὐτὸν ἀσθενοῦντα M^{corr}
per dittographiam 133 ἐπλασεν M 135 ἐγένετο] *add.* ὁ N 143 ἑνσαρκων M
145 καινὸν] *καὶ* κανὸν M^{corr} 150 ἐκεῖνον M

¹ Cf Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite *Divine Names* XII (PG 3, 969C 1-6). ² Cf Bar 3:38.
³ Cf Ps 2:8. ⁴ Cf Ps 2:8; 71(72):8. ⁵ Ps 8:2, 10. ⁶ Ps 112(113):3 ⁷ Ps 112(113):4.
⁸ Ps 92(93):1. ⁹ Gen 2:7. ¹⁰ Cf Eph 1:10. ¹¹ Cf 2 Cor 4:16; Eph 1:10; Col 3:10.
¹² Cf 2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15. ¹³ Cf Eph 2:15; 4:24. ¹⁴ Cf Is 65:17; 66:22; 2 Pet 3:13;
Rev 21:1. ¹⁵ Cf Col 3:10. ¹⁶ 2 Cor 5:17-18.

ἑξαήμερου ἀπλῶ τινι καὶ ἀσυνθέτῳ ὀνόματι ὀνομάζουσα ἡ θεία γραφή
 τὸν κτίστην ἀπλὴν τινα καὶ ἀσύνθετον καὶ τὴν τῶν κτισμάτων ἐποιεῖτο
 διήγησιν, διπλασιάσασα δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ συνεδιπλασίασεν
 εὐθέως ἐν τῇ ἀνακεφαλαιώσει καὶ τὰ δημιουργήματα προσθήκας ἐν
 155 αὐτοῖς οὐκ ὀλίγας ποιησάμενη, σαφῶς τὸ τῆς καινῆς ἐν Χριστῷ κτίσεως
 καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μυστήριον ἡμᾶς ἐκδιδάσκουσα. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον
 πολυπλασιάζει ὑπὲρ τὰ πρότερα τὰ δεύτερα πράγματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 πολλήν τινα καὶ ἀσύγκριτον ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ κτίσει ἡμῖν τὴν διαφορὰν
 160 δείκνυσιν. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ προτέρᾳ τῆς κτίσεως διηγῆσαι χόρτον καὶ ξύλον
 ἀρπιδιόν ἐκ γῆς λέγει βλαστήσαντα, ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἀνακεφαλαιώσκει
 παράδεισον τρυφῆς καὶ πᾶν ξύλον ὡραῖον εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς 955A
 βρώσιν ξύλον τε ζωῆς καὶ ἀθανασίας φυτόν. Πάλιν τε ὁ πρῶτος τῆς γῆς
 ποτισμὸς ἐκ μονοειδοῦς πηγῆς ὅλον τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς κατέκλυζεν, ὁ
 δὲ δεύτερος ποτισμὸς ἐκ τεσσάρων ποταμῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην πρὸς
 165 καρπούς ἤρδευσεν. Ἐν τοῖς προτέροις ζώοις ἡ γῆ πετεινὰ οὐκ ἐξήγαγεν,
 ἐν τοῖς δευτέροις ζώοις ζῶα καὶ πετεινὰ ἀνεδείχθησαν ἀπὸ γῆς. Ἐν τῇ
 προτέρᾳ διηγῆσαι τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ποιήσεως οὐ μνημονεύει τοῦ θείου
 ἐκείνου σωτηρίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ ἐμφυσηματος, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ. Ἐν τῇ
 170 πρώτῃ ποιῆσαι λέγει ὅτι Ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς, ἐν δὲ τῇ
 δευτέρᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διαπλάσει τῇ εἰς Χριστὸν συντεινούσῃ οὐ λέγει
 Ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ. Ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὐκ ἐνὶ ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ. Εἰς γὰρ
 ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχει τὸ μοναδικὸν καὶ ἀδιαίρετον
 πρόσωπον. Τὴν πρῶτην βρώσιν κτηνώδη καὶ συγκοινωνὸν τῶν ἀλόγων
 καὶ τῶν θηρίων ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Ἀδὰμ δέδωκε, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν λογικὴν καὶ
 175 πάσης ἀλόγου φύσεως ξένην. Τὰ πρῶτα ζῶα καὶ κτήνη ὁ Θεὸς οὐκ
 ἐκάλεσεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ δεύτερα πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἤγαγε καὶ ὀνόματα
 τούτοις τέθηκε.

3. Σκόπει καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα ἐξῆς, παρακαλῶ. Πρὸ τῆς ἐν παραδείσῳ
 θέσεως οὐ προσητάγη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ φυλάσσειν τὰ ξύλα τὰ
 180 πρότερα τῆς ἀπολλυμένης βρώσεως, ἀλλὰ τὰ δεύτερα τοῦ παραδείσου
 τῆς βρώσεως τῆς μενούσης εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. Πρῶτον ὁ ἄνθρωπος μόνος
 καὶ ἀβοήθητος ἦν, ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ κτίσει βοηθὸν αὐτῷ ὁ Θεὸς ἐποίησε
 καὶ αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ βοηθὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἡ γυνή. Ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ κτίσει καὶ
 διηγῆσαι ἦν ἀπλὴ τις καὶ ἀσύνθετος, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀνακεφαλαιώσει πάσης τῆς
 185 κτίσεως τότε γέγονε καὶ ἤκουσεν Ὅστούν ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων τοῦ πνευμα-
 τικοῦ Ἀδὰμ καὶ σάρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ. Τότε καὶ ὠκοδομήθη ἡ πρὶν

the six-day creation, Divine Scripture named him with a simple, uncompounded name.¹ It made the Creator and creation's story something simple and uncomplicated. But when it doubles the name of the craftsman, it immediately doubles, by means of the recapitulation, the things that were crafted.² And it makes additions that are not meager. Thus, it clearly teaches us about the mystery of the new creation in Christ and the mystery of the Church.³

Not only does it multiply the second things beyond the first, but it also points out that the difference of the second creation is something great and incomparable. In the earlier description of creation, it said that the grass and the fruit-bearing tree sprang up from the earth.⁴ In the later recapitulation, there is the paradise of delight,⁵ every tree beautiful to look upon and good to eat, the tree of life,⁶ and the immortal foliage.⁷ The first watering of the land flowed over the whole face of the earth from a single spring.⁸ The second watering came from four rivers and irrigated the inhabited world to produce fruits.⁹ Among the earlier animals, the earth did not bring forth the birds;¹⁰ among the later animals, both the living beings and the birds were shown forth from the earth.¹¹

Not in the first account of man's creation, but in the second there is mention of God's inspiration, which gives life and brings salvation.¹² In the first creation it said: *Male and female he made them*.¹³ In the second making of man, the one leading to Christ, it does not say *male and female*. For male and female do not exist in Jesus Christ.¹⁴ Christ is one.¹⁵ And his single and undivided person exists as one. The first meal that God gave to Adam was fit for animals and was shared with the speechless and wild beasts.¹⁶ The second meal is rational and foreign to every nature devoid of reason.¹⁷ God did not summon the first animals and herds. But he brings the second to man, and gives them names.¹⁸

3. Please examine the following things in order. Before his placement in Paradise, man was not directed to work and guard the trees.¹⁹ The previous trees held a perishable food. But he is directed to guard the second trees, those of Paradise.²⁰ They are to remain as nourishment for eternal life.²¹ And at first, man was alone and without assistance. But in the second creation, God made a helper for him. And this helper of man was woman.²² In the first creation and narration, she was someone simple and uncomplicated.²³ But in the recapitulation of all creation, she came into being and heard: *Bone from the bones* of the spiritual Adam,²⁴ and *flesh from the flesh* of him.²⁵ She had been unloosened and then was built up.²⁶ She was built up as the woman and wife of the man,

151 συνθέτω P 155 καινῆς] MN¹⁸ P¹⁸ corr. καιρῆς P¹⁸ corr. 158 τινα] om. N 159 Ἐν] add. ἐν M
 per dittographiam 160 ἀνακεφαλαιώσκει M 161 καὶ] add. παράδεισον P¹⁸ corr.
 163 ποταμὸς M 164 ποταμὸς M 169 δὲ] om. N 171 θῆλυ] add. ἐποίησεν αὐτούς, ἐν δὲ
 τῇ δευτέρᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διαπλάσει τῇ εἰς χριστὸν συντεινούσῃ, οὐ λέγει ἄρσεν καὶ
 θῆλυ· P per dittographiam 174 δὲ] om. P 177 τέθεικε MN 178 ἀκούλουθα M
 180 ἀπολλυμένοις 180/1 ἀλλὰ - βρώσεως] om. P per homoteleuton 183 ἡ] om. M
 184 ἐν] οὐ N

¹ Cf Gen 1:1-2:3. ² Cf Gen 2:4-3:2. ³ Cf 2 Cor 5:17; Eph 5:32. ⁴ Cf Gen 1:11.
⁵ Cf Gen 2:15 (Veronensis); 3:23, 24. ⁶ Cf Gen 2:9; 3:22. ⁷ Cf Gen 3:7. ⁸ Cf Gen 2:6.
⁹ Cf Gen 2:10-14. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 1:20, 24. ¹¹ Cf Gen 2:19. ¹² Cf Gen 2:7. ¹³ Gen 1:27.
¹⁴ Cf Gal 3:28. ¹⁵ Cf Rom 5:17. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 1:29-30. ¹⁷ Cf Gen 2:16-17.
¹⁸ Cf Gen 2:19-20. ¹⁹ Cf Gen 1:29-30. ²⁰ Cf Gen 2:15-17. ²¹ Cf Jn 6:27.
²² Cf Gen 2:18-24. ²³ Cf Gen 1:27. ²⁴ Cf 1 Cor 15:45-46. ²⁵ Gen 2:23. ²⁶ Cf Gen 2:22.

καταλελυμένη. Τότε καὶ ἀποδομήθη ἡ γυνὴ καὶ σύζυγος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς τοῦ πρὶν κεχωρισμένου. Τότε καὶ ἐκλήθη Ζωὴ ἡ πρὶν νεκρωμένη. Τότε καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὴν ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τὴν ποτε μακρὰν οὔσαν. 190 Τότε καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν οἱ πρότερον ὄντες σάρκες δύο, (γυμνοὶ) ἕως οὗ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ κτίσει ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἐσκεπάσθησαν οἱ ἐν ἀρχῇ τυφλοὶ τυγχάνοντες, ὕστερον δὲ ἀναβλέψαντες.

4. Εἰ δὲ τὴν παρακοὴν καὶ τὸν ὄφιν καὶ τὴν βρῶσιν καὶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἐξοδὸν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου προσφέρεις μοι ὁ ἀκροατής, 195 ἐπίσχες καὶ μὴ κατασπεύδης, καὶ ὄψῃ τὰ ἐν τούτοις ῥηθισόμενα πολλῆς ἐχόμενα χάριτος καὶ ὠραιότητος, ἐτι γὰρ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἰσταμέθα. Οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀνακεφαλαίωσιν τῆς γραφῆς τὴν μετὰ τὴν ἐξα- ἡμέρον μὴ λαμβάνοντες εἰς τύπον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐλέγχονται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ προσθηκῶν μηδὲν ὅλως ἐπιστάμενοι, ὥς ὕστερον πλατύτερον 200 ἀποδείξομεν.

III 1. Ταῦτα δὲ νῦν διὰ βραχείων εἶπον περὶ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ διπλασιασθέντος ἐν τῇ ἀνακεφαλαίωσει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπὸ Μωσέως καὶ προσαγορευθέντος Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἥνικα ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὁ παράδεισος, ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τύπος, ἐγένετο. Καὶ μὴ τολμησάτω τις 205 τῶν ἀφρόνων εἰπεῖν ὅτι κατὰ τινὰ ἀφελότητα ἢ ἀκαίρως ἢ ἐξ ἰδιωτείας τινὸς ἢ τοιαύτη προσθήκη ἐπὶ τοῦ θείου ὀνόματος γέγονεν ἢ ἄλλη οἰαδήποτε λέξις ἢ λόγος ἢ νόημα ἢ ἰῶτα ἐν ἡ μία κεφαλαία τῆς ἁγίας γραφῆς. Νόμον γὰρ νῦν καὶ γραφὴν ἐρμηνεύομεν δακτύλῳ Θεοῦ γραφεῖσαν ἐν Πνεύματι καὶ στόματι ἁγίῳ ἐν πυρὶ καὶ γνώφῳ καὶ ζόφῳ 210 καὶ θυέλλῃ καὶ σεισμῷ καὶ σάλπιγγος ἤχῳ μυριάδων ἀγγέλων. Ὁ γὰρ νόμος Κυρίου ἁγνὸς καὶ τὰ λόγια Κυρίου πεπυρωμένα σφόδρα ἡγουν πυρὶ τῷ ἐν Σινᾷ ἐξημμένα καὶ οὕτω παραδεδομένα. Συσσεισμός γάρ, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ συσσεισμῷ Κύριος· γνώφος, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ γνώφῳ Κύριος· πῦρ, καὶ ἐκεῖ Κύριος ὁ λαλῶν πεπυρωμένα λόγια τῷ Μωϋσεὶ ψυχὰς ἀνθρακί- 215 ζοντα καὶ τὰς τούτων ὕλας συμφλέγοντα.

2. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐνυπόστατον καὶ ἐνυπαρκτον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφίας ἀναφαίνεται. Ὡς γὰρ ἄλλο ἐστὶ τὸ πυρ[ρ]ίζον καὶ ἄλλο ἐστὶ τὸ πυρούμενον σῶμά τι ὄν, οὕτως ἐξ ἀναλογίας ἐνυπαρκτα νοεῖ τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ μὴ εἰς ἀέρα χεόμενα. Οὐ γὰρ εἶπε πυρ[ρ]ίζοντα, ἀλλὰ 220 πεπυρωμένα ἡγουν ἐφ'esτώτα καὶ ὄντα, πυρὶ δ' ἐξημμένα ἡγουν ἀληθεῖα προλάμποντα. Καὶ Δαυὶδ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο εἰρήκει· Ἡ ἐντολὴ Κυρίου τηλαυγής, φωτίζουσα ὀφθαλμούς. Τηλαυγής δὲ ἀμφοτέρωθεν, ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ πυρὸς ἐξήκει, τῆς θείας φημὶ φύσεως, πῦρ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς καταναλίσκων, καὶ διὰ Σιναίου πάλιν πυρὸς ἐξανθρακουμένη καὶ πυρίνῳ δακτύλῳ

who before had been separated. Then she, who once was dead, was called Life (Ζωή).¹ God then led her, who had been far removed,² to her man. Then the two, who earlier had been two bodies, became as one,³ those who were naked, until they were given protective covering by God in the second creation.⁴ In the beginning, they were blind; later, they were able to see.

4. And do you, the listener, now hold up to me the disobedience, the snake, the eating, death, and the exodus from the garden?⁵ Then pay close attention and do not be hasty, and you will see that such passages have much grace and beauty. We are yet in the middle of the enterprise. Some do not accept the Scripture's recapitulation, after the account of the six days, as a type of the Church. But they are refuted by the additions made there, and they are shown as understanding nothing at all—as we will explain in more detail later.

III 1. In brief, this is what I have said about the sovereign name of God: in the recapitulation of the creation of man, Moses doubled the name and addressed him as the Lord God. This happened when the garden, which was a type of the Church, and man came into being.

Let no thoughtless person dare to say that such an addition to the name of God arose out of naïveté, or by accident, or through some idiosyncrasy. And the same goes for any other such passage or word or thought or one iota or dot of Holy Scripture.⁶ For we are now interpreting scriptural law, written by the finger of God, with the voice of the Holy Spirit. It came in fire, mist, cloud, storm, quaking, and the trumpet blast of thousands of angels.⁷ The Law of the Lord is pure.⁸ The words of the Lord were hardened by intense fire.⁹ They were ignited on Sinai and so transmitted. The Lord was not in the earthquake; he was the earthquake. The Lord was not in the mist; he was the mist. He was fire, and there he spoke to Moses fire-hardened words.¹⁰ They ignite souls and burn out their matter.

2. From these words, both the substance and the reality of the wisdom of God become manifest. That which becomes red is one thing; that which is ignited is something else, something physical. And so, by analogy, consider the words of God as real, and not pouring out into the air. Moses did not speak words that had a fiery color.¹¹ The words had already been set on fire—they rose up and existed, ignited by fire and shining with truth. And because of this, David said: *The command of the Lord is far shining, illuminating the eyes.*¹² The command blazed on both accounts. It came out of fire—I mean from the divine nature, for God is consuming fire¹³—and through the fire of Sinai, it ignited. It was written by a fiery finger. It was engraved in fiery letters. And when it was given

¹ Cf Gen 3:20. ² Cf Eph 2:13. ³ Cf Gen 2:24; Eph 5:31. ⁴ Cf Gen 3:7. ⁵ Cf Gen 3:1-6, 19, 23-24. ⁶ Cf Mt 5:18. ⁷ Cf Ex 19:18; Dt 4:11; Heb 12:18. ⁸ Cf Ps 11(12):7; 18(19):8.

⁹ Cf Ps 17(18):31; 118(119):140. ¹⁰ Cf 1 Kg 19:11-12. ¹¹ Cf Ps 17(18):31.

¹² Ps 18(19):9. ¹³ Cf Dt 4:24; 9:3; Heb 12:29.

191 γυμνοὶ] *stripleni nudierant* Hn. ἐν²] *om.* M 194 ὁ] *om.* M 195 ἐπίσχες M 197 κεφαλαίωσιν P 202 διαπλασιασθέντος M 203 τοῦ] *om.* MN 207 ὥτα M κεφαλαία] *add.* ποτε λέξις· M 213/4 πῦρ - Κύριος] *om.* P 214 Μωϋσεὶ] *correxī* μωυσεῖ M μωυσεῖ N μωυσεῖ P 219 χεόμενα] *add.* τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ P 221 εἰρήκη MN 222 τηλαυγής²] τη λαυγής MN^{u.com}

225 γραφομένη καὶ πυρίνοις γράμμασι τυπουμένη. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πυροειδὲς καὶ
 τηλαυγὲς τὸ Μωσῆος δεικνύουσα πρόσωπον ἐδίδοτο, ἐν ᾗ οὐδὲν ἄκαιρον
 οὐδὲ ἄσκοπον οὐδὲ ἀμύστηρον οὐδὲ ἀθαύμαστον ἔστι. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ
 παντὸς θαύματος ἄξιον ὅτι περ, ἡνίκα διπλοῦς γέγονεν ὁ Ἀδάμ, εὐθέως ὁ
 230 Θεὸς Κύριος καὶ Θεὸς ὠνομάσθη, δι' ὅλης τῆς τοῦ παραδείσου ἱστορίας
 διπλῶς ὀνόματι προσαγορευσάσης τῆς γραφῆς τὸν δημιουργόν.

3. Καὶ εἰ προθύμως ἡμῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐμφιλοσοφεῖς ὁ φιλόπονος, οὐκ
 ὀκνήσω σοι καὶ τὰς τῶν κεφαλαίων ἀρχὰς ἀκολουθῶς παραθεῖναι. Φησὶ
 γάρ· Καὶ ἐφύτευσε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς παράδεισον ἐν Ἑδέμ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς·
 Καὶ ἐξανέτειλε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἔτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς· Καὶ ἔλαβε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὸν
 235 ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἐπλασε· Καὶ ἐνετείλατο Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Ἀδὰμ λέγων·
 Καὶ εἶπε Κύριος ὁ Θεός· Οὐ καλὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον· Καὶ ἐπλασε
 Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τῆς γῆς ζῶα· Καὶ ἤγαγε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν
 Ἀδὰμ· Καὶ ἐπέβαλε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἑκατασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ· Καὶ
 ὠκοδόμησε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὴν πλευρὰν εἰς γυναῖκα· Καὶ ἤκουσε τῆς
 240 φωνῆς Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ περιπατοῦντος· Καὶ ἐκάλεσε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὸν
 Ἀδὰμ· Καὶ εἶπε Κύριος ὁ Θεός· Τίς ἀνήγγειλέ σοι· Καὶ εἶπε Κύριος ὁ Θεός
 τῇ γυναίκι· Τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας; Καὶ εἶπε Κύριος ὁ Θεός τῷ ὄφει· Ὅτι
 ἐποίησας τοῦτο· Καὶ ἐποίησε Κύριος ὁ Θεός τῷ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῇ γυναίκι
 αὐτοῦ· Καὶ εἶπε Κύριος ὁ Θεός· Ἴδου γέγονεν Ἀδὰμ ὡς εἶς ἐξ ἡμῶν· Καὶ
 245 ἐξέβαλεν αὐτὸν Κύριος ὁ Θεός ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς ἐργάζεσθαι
 τὴν γῆν, ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθη. Ἀκούεις ὅτι, ἀφ' οὗ εἰσῆλθεν ὡς περ τις θεία φύσις
 τὸ θεῖον ἐμφύσημα εἰς τὸ γηγενὲς σῶμα τοῦ Ἀδὰμ, εὐθέως ἡ γραφή οὐχ
 ἀπλῶς ὀνόματι προσηγόρευεν, ἀλλ' ὡσανεὶ συνθέτως Χριστῷ ὄντι Θεὸν
 καὶ Κύριον αὐτὸν συνθέτως ὠνόμασε, καθὰ εἰς τὰ ἀκριβῆ καὶ ἀνόθευτα
 250 καὶ ἀρχαῖα τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἐρευνήσαντες μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἀκριβείας
 εὐρήκαμεν εἰς τὰ ὑπὸ Κλήμεντος καὶ Εἰρηναίου καὶ Φίλωνος τοῦ
 φιλοσόφου καὶ τοῦ τὰ Ἑξαπλᾶ συστησαμένου στιχθέντα. Διὸ τὴν μὲν
 ἑξαήμερον κτίσιν ἀπλοῦς Θεὸς ὢν δημιουργεῖ, τὴν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καινὴν
 255 κτίσιν σύνθετος γεγονῶς Κύριος | καὶ Θεός, τουτέστι Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρω-
 πος, Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς.

4. Ἀκουσον νουνεχῶς μυστήρια Θεοῦ ζῶντος καὶ θαύμασον. Ἡνίκα
 γὰρ ἐξῆλθεν Ἀδὰμ ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου, εὐθέως ἡ θεία γραφή οὐ συνθέτως
 ὀνόματι προσηγόρευσε τὸν Δεσπότην, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς. Διηγούμενη γὰρ ἡμῖν
 ἡ θεόπνευστος ἱστορία τὸν τῆς Εὐας τόκον φησὶν εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν ἐκ
 260 παραδείσου ἔξοδον· Ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀδὰμ Εὐαν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ συλλα-
 βούσα ἔτεκε τὸν Κάιν καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐκτῆσάμην ἄνθρωπον διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Καὶ
 τί δήποτε, ὦ Ἰουδαῖε, ἐν ἑπτὰ καὶ δέκα κεφαλαίαις ἀκολουθῶς ἐν τῷ
 παραδείσῳ ὠνομάσασα ἡ θεία γραφή διπλῶς ὀνόματι τὸν Θεὸν καὶ
 προσαγορεύσασα αὐτὸν Κύριον καὶ Θεὸν εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν ἐκ παραδείσου

225 πυρίνης M 226 τη λαυγὲς M 237 ἡγαγα P 239 ὠκοδόμησε M 240 τοῦ Θεοῦ om.
 M^{scott} 249 ὠνόμασε P 252 τοῦ om. M 253 δημιουργεῖν N τὴν τὰ P καινήν] καὶ νῦν
 M^{scott} 261 ἔτεκε] ἔτε N ἐκτῆσάμην N

to the people, it says, Moses' face was shining with fire.¹

In Scripture, there is nothing that happened by accident. There is nothing without a purpose, nothing that is not a mystery, and nothing that is not amazing. So how is it not worthy of our complete awe that, when Adam became doubled, immediately God was named Lord and God? And throughout the whole story of Paradise, Scripture addressed the Creator with a double name.

3. Since you, being a hard worker, eagerly reflect with us about such things, I will not hesitate to present in sequence the beginnings of the sections. Scripture says: *And the Lord God planted a garden in Eden in the East;*² *and the Lord God still caused to spring up from the earth;*³ *and the Lord God took the man, whom he had made;*⁴ *and the Lord God commanded Adam with these words;*⁵ *and the Lord God said: "It is not good that man is alone";*⁶ *and the Lord God fashioned living beings from the earth;*⁷ *and the Lord God led them to Adam;*⁸ *and the Lord God cast an ecstasy upon Adam;*⁹ *and the Lord God built the rib into a woman;*¹⁰ *and he heard the voice of the Lord God, who was walking around;*¹¹ *and the Lord God called Adam;*¹² *and the Lord God said: "Who told you?";*¹³ *and the Lord God said to the woman: "Why did you do this?";*¹⁴ *and the Lord God said to the snake: "Because you did this";*¹⁵ *and the Lord God made for Adam and his wife;*¹⁶ *and the Lord God said: "Look, Adam has become like one of us";*¹⁷ *and the Lord God cast him out of the Paradise of delight to work the earth, from which he had been taken.*¹⁸

You can hear it, can you not? The divine inspiration, just like a divine nature, entered Adam's earth-born body;¹⁹ and immediately afterwards, Scripture did not address God with a simple name. It named him in a compound way, our Lord and God, as if addressing Christ, who is a compound. This is exactly how we found it, after we had investigated with considerable care the most ancient, authentic, and accurate texts among the various editions: the texts by Clement, Irenaeus, Philo the philosopher, and the compiler of the annotated Hexapla. According to these, being simply God, he created the six-day creation. But after that, having become a compound, the Lord and God—which was God and man, Christ Jesus—created the new creation.²⁰

4. Listen attentively to the mysteries of the living God and be amazed.²¹ When Adam left the garden, Divine Scripture immediately addressed the Ruler with a simple name, not a compound one. Right after the exodus from Paradise, when the divinely inspired story expounded Eve's childbearing, it said: *Adam had intercourse with Eve his wife. And she, having become pregnant, gave birth to Cain. And she said: "Through God I have given birth to a man."*²² So why, O Jew, did Divine Scripture call God with a double name in Paradise in seventeen sections in a row²³—addressing him as Lord and God—and then right after

¹ Cf Ex 34:29-30; 2 Cor 3:7-8. ² Gen 2:8. ³ Gen 2:9. ⁴ Gen 2:15. ⁵ Gen 2:16.
⁶ Gen 2:18. ⁷ Gen 2:19. ⁸ Gen 2:19. ⁹ Gen 2:21. ¹⁰ Gen 2:22. ¹¹ Gen 3:8.
¹² Gen 3:9. ¹³ Gen 3:11. ¹⁴ Gen 3:13. ¹⁵ Gen 3:14. ¹⁶ Gen 3:21. ¹⁷ Gen 3:22.
¹⁸ Gen 3:23-24. ¹⁹ Cf Gen 2:7. ²⁰ Cf 2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15. ²¹ Cf 1 Cor 4:1. ²² Gen 4:1.
²³ Cf Gen 2:8-3:23.

265 ἔξοδον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου Θεὸν προσηγόρευσεν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' οὐ Κύριον καὶ
 Θεόν: "Ὅπως σὺ μάθῃς ὅτι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐστὶν ἴδιος Κύριος καὶ Θεός, καὶ
 οὐ τῶν ὁμοίως ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώπων Θεός
 ἐστὶ, τουτέστι θεατῆς, τῆς δὲ ἐκκλησίας καὶ θεατῆς Θεὸς καὶ Κύριος
 270 κυριεύων αὐτῆς καὶ φροντίζων καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνόμενος καὶ κρατῶν αὐτήν.
 Εἰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου ἐξώθησιν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ
 ὀνομάζεται Κύριος Θεὸς ὁ Δεσπότης, μὴ θαυμάσῃς. Ἔσται γὰρ καιρὸς
 ὅτε καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐκκλησίας κυριεύσει διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ
 275 Γενήσεται, ὡς αὐτὸς εἶπε, *μία ποιμήν, εἰς ποιμήν*. Πλὴν οὐκ ἀφίσταμαι
 τῆς τοιαύτης μου γνώμης, ἧς προείπον εἰσπράττων τὸν Ἰουδαῖον ὁμοῦ
 καὶ τὸν φθονερὸν πιστὸν ταύτῃ μου τῇ ἐννοίᾳ ἀντιλέγοντα, ὅπως ἐν
 κηρῷ καὶ χαλινῷ εἶπη ἡμῖν τί δῆποτε πρὸ τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ θείου
 ἐμφυσηματος εἰς τὸν Ἀδὰμ οὐκ ὠνομάσθη ὁ Θεός, Κύριος καὶ Θεός, ἀλλὰ
 μόνον Θεός.

IV 1. Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον ἐπανέλθωμεν. Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως
 280 οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὅτε ἐγένετο, ἢ ἡμέρα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ
 τὴν γῆν. Ἐκδεξαί μικρὸν καὶ ἀκούσεις τοῦ αὐτοῦ συγγραφέως Μωϋσεως
 λέγοντος, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν λαλοῦντος ἁγίου Πνεύματος φάσ-
 κοντος: Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως ἀνθρώπου, ἢ ἡμέρα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν
 Ἀδὰμ, κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς
 285 καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς. Τίς δὲ ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν δύο προσηγοριῶν, τῆς
 βίβλου οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν, ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐροῦμεν τὴν
 διαστολήν. Πλὴν ὅτι ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἡμᾶς ἅπαντα τὰ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βίβλῳ
 περὶ τῶν δύο νοεῖν τούτων, τὸν μὲν οὐρανὸν τύπον Χριστοῦ, τὴν δὲ γῆν
 290 τύπον τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ οὕτως καθεξῆς ἅπασαν τὴν ἐξαήμερον κτίσιν εἰς
 αὐτοὺς ἀναφέρειν, τὰ τε ὕδατα τὴν τε ἄβυσσον καὶ τὸ φῶς καὶ τὴν
 χλόην καὶ τὰ δένδρα καὶ τὸ στερέωμα καὶ τοὺς φωστῆρας καὶ τὰ ζῶα
 καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ τοὺς ποτισμοὺς καὶ τὰ φυτὰ καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ τὰ
 λοιπὰ ἅπαντα, καὶ οὕτως πληροῦται τὸ λόγιον τὸ φάσκον ὅτι *Πάντα*
διὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν γεγόνασιν.

295 2. Ἐπισημήνασθαι δὲ νουνεχῶς χρεῶν ὅτιπερ, ἀφ' ἧς ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα
 γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, τουτέστιν ὁ Χριστοῦ πρωτότυπος τύπος Ἀδὰμ, οὐκ
 ἐπὶ κατὰ πρόσταξιν ὁ Θεός τι ἐδημιούργησεν οὔτε εἶπε τοῦ λοιποῦ: |
 Γενηθήτω τότε καὶ τότε, ἀλλ' αὐτουργικῶς καὶ θεουργικῶς δι' ἑαυτοῦ
 300 τὴν δευτέραν κτίσιν ἐποίησε, κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς καὶ ἀναμφιβόλως τῆς
 θείας γραφῆς τὴν ἐπιδημίαν καὶ παρουσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου τὴν ἐξ
 οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἡμῖν προφητευσούσης ἐν τῇ κατὰ δευτέραν τάξιν
 ἀνακεφαλαιώσῃ τῶν κτισμάτων, διδασκούσης ἡμᾶς ὅτι *Ὁφθήσεται ὁ*

266 καὶ| ὁ Μ^{scor}. 268 Κύριος] om. N 271 Κύριος] add. ὁ Μ 273 εἰς ποιμήν] om. M
 275 τὸν| τῶν Μ^{scor}. πιστὸν| scrīpsī πιστῶν MNP ἐνοία P 277 Θεός, Κύριος] MN
 Θεός, καὶ Κύριος P 279 προκείμεν N 280/1 τὸν οὐρανὸν - μικρὸν] om. M 281 καὶ] om.
 MP 281/3 ἀκούσεις - ὁ Θεός] om. M 286 τὸν ἕτερον M 293 καὶ οὕτως - πάντα] om. M
 294 Χριστοῦ] χ(ριστὸν) N

the exodus of man from Paradise,¹ did it call him God, and not Lord and God? It was so that you might learn that he is the Church's own Lord and God. He is not similarly attached to those outside the Church. He is God—he is the Divinity—for the people outside. But for the Church, he is both the divine God and the Lord ruling over her, thinking about her, taking her by the hand, and embracing her. And if, after the expulsion from the garden, Divine Scripture does name the Ruler as Lord God, do not be surprised.² There will be a time when he will lord it over those outside the Church too. Indeed, according to the gospel: *"There will be one flock, one shepherd,"* as he himself said.³

Still, I do not back down from my position, which I presented earlier in my challenge against the Jew and likewise the envious faithful who may argue against this opinion of mine. Or please tell us, through your muzzle and bit: why was God not named the Lord and God—but only God—before the coming of the breath of God into Adam?⁴

IV 1. But let us return to the passage under analysis. *This is the book of the beginning of heaven and earth, when it began, on which day God made the heaven and the earth.*⁵ Then wait a little and you will hear the same narrator Moses say—rather, the Holy Spirit that was speaking to him: *This is the book of the beginning of man, on which day God made Adam. In the image of God he made him, male and female he made them and blessed them.*⁶ What is the difference between these two titles: the book of heaven and earth and the other book? In the following, we will explain their distinctions.

But first: I think it is completely necessary for us to consider everything in this book with the following two points in mind: heaven presents a type of Christ, and earth presents a type of the Church.⁷ And it is necessary to refer to these, in order, the whole six-day creation: the waters and the abyss,⁸ the light,⁹ the pasture and trees,¹⁰ the firmament,¹¹ the luminaries,¹² the animals and birds,¹³ the irrigation,¹⁴ plants,¹⁵ rivers,¹⁶ and all the rest. For so the saying is fulfilled: *Everything came into being through Christ and for Christ.*¹⁷

2. We must note thoughtfully that from the moment man came into being according to the image¹⁸—I am speaking of the type, Adam, the prototype of Christ—God no longer created anything by command. He no longer gave the order: *"Let there be this and that!"*¹⁹ But he, the divine and independent Maker, made the second creation by himself. And in the recapitulation of things according to the second arrangement, Divine Scripture authoritatively, truthfully, and unambiguously prophesies for us his visit from heaven and the presence on earth of God the Word.

¹ Cf Gen 3:23-24. ² Cf e.g. 1 Chr 13:2. ³ Jn 10:16. ⁴ Cf Gen 2:7. ⁵ Gen 2:4-5.
⁶ Gen 5:1-2. ⁷ Cf Gen 1:1. ⁸ Cf Gen 1:2. ⁹ Cf Gen 1:3. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 1:12, 29-30.
¹¹ Cf Gen 1:6. ¹² Cf Gen 1:14. ¹³ Cf Gen 1:20. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 2:6-10. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 2:8.
¹⁶ Cf Gen 2:10, 13, 14. ¹⁷ Col 1:16; cf Jn 1:3. ¹⁸ Cf Gen 1:26-27. ¹⁹ Cf Gen 1:3, 6, 14.

Θεὸς τῶν θεῶν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ αὐτουργικῶς καὶ αὐτο-
 χείρως δημιουργήσῃ καὶνὴν κτίσιν, καὶνὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ καὶνὴν γῆν καὶ
 305 καὶνὸν ἐκ γῆς ἀσπόρου ἄσπορον ἄνθρωπον, διπλασιαζόμενον καὶ
 συντιθέμενον καὶ διπλοῦν γενόμενον, τουτέστι Θεὸν ὁμοῦ τε καὶ
 ἄνθρωπον, ὃν προσημαίνουσα ἡμῖν ἡ θεία γραφὴ διπλασιάζει τὴν περὶ
 τῆς κτίσεως καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευὴν καὶ διήγησιν ἐντεῦθεν τὴν
 ἀρχὴν καὶ τοὺς θεμελίους τῆς Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας ποιουμένη καὶ προφη-
 310 τικῶς λέγουσα· Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὅτε ἐγένετο, ἢ
 ἡμέρᾳ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πᾶν χλωρὸν ἀγροῦ
 πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι, οὐ γὰρ ἔβρεξε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἄνθρω-
 πος οὐκ ἦν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν, πηγὴ δὲ ἀνέβαινεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπότιζε
 315 πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς. Καὶ ἔπλασε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον
 χοῦν λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν
 ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν. Πολλὴ ἐν τοῖς προκει-
 μένοις ῥητοῖς ἡ ἀσάφεια καὶ σκοτεινὸν λίαν ὅλον τὸ παρὸν χωρίον. Οὐ
 μόνον κατὰ τὴν πνευματικὴν αὐτοῦ ἀναγωγὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην τὴν
 σωματικὴν ἱστορίαν δυσδιάγνωστον ἐστίν. Οὐκοῦν, εἰ δοκεῖ, πρῶτον
 320 διευθύνωμεν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τὸ σαφέστερον κατὰ τὸ γράμμα, εἰθ' οὕτως τὴν
 ἐγκεκρυμμένην καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ πνευματικὴν ἐρευνήσωμεν διάνοιαν.

3. Ὁ οὖν διδάσκει ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὸ γράμμα ὁ προφήτης Μωσῆς
 τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· Αὕτη, φησὶν, ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὅτε
 ἐγένετο, ἢ ἡμέρᾳ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, τουτέστι τῇ
 325 πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸ τοῦ παντοῖον χλωρὸν γενέσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πρὸ
 τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι παντοῖον χόρτον ἀγροῦ, οὐ γὰρ ἦν βρέξας οὐπω Κύριος ὁ
 Θεὸς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἦν γενόμενος οὐδὲ ἐργαζόμενος τὴν
 γῆν, πηγὴ δὲ ἀνέβαινεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπότιζε πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς
 γῆς. Οἱ τῷ γράμματι καὶ μόνῳ ἀκολουθοῦντες ψευδῇ ἐνταῦθα παριστώ-
 330 σι τὴν θεϊαν γραφὴν, οὔτε γὰρ εὐρίσκομεν ὅλως ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸ
 τῶν χλωρῶν καὶ τῶν βοτανῶν ἐν τῇ ἑξαήμερᾳ ὀνομαζομένην πηγὴν
 οὔτε ποτισμόν, ἀλλ' οὔτε ὕδωρ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν
 ὑδάτων φύσιν ἐπάνω τῆς γῆς. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἦν, οὐκ ἦν ποτισμὸς καὶ
 καταντλησμός. Ἐκ ποίας δὲ γῆς ἀνήρχετο καὶ ἐπότιζε τὴν ἀνωτέραν
 335 γῆν; Δύο γὰρ γαίας σημαίνει λέγων ὅτι Πηγὴ ἀνήρχετο κάτωθεν ἐκ τῆς
 γῆς καὶ ἐπότιζε πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς. Καρπῶν δὲ οὐπω ὄντων
 οὔτε φυτῶν οὔτε ζώων οὔτε πετεινῶν οὔτε γεωργῶν οὔτε ὅλως ἀνθρώ-
 που τί ἐπότιζεν ἐκείνη ἡ κάτωθεν ἐκ τῶν καταχθονίων ἀνερχομένη πηγὴ;
 Εἰ γὰρ ὅλον τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς ἐπότιζε, τίς ἦν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκείνου
 340 χρεία τοῦ ἐξ Ἐδέμ ἐκπορευομένου ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον, εἰ γε ἐπὶ γῆς

Scripture teaches us that *the God of Gods will be seen*¹ among us *upon the earth*;² and by his own hand and authoritatively, he himself will make a new creation:³ a new heaven, a new earth,⁴ and a new man from the earth—the man not from seed, and the earth not from seed.⁵ And he will be doubled, compounded, a duality: that is, he will be both God and man.

Divine Scripture gives us signs of him beforehand. It doubles the narration about the preparation of creation and man. And so, Divine Scripture itself initiates and lays the foundations of the Church of Christ, when it prophetically says: *This is the book of the genesis of heaven and earth, when they came into being, on which day God made the heaven and the earth and all the green of the field before it began to sprout. For the Lord God had not rained upon the earth and there was not a man to work the earth. But a spring gushed up from the earth and watered all the face of the earth. And the Lord God, having taken dirt from the earth, formed man and breathed the breath of life into his face. And man came into being as a living soul.*⁶

In these words there is much that is not clear. All the passage here is deep in shadow. It is difficult to understand not only the spiritual significance, but also the actual narrative. Therefore, if you agree, let us try to straighten out and clarify its literal meaning first. Then afterwards let us make our inquiry into the spiritual meaning that is hidden within.

3. Literally, the prophet Moses here teaches us the following. *This*, he says, *is the book of the genesis of heaven and earth, when they came into being, on which day God made the heaven and the earth*—that is, on the first day. *Before any kind of green came into being upon the earth and before any kind of pasture of the field began to sprout. For the Lord God was not yet sending rain upon the earth. Because no man had come into being and was working the earth. But a spring gushed up from the earth and watered all the face of the earth.*⁷

They that adhere to the literal meaning and only the literal might conclude that Divine Scripture here is lying. For we do not find anywhere on the first day of the six-day creation, before the green things and vegetation, that a spring or an irrigation is mentioned. There was no water below the earth. All the waters, by nature, were above the earth.⁸ And where there was water, there was neither rain nor irrigation.

Or from which earth did it arise and irrigate the upper earth? For this passage, in fact, suggests two earths. It says that *a spring came up from below the earth and watered all the face of the earth.*⁹ But if there were not yet any fruits or plants or animals or birds or farmers or any man at all, what was watered by this spring gushing up from below, from beneath the ground? And if it watered the whole face of the earth, what was the need for that river coming out of Eden to water Paradise?¹⁰ Was not Paradise also on the earth?

303 ἑαυτοῦς N^a corr. 305 καὶ νόν M 311 χλωρὸν P 317 ὅλον] om. P 328 ἀνεύαιεν M 331 χλωρῶν M^a corr. P 332 ποτισμός M 333 πιτισμός N 335 ἀνήρχετο] add. καὶ ἐπότιζε τὴν ἀνωτέραν γῆν δύο γὰρ γαίας σημαίνει λέγων ὅτι πηγὴ ἀνήρχετο M per dittographiam

¹ Ps 83(84):8. ² Bar 3:38. ³ Cf 2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15. ⁴ Cf Is 65:17; 66:22; Rev 21:1. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:11-12, 29; 2:7; Eph 2:15; 4:2. ⁶ Gen 2:4-7 (codex Basel Univ. – Bibl. A.N. III.13 et versiones Araba et Armeniaca). ⁷ Gen 2:4-6 (codex Basel Univ. – Bibl. A.N. III.13 et versiones Araba et Armeniaca). ⁸ Cf Gen 1:2. ⁹ Gen 2:6. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 2:10.

ἔστι καὶ ὁ παράδεισος; Ἐκ τῆς γραφικῆς ἀκολουθίας Ἐν ἀρχῇ
ποιήσαντος τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν· Ἡ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ 959A
ἀκατασκεύαστος, καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου. Εἰ δὲ σκότος ἐπάνω
τῆς ἀβύσσου, εἰ δὲ σκότος ἦν ἐπάνω πάσης τῆς κτίσεως, ἵνα τί ἐν σκοτίᾳ
345 ἐπότηζε; Καὶ εἰ πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος, τουτέστιν
ἄνεμος σφοδρὸς διέτρεχε καὶ ἐκύμαινε, τὸ γὰρ φέρεσθαι τὸ κινεῖσθαι σφο-
δρῶς ἐστι, πῶς, εἰπέ μοι, ἐν ἀορασίᾳ καὶ σκοτίᾳ καὶ χειμῶνι κυμάτων
καλυπτομένη ὑποβρύχιος κάτω οὔσα ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ὑπὸ τινος πηγῆς ἀν-
ερχομένης ἐκ γῆς ἐποτίζετο;

350 4. Καὶ μήπως ἄρα τὴν κατὰ τὸ γράμμα ἱστορίαν μηδόλως κατα-
κλείοντες τῆς θείας γραφῆς δυνάμεθα καὶ κατὰ ἀναγωγὴν νοῆσαι ταύτην
τὴν κάτωθεν ἀπὸ γῆς ἀνερχομένην πηγὴν καὶ ἐν σκοτίᾳ καὶ ἀορασίᾳ καὶ
χειμῶνι ποτίζουσιν ὅλον τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς, τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ὕδωρ,
φημί, τὸ ἐναντίον τοῦ ἀνωθεν κατερχομένου ὕδατος ἐπὶ πόκον. Διόπερ ὡς
355 ἀγόνου καὶ ἀτόκου ὑπάρχοντος ἐκείνου τοῦ καταχθονίου ὕδατος καὶ τοῦ
πονηροῦ ποτισμοῦ καὶ σκοτεινοῦ οὐκ ἴσχυσε παντοῖον χλωρὸν ἢ καρπὸν
ἢ βοτάνην ἐξαναστεῖλαι ἢ λογικὴ γῆ. Οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὁ Θεὸς βρέξας ἀνωθεν
βροχὴν ἐκούσιον ἐκ τῆς ἀενάου πηγῆς τῆς ζωῆς. Οὐκ ἦν ἡ δρόσος
Ἀερμῶν, Χριστὸς κατελθὼν ἐκ Πατρὸς, οὐδ' ὁ σπεῖρων τοῦ σπεῖραι τὸ
360 εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἦν ἀποστολικὸς ὡς ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν ἐν
ψυχῇ γῆν. Σύνες ἔτι ἤδη, παρακαλῶ. Οὐκ εἶπεν ἡ θεία γραφή ὅτι Καὶ
ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἦν, ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ γενόμενος ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ'
Οὐκ ἦν τοιοῦτος ἄνθρωπος δυνάμενος ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ καλλιεργεῖν τὴν
τῆς ψυχῆς γῆν. Οὕτω γὰρ ἐξεληλύθει ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸ
365 ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ καλλιεργεῖν τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς γῆν καὶ ἐκτίλαι τὰς ἀκάνθας
καὶ τὰς τριβόλους εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι αὐτὴν καρπὸν ἐν τριάκοντα καὶ ἐν
ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. Ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐκ ἦν φανεῖς οὕτω τοιοῦτος Θεὸς ἄν-
θρωπος εἰς τὸ ἐργάσασθαι τὴν γῆν, ἡ δὲ πηγὴ ἐκείνη ἡ καταχθόνιος ἡ
πονηρὰ δύναμις κατέκλυζε καὶ ἐπότηζεν ὅλον τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς, διὰ
370 τοῦτο εὐθέως εἰσάγει τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν τύπον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀνθρώπου
ἡ θεία γραφή λέγουσα· Καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν λαβὼν
ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγέ-
μετο ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, ὥσαντι τοῦτο ἡμᾶς διδάσκουσα ὅτι
375 ἄνθρωπος γηγενὴς γενήσεται Χριστός, θεόπλαστον ὁμοῦ καὶ θεόφυτον
βλάστημα, ὅπως ὁ συγγενὴς τὰ γηγενῆ καλῶς ἀρδεύσῃ, καὶ πρεπόντως
λογικὰ βλαστήματα τῷ ὁμοίῳ τὰ ὅμοια ἀνακαθαίρων καὶ καρπουργῶν.

V 1. Εἰ δὲ ὡς ἀπιθάνοις τοῖς ῥήμασι μὴ πειθόμενος ἦς, τί λέξεις ἀκούων
εὐθέως τοῦ Θεοῦ σὺν τῷ ἔργῳ [καὶ] φυτουργῶν φυτεύοντος καὶ τὰ φυτὰ,

343/4 Εἰ δὲ - ἀβύσσου] om. P 346 ἄνομος N 352 κάτωθεν] κάθεν M^{scor.} ἀρασία M^{scor.}
καί] add. ἐν M 353 τὸ] μετὰ M 354 ἀνατίνον M 355 ἀγόνου M 356 σκοτινοῦ P
360 ἐργάζεσθαι N 362 ἦν] ἦν M ὁ ἄνθρωπος] om. P 363 τὴν] om. P 366 ἐν] om. P
378 ἀπιθάνοις M^{scor.} 379 καὶ] NP αὐτὸν M ad initium lineae

Listen to the following passage: *In the beginning, God made the heaven and the earth. The earth was invisible and unfinished, and darkness was upon the deep.*¹ If darkness was upon the deep, if darkness was upon all of creation, then what in the darkness did it water? *And the wind/spirit of God was borne upon the water*²—that is, the wind ran quickly over and tossed the waves. (For *to be borne* means “to move quickly”.) But if so, tell me how all the earth, which was below, underwater, and concealed in invisibility and darkness and stormy waves—how was it watered by a spring rising up from the earth?

4. In no way have we unlocked the literal meaning of this narrative of Divine Scripture. Still, we are able to consider the uplifting significance of this spring, which comes up from below the earth and soaks the whole face of the earth in darkness, invisibility, and storm.³ It is the water of humanity, I say, the opposite of the dew that comes down to the flock from above.⁴ And since the underground water was sterile and barren, and its irrigation dark and evil, the rational earth was not able to put forth anything green, or fruit, or pasture.⁵ For God from above was not raining down⁶ a *gracious rain* from the eternal spring of life.⁷ This was not the dew of Hermon,⁸ Christ coming down from the Father.⁹ This was not the sower come to spread the gospel.¹⁰ This was not the apostolic man¹¹ come to work the earth of the soul.¹²

Now keep attentive, please. Divine Scripture did not say: *And there was no man*. For man came into being on the sixth day.¹³ Rather, *there was not a man* of such a sort as to be able *to work* and beautify the earth of the soul.¹⁴ For the man from heaven had not yet come¹⁵ to work and beautify the earth of the soul,¹⁶ and to clear the thorns and prickly plants¹⁷ in order to make the soil productive,¹⁸ yielding grain at thirty, sixty, and one hundred fold.¹⁹ And since such a God man had not yet appeared to work the earth, and the spring from below the earth, that evil power, had flooded and soaked the whole face of the earth,²⁰ therefore, Divine Scripture immediately introduces man, a type of the celestial man. It says: *And God made man by taking dust from the earth. And he breathed into his face the breath of life. And man came into being as a living soul.*²¹ It is as if Scripture is teaching us that for the sake of stopping the water of the opposing power, God the Word will be born, an earthborn man, Christ, an offspring molded by God and planted here by God. Thus, one of his own kind might irrigate well those born from the earth: purifying as was proper—the similar by the similar—the rational offshoots and bringing them to fruition.

V 1. If you are not persuaded by these interpretations, if you find them unconvincing, then what will you say when you hear that straightaway God planted trees with fertile labor? And for them

¹ Gen 1:1-2. ² Gen 1:2. ³ Cf Gen 2:6. ⁴ Cf Ps 71(72):6. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:11-12; 2:5, 9. ⁶ Cf Gen 2:5. ⁷ Cf Rev 21:6. ⁸ Cf Ps 132(133):3. ⁹ Cf Jn 16:28. ¹⁰ Cf Mt 13:3 (codex Sinaiticus); Mk 4:3; Lk 8:5. ¹¹ Cf Heb 3:1. ¹² Cf Gen 2:5. ¹³ Cf Gen 1:26-27. ¹⁴ Gen 2:5. ¹⁵ Cf Jn 3:31. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 2:5. ¹⁷ Cf Gen 3:18; Mt 21:33-36; Mk 12:1-12; Lk 20:9-19. ¹⁸ Cf Lk 8:8. ¹⁹ Cf Mk 4:8. ²⁰ Cf Gen 2:5-6. ²¹ Gen 2:7.

380 δι' ἃ καὶ μόνα πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν ἐργασίαν τὸν γεωργὸν εὐθύς προ-
 διέπλασεν ἐκ γῆς; Ἐπήγαγε γὰρ εὐθέως μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν ἡ γραφή ὅτι *Καὶ*
ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν τὸ Καὶ ἐφύτευσε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς
παράδεισον ἐν Ἑδέμ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν
 385 *ἐπλασεν, ὥσανεὶ ἐν τοῖς γεωργεῖσθαι ὀφειλομένοις τὸν γεωργὸν εἰς-*
οικίζων. Διὸ καὶ παραυτὰ, ὥσπερ | εἰς ἔργον προελθούσης τῆς τοιαύτης 960A
 τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ γεωργοῦ γεωργίας καὶ καρποφόρων γεγεννημένων τῶν ὑπ'
 αὐτοῦ ἀρδευθέντων φυτῶν, ἐπιφέρει εὐθέως ἡ γραφή λέγουσα ἀκολου-
 θῶς· *Καὶ ἐξανέτειλε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἔτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς πᾶν ξύλον ὠραῖον εἰς*
 390 *παραδείσου καὶ τὸ ξύλον τοῦ εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ.* Οἱ μὲν
 οὖν εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὸν τε Ἀδὰμ καὶ πάντα τὰ
 προειρημένα φυτὰ καὶ δένδρα καὶ καρποὺς καὶ τὸν παράδεισον καλῶς
 νοήσαντες καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαντες ἐξηγηταὶ προφητικῶς γεγράθαι ταῦτα
 ὑπὸ Μωσέως περὶ ἡμῶν τε καὶ Χριστοῦ εἰρήκασι, λέγω δὴ τὰ περὶ τοῦ
 395 παραδείσου καὶ τὰ φυτὰ, τὰ ζῶα, τὰ πετεινά, τὰ θηρία, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· οἱ δὲ
 φιλονεικοῦντες ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ δένδρα καὶ φυτὰ καὶ καρποὺς τὰ ἐν τῇ
 τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ γῆς ἀνατείλαντα καὶ βλαστήσαντα σπέρματα ἐξ
 ἀνάγκης πάσης ἐροῦσιν ὅτι κοινὴ βρώσις ἦν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῶν
 ἀλόγων καὶ τῶν θηρίων καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ ἐρπετῶν ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ ξύλου
 400 τῆς ζωῆς καὶ ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν.
 Οὕτω γὰρ εἴρηκεν ὁ Θεὸς τῇ ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ· *Ἰδοὺ δέδωκα*
ὑμῖν πᾶν ξύλον, ὃ ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ καρπὸν σπέρματος σπορίμου. Ὑμῖν
 ἔσται εἰς βρώσιν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ
 405 οὐρανοῦ. Εἰ οὖν τὸ ῥῆμα καὶ ὁ λόγος Κυρίου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μένει, πάντως
 εἰ καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς ἐστερήθη τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς
 ζωῆς, ἀλλὰ γε τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ ἐρπετὰ ἔφαγον ἂν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Εἰ δὲ ἔφα-
 γον, πῶς οὐ ζῶσιν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὀλοτελῇ
 ὑπομένουσι φθορὰν καὶ θάνατον ἀνεξέγερτον; Πλὴν εἰ καὶ θῶμεν
 410 ἀμέτοχα γεγονέναι τοῦ τῆς ζωῆς ξύλου, ὅμως ὥς κοινωνικὰ καὶ κοινο-
 φαγῇ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκ Θεοῦ εἶναι προσταχθέντα πάντως μετέλαβον καὶ
 αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν. Καὶ πῶς οὐκ
 ἐπίστανται λοιπὸν ἐπίσης τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν τὰ
 ἐρπετὰ καὶ τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ πετεινά;

2. Ἐκ ταύτης οὖν τῆς ἐννοίας ἀπέφυγον οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἐξηγητῶν,
 415 καὶ μάλιστα οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ ἀρχαῖοι, τοῦ εἰπεῖν αἰσθητὸν τὸν
 παράδεισον καὶ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ δύο ξύλα τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῆς γνώσεως,
 ἵνα μὴ ποιήσωσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης κοινωνικὰ τὰ θηρία εἶναι καὶ τὰ κτήνη τοῦ
 ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς γνώσεως. Οὐ γὰρ διέστειλεν ὁ Θεὸς

and them alone, in order to tend them, he immediately moulded
 beforehand a gardener from the earth?

Scripture said: *And man came into being as a living soul.*¹ And
 immediately after this, it added: *And the Lord God planted a paradise in*
*Eden in the East. And there he placed the man whom he had made.*² It
 was as if God had brought in a gardener for things that needed to be
 tended.³ Then, as if the good gardener's cultivation had been effective
 and the trees watered by him had filled with fruit, Scripture quickly
 presented the following: *And the Lord God still caused to spring up from*
the earth every tree, beautiful to see and good to eat. And the tree of life
was in the middle of the garden, and the tree of knowing and under-
*standing good and evil.*⁴

After careful consideration, some exegetes interpreted Adam and all
 the aforementioned plants and trees and fruits and the paradise as re-
 presenting Christ and the Church.⁵ They said that these things were
 written prophetically by Moses and concerned Christ and us. I am
 talking about the things of the paradise and the plants, the animals, the
 birds, the beasts, and the rest.⁶

But others, in a contentious spirit, argue that these trees and plants
 and fruits are the things that sprang up from the earth on the third day
 and sprouted seeds out of sheer necessity.⁷ They then will say that the
 fruit of the tree of life and the fruit of the tree of knowing good and evil
 were a common food shared by humans and the irrational beasts, birds,
 and reptiles.⁸ For is this not what God had said to man on the sixth day:
"Look, I have given to you every tree that has fruit on it with seed for
sowing. It will be food for you and for all the beasts of the earth and all
the birds of heaven"?⁹

If the spoken word of the Lord remains forever,¹⁰ and if the human
 through disobedience was deprived of the fruit of the tree of life,¹¹ then
 the beasts and the reptiles would still have eaten from it. And if they
 ate, how is it that they do not live forever, but more so than man, they
 endure corruption in every which way and a death from which they
 cannot awake? Yet even if we were to imagine that they had no share in
 the tree of life, our argument remains the same: since they were ordered
 by God to associate with man and eat with him, they certainly shared
 also in the things from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.¹² So
 how is it that the reptiles and beasts and birds¹³ do not learn, to a
 degree equal to man, the meaning of good and evil?¹⁴

2. With these considerations in mind, most of the exegetes—
 especially the older ones, the original ones—avoided saying that the
 garden and the two trees in its midst—of life and understanding—were
 tangible.¹⁵ Thus they were not compelled to make the beasts and cattle
 participants in the tree of life and the tree of understanding.¹⁶ For God

¹ Gen 2:7. ² Gen 2:8; cf. 2:15. ³ Cf Mt 21:33; Mk 12:1; Lk 20:9. ⁴ Gen 2:9.

⁵ Cf Eph 5:31-32. ⁶ Cf Gen 2:8-25. ⁷ Cf Gen 1:11-12. ⁸ Cf Gen 2:9. ⁹ Gen 1:29-30.

¹⁰ Cf Ps 118(119):89; Is 40:8; 1 Pet 1:25. ¹¹ Cf Gen 3:6, 22, 24. ¹² Cf Gen 3:6.

¹³ Cf Gen 1:30. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 3:5, 22. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 2:9. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 1:25.

380 την] om. M 381 ἐπήγαγεν M 384 ὀφειλομένοις M 385 προσελθούσης M 389 μέσου P
 390 γνωστὸν] N γνωστοῦ M om. P 394 τὰ] om. P 395 φυτὰ] add. καὶ N 406 τὰ] om. P
 409 ζωῆς] ζῆς ἡς N 413 θηρία N

ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς βρώσεως τοῦ Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς βρώσεως τῶν
 420 ἀλόγων, ἀλλὰ κοινῶς αὐτοῖς δέδωκε πᾶν ξύλον κάρπιμον καὶ σπόριμον
 εἰς βρῶσιν. Εἰ οὖν αἰσθητὰ ὑπῆρχον, φασὶν οἱ περὶ Κλήμεντα καὶ τοὺς
 ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀρχαίους ἐξηγητὰς, τὰ τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ
 αὐτῶν δύο ξύλα, εὐρεθήσονται, φασὶν, τὰ θηρία καὶ ἔρπετα τιμιώτερα
 425 τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὥς μὴ κωλυθέντα τῆς βρώσεως ἢ οἰουδήποτε ξύλου καὶ
 καρποῦ, ὥστε ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ περὶ τῆς κοινῆς βρώσεως ἐπι-
 τροπῆς, ἣς δέδωκεν ὁμοθυμαδὸν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις, πᾶσιν
 ἐστὶν γινώσκειν ὅτι οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ξύλα εἰσὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ γενόμενα
 καὶ τὰ τοῦ παραδείσου. Τὸ γὰρ εἰπεῖν ὅτι Ἐξανέτειλε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ
 430 τῆς γῆς ἐτι πᾶν ξύλον ὡραῖον εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρῶσιν διὰ τούτου
 τοῦ ἔτι δεικνυσὶν ἡμῖν ἡ γραφὴ δευτέραν τινὰ δημιουργίαν κρειττόνων
 ξύλων ἢ προφητεῖαν εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα ῥήματα | περὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἐσχάτου 961A
 τῶν χρόνων ἐξανατειλάντων λογικῶν ξύλων ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῆς
 ἐκκλησίας.

3. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ πολλὸς ὁ περὶ παραδείσου καὶ δυσερμηνευτός ἐστι λόγος
 435 καὶ αἰὲ ἐπαμφίβολος τοῖς ἐρμηνευταῖς, ἴδωμεν πάλιν πῶς ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ περὶ
 βρώσεως τῆς κοινῆς γέγονεν ἐπιτροπή, εἴτα περὶ παραδείσου διαγνωσό-
 μεθα. Φησὶν οὖν πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ ὁ Θεός, ἡνίκα αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν Ἰδοὺ
 δέδωκα ὑμῖν πάντα χόρτον σπόριμον σπείρον σπέρμα, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐπάνω
 πάσης τῆς γῆς, καὶ πᾶν ξύλον, ὃ ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ καρπὸν σπέρματος
 440 σπορίμου. Ὑμῖν ἐστὶ εἰς βρῶσιν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ
 πᾶσι τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς καὶ παντὶ ἔρπετῷ ἔρποντι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὃ ἔχει ἐν
 ἑαυτῷ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ πάντα χόρτον χλωρὸν εἰς βρῶσιν. Καὶ ἐγένετο
 οὕτως. Εἰ οὖν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ξύλοις τυγχάνουσι καὶ τὰ ξύλα τοῦ
 παραδείσου καὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ἀθανασίας καὶ ζωῆς τῆς αἰωνίου καὶ τῆς
 445 γνώσεως, ἐλεεινὸς καὶ οἰκτιστὸς μόνος ὁ ἀνθρώπος ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ
 ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ καὶ ἄθλιος, ὡς μόνος ἀποστερηθεὶς τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ
 τῆς γνώσεως καὶ βρώσεως τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ ὄφις καὶ ἡ ἀσπίς
 καὶ ὁ σκορπίος καὶ ὁ κύων μέχρι τῆς δεῦρο ἀπολαύουσι παντὸς καρποῦ
 καὶ παντὸς ξύλου ἐπάνω πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ παραδείσου. Οὐ γὰρ ἐξ-
 450 ἤλθον, ἀφ' ἧς εἰσῆλθον τὰ θηρία πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ἀλλ'
 ἔσω ἔμειναν ἐξελθόντος αὐτοῦ μὴ συνεξορισθέντα διὰ τὸ ἀπλημμελές.

4. Οὐκοῦν πνευματικῶς τὸν νόμον τοῦ Θεοῦ νόησον, ὅτι Ὁ νόμος
 πνευματικὸς ἐστίν, ὡς ὁ Παῦλος βοᾷ, Τὸ γὰρ γράμμα ἀποκτείνει.
 Λοιπὸν, ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνωμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ γράμματος, μάθωμεν, ὅπου χρή,

did not distinguish between the food of Adam and the food of irrational
 creatures. He gave them every tree that bears fruit and seed as food in
 common.¹ Thus they in the school of Clement and in the schools of the
 original exegetes that lived around his time said that if the things of
 Paradise and the two trees in its midst had been tangible, then one must
 conclude that the beasts and reptiles were more important than man, for
 they were not forbidden any meal or any tree and fruit.²

So after consideration of God's command about the common food,
 which was given equally to man and to the beasts, it is possible for all to
 see that the trees which came into being on the third day and the trees
 of Paradise were not the same.³ It is said: *The Lord God still caused to
 spring up from the earth every tree, beautiful to see and good to eat.*⁴
 Through this one word *still*, Scripture indicates for us a second creation
 of better trees, or it indicates that such words are a prophecy about the
 rational trees that will arise near the end of time in the Paradise of the
 Church.⁵

3. Since the passage about the garden is important, yet difficult to
 interpret—indeed it has always been a challenge for interpreters—let us
 look again at God's command about the common food. And then we will
 continue our analysis of the garden.

God said to Adam, after he had created him: *"Look, I have given you
 every seed-bearing plant sowing its seed, which is on all the earth, and
 every tree, which has on itself a fruit with a seed that can be sown. These
 will be as food for you and for all the birds of heaven and all the beasts of
 the earth and every reptile crawling on the earth, which has in itself the
 breath of life. And every green plant will be as food."* And so it was.⁶

If therefore the trees of Paradise and the tree of immortality and
 eternal life and the tree of understanding were among these other trees,⁷
 then man alone was most wretched and pitiful. He was in the image and
 likeness of God and yet miserable,⁸ for he alone was deprived of Para-
 dise and of understanding and the food of eternal life,⁹ while even to this
 day the snake, viper, scorpion, and dog enjoy every fruit and every tree
 on all the earth and in the garden.¹⁰ For the beasts never left, from the
 time they came to Adam in the garden.¹¹ When he went out,¹² they
 remained inside. They were not evicted with him, because of being
 without sin.

4. Surely then, you must think of the Law of God in a spiritual way.
*The Law is spiritual,*¹³ exclaimed Paul, *for the letter kills.*¹⁴ And so that
 the letter might not destroy us, let us learn to discern with our spiritual

¹ Cf Gen 1:29-30; 2:9. ² Cf Gen 2:16-17. ³ Cf Gen 1:11-12; 2:9. ⁴ Gen 2:9.

⁵ Cf 1 Pet 1:20. ⁶ Gen 1:29-30 (codex Alexandrinus). ⁷ Cf Gen 2:9. ⁸ Cf Gen 1:26.

⁹ Cf Gen 3:22-24. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 1:29. ¹¹ Cf Gen 2:19. ¹² Cf Gen 3:23-24. ¹³ Rom 7:14.

¹⁴ 2 Cor 3:6.

419 τοῦ Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς βρώσεως] om. N 420 αὐτοῖς] αὐτῆς M 421 τοὺς] add.
 αὐτ' M^{corr} 426 πᾶς M 428 ὅτι] add. καὶ P ἐξανετείλει M 431 ξύλον M
 435 ἐπαμφίβωλος M^{corr} P 439 σπέρματος N 440 πετεινοῖς] ταπεινοῖς M 442 αὐτῷ N
 χλωρὸν] N χλορὸν M χλορον P 447 γνώσεως καὶ βρώσεως τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς] M^{corr}
 βρώσεως καὶ γνώσεως τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς M^{corr} γνώσεως καὶ τῆς βρώσεως τῆς αἰωνίου
 ζωῆς N αἰωνίου ζωῆς καὶ τῆς βρώσεως καὶ γνώσεως P 451 ἔμεινον M^{corr}
 453 ἀποκτείναι N

455 καὶ πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνειν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ
 ἁγίου πνευματικῶς ἡμῖν λαλούμενα γράμματα, ἐξ ὧν ὑπάρχει μέγα τε
 καὶ πρόκριτον καὶ ἀπόκρυφον τὸ περὶ τοῦ παραδείσου μάλιστα
 μυστήριον. Ὁ δὲ σαρκικός καὶ κατὰ σάρκα νοῶν τὸ παρὸν περὶ ξύλων
 καὶ καρπῶν καὶ βρώσεων χωρίον εἶπέ μοι πάλιν τοῦ Θεοῦ μίαν καὶ ἴσην
 460 πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ θηρίοις καὶ πετεινοῖς ἐντειλαμένου βρώσιν, τὴν
 ἐκ βοτάνων λέγω καὶ χλωρῶν καὶ δένδρων γινομένην, πῶς πλείστα τῶν
 θηρίων οὐ χορτοφαγοῦσι, ἀλλὰ κρεωφαγοῦσι, μᾶλλον σαρκόβρωτα
 τυγχάνοντα; Πῶς δὲ πάλιν πάσης βοτάνης καὶ δένδρου ὄντος ἐπάνω
 τῆς γῆς τὸν καρπὸν ἐπιτρέπων ἡμῖν ὁ Θεὸς ἐσθίειν πολλὰ τῶν βοτανῶν
 465 καὶ πλείστα τῶν δένδρων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἄβρωτα καὶ τοῖς ἀλόγοις καὶ
 δηλητήρια καὶ θανατηφόρα ἐποίησεν, ἅπερ οὐ μόνον ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 αὕτη ἡ ἀλογος φύσις φυσικῶς παραιτεῖται, καὶ ἄλλα μυρία τοιαῦτα
 φύσει καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἀλόγοις ἄβρωτα καὶ θανατηφόρα τυγχάνουσιν;

5. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαιότεροι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐξηγητῶν, λέγω δὴ Φίλων
 470 ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁμόχρονος, καὶ Παπίας ὁ πολὺς ὁ
 Ἰωάννου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ φοιτητὴς ὁ Ἱεραπολίτης, Εἰρηναῖος τε ὁ
 Λουγδουνεύς, καὶ Ἰουστίνος ὁ μάρτυς καὶ φιλόσοφος, Πάνταινός τε ὁ 962A
 Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ Κλήμης ὁ Στρωματεύς, καὶ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτοὺς πνευματι-
 κῶς τὰ περὶ παραδείσου ἐθεωρήθησαν εἰς τὴν Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίαν
 475 ἀναφερόμενα, ἐξ ὧν εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ περὶ πάντα πάνσοφοι δύο Καππαδόκαι
 Γρηγόριοι, ἅπαντες οὗτοι ἐξ αἰτιῶν τοιῶνδε φάσκοντες εἶναι καὶ
 πνευματικόν τινα παράδεισον. Πρῶτον ὅτι, εἰ ἄφθαρτος ἦν ὁ Ἀδὰμ
 ἡνίκα γέγονεν, εὐδηλον ὅτι καὶ ἀμέτοχος φθαρτῆς καὶ γήνης ὑπῆρχε
 τροφῆς, εἰ δὲ μεταληπτικός ἦν αἰσθητῶν βρώσεων, πρόδηλον ὅτι καὶ
 480 φθαρτός, πᾶν γὰρ τὸ εἰς στόμα εἰσπορευόμενον ἐκκρίνεται πάλιν. Εἰ δὲ
 ῥευστός ἦν, πάντως καὶ θνητός. Εἰ δὲ θνητός ἐκτίσθη, οὐκ ἔτι γοῦν διὰ
 παρακοῆς ὁ θάνατος γέγονε. Πρώτη μὲν οὖν αὕτη αἰτία ἡ τῶν
 ἐξηγητῶν. Δευτέρα δὲ ἡ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐν παραδείσῳ ἀνεξόδευτος
 διαμονή. Τρίτη ἡ τῶν θηρίων τῶν σὺν αὐτῇ ἐν παραδείσῳ ἀπομεινάν-
 485 των. Τετάρτη ἡ κοινοφαγῆς βρώσις τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ἡ
 προτέρα. Πέμπτη, ὅτι ἀδύνατον ἦν ἓνα ἄνθρωπον ἀμέτρητον τοιοῦτον
 μέγεθος παραδείσου γεωργεῖν, ὅπου γε ἡ περίσσεια τοῦ ποτισμοῦ αὐτοῦ
 εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχὰς μερίζεται. Τί δὲ καὶ ἐδεῖτο ἐργάζεσθαι ἐνὸς πολλάκις
 δένδρου ἢ δευτέρου ἀρκοῦντος αὐτῷ πρὸς διατροφήν; Τί δὲ καὶ
 490 φυλάττειν εἶχον οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἔτι παρόντων μήτοι γε καὶ κλεπτῶν καὶ
 πάντων τῶν θηρίων καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν αὐτῷ ὑποτεταγμένων καὶ τῷ
 λόγῳ αὐτοῦ πειθόμενων.

senses (where it is necessary) the spiritual texts spoken to us spiritually by the Holy Spirit.¹ In these texts, the mystery especially about the garden of Paradise is great,² exceptional, and very secret.

But you who are of the flesh,³ who consider in a fleshly way the present passage about trees, fruits, and foods,⁴ perhaps you can explain to me the following. God mandated one and the same food for all humans and beasts and birds.⁵ I am talking about the food that comes from vegetation, both plants and trees. How is it then that very many beasts are not vegetarians? Being carnivorous, they eat flesh. And how is it that, although God commanded us to eat the fruit of every plant and tree that grow upon the earth,⁶ he made many plants and most of the trees inedible for humans and the irrational creatures—why even noxious and poisonous. Not only we, but also the irrational nature itself naturally declines these foods. Yet there are myriads of such plants and trees that by nature are inedible and even deadly for irrational animals and for us.

5. The things of the garden refer to the Church of Christ.⁷ This was the conclusion by the earliest exegetes of the Church, who considered these passages in a spiritual way. Specifically, I mean Philo the philosopher, who was a contemporary of the apostles; the great Papias of Hierapolis, a disciple of John the Evangelist; Irenaeus of Lyon; Justin, the philosopher and martyr; Pantaeus of Alexandria; Clement, the author of the *Stromata*; and their followers. And among these were also the two Gregorys of Cappadocia, who were very wise in many things.

All of these said that the Paradise was spiritual for the following reasons. First: if Adam was incorruptible when he began, it is obvious that he did not partake of corruptible, earth-born produce. For if he partook of tangible foods, then it is evident that he was corruptible. For everything that goes into the mouth is secreted out again.⁸ And if things were in a state of flux, then certainly he was mortal. And if he was created mortal, then death did not arise because of his disobedience.⁹ This was the first reason given by the exegetes.

The second reason was that the woman remained in the garden and did not leave.¹⁰ The third reason was that the wild beasts remained with her in the garden. The fourth reason was that the earlier food was eaten in common by man and the irrational animals.¹¹ The fifth reason: it was impossible for one person to tend such an immeasurably extensive garden,¹² where the abundance of its irrigation was divided into four rivers.¹³ And why was it necessary for him to cultivate it, if for the most part one or two trees would have sufficed for his nourishment? And why did they have to guard it, if humans and thieves were not yet present and all the beasts and birds were under his jurisdiction and obeying his word?¹⁴

6. And not only these, but also the things that God said and did in

¹ Cf 1 Cor 2:13. ² Cf Eph 5:32. ³ Cf 1 Cor 3:3. ⁴ Cf Rom 8:5. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:11-12, 30.

⁶ Cf Gen 1:29-30. ⁷ Cf Eph 5:31-32. ⁸ Cf Mt 15:17. ⁹ Cf Gen 2:17; Wis 1:13-14; Rom 5:12, 19. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 3:23-24. ¹¹ Cf Gen 1:29-30. ¹² Cf Gen 2:15. ¹³ Cf Gen 2:10.

¹⁴ Cf Gen 1:28.

455 πνευματικοῖς] om. N 458 ξύλον M 459 καρπὸν M^{corr} 461 καὶ] om. N 462 ἀλλὰ κρεωφαγοῦσι] om. P 463 ὄντως M 468 καὶ] om. P 472 Πάνταινός] scripsi παντάνετός MNP 474 ἐθεωρήθησαν] MNP lege forte ἐθεώρησαν 477 πρῶτοι M 479 μεταληπτικός M^{corr} 481 ῥευστός] correxi ῥευστὰ MNP 486 ἀδύνατον] ἀθάνατον P 488 ἐδεῖ τὸ M

6. Οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἐν παραδείσῳ λεχθέντα καὶ
 495 πραχθέντα εἰ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα νοήσωμεν, φησὶν, εἰς μυρίας χαρύβδεις καὶ
 λαβυρίνθων κρημνούς ἐμπεσούμεθα. Τὸν οὐρανὸν γὰρ καὶ τὴν γῆν
 ἀπεριγράπτως πληροῦντος τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πανταχοῦ παρόντος καὶ ὑπὲρ
 τὸ πᾶν ὑπάρχοντος καὶ μήτε κινουμένου μήτε χωρουμένου μήτε
 μεθισταμένου μήτε κατερχομένου μήτε ἀνερχομένου πῶς ἤκουσεν ὁ Ἀδὰμ
 500 τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ εἰσελθόντος καὶ περιπατοῦντος ἐν τῷ δειλινῷ εἰς τὸν
 παράδεισον; Πῶς ἑώρακεν αὐτὸν πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον; Καὶ
 ταῦτα, φησὶν, τῆς γραφῆς λεγούσης ὅτι Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακε πώποτε
 οὔτε φωνὴν Θεοῦ ἤκουσε. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ Μωϋσῆς ὁ τὰ περὶ παραδείσου
 ἡμῖν διηγούμενος μαρτυρεῖ τὸν Θεὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντα ὅτι Οὐκ ὄφεται
 505 ἄνθρωπος τὸ πρόσωπόν μου καὶ ζῆσεται. Οὐ μὴν δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ Παῦλος ὁ
 θεῖος παραδεισοσκοπὸς καὶ παρὰ ραδισόδρομος ὡς καλῶς ἐποπτεύσας τὰ
 παραδεισιαῖα ἄρρητα ῥήματα καὶ Θεὸν ἰδεῖν ἐκεῖ ἐπιζητήσας καὶ μὴ
 θεωρήσας ἐπανῆκε λέγων περὶ Θεοῦ· "Ὁν εἶδεν ἀνθρώπων οὐδεὶς οὔτε
 ἰδεῖν δύναται. Καὶ εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ ἔχει, τί πάθης ἢ
 λέξεις ὁ σωματοφρόνως τὰ περὶ παραδείσου λεγόμενα νοῶν ἀκούων ὅτι
 510 ὁ ἀσώματος καὶ ἄσαρκος καὶ ἄυλος καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος Θεὸς καὶ κτύπον
 ποδῶν ἐν παραδείσῳ πεποίηκε; Πῶς ὁ ἄχειρ ὢν χερσὶν οἰκείαις λέγεται
 δραξάμενος χοῦς καὶ διαπλάσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον; Πῶς πλευρᾷς Ἀδαμι-
 αῖας ἐκτομὴν καὶ γυναικὸς οἰκοδομὴν ὁ ἀσώματος ἐτεκτῆνατο, οὐ μόνον
 515 δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κηπωρὸς φυτῶν ἀρδευομένων γινόμενος καὶ ἵπποκόμος καὶ
 ὑπουργὸς τοῦ οἰκείου πλάσματος τοὺς θῆρας τε καὶ τοὺς βόας καὶ τὰ
 κτήνη προσάγων τῷ Ἀδὰμ, ἵνα τὸ καθὲν ἴδῃ τί καλέσῃ αὐτὰ ὁ τὰ πάντα
 γινώσκων πρὶν γενέσεως αὐτῶν; Ποίῳ δὲ στόματι καὶ χεῖλεσιν ὁ μὴ
 ταῦτα φέρων ὡς ἄσαρκος ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
 πνοὴν ζωῆς; Εἰ γὰρ ἐκτοτε σesωματωμένος καὶ μεμορφωμένος ἄνθρω-
 520 πος ἦν ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος, οὐκ ἂν ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας
 Παρθένου ἐσαρκώθῃ γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος.

7. "Ὅθεν διὰ ταύτας τὰς ἀκαταλήπτους αἰτίας πνευματικῶς νοήσαν-
 525 τες πάντα τὰ περὶ τοῦ παραδείσου οἱ μνημονευθέντες ἐξηγηταὶ ἔφασαν
 ὅτι διάφοροι αἱρέσεις ἐτέχθησαν ὑπὸ τινων ἀνθρώπων σαρκικῶς
 ἀκουσάντων τὰ περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ παραδείσου ἐν τῇ Γενέσει λεγόμενα, οἱ μὲν
 σωματόμορφον τὸν Θεὸν κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ὑλικὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
 δογματίσαντες, οἱ δὲ μεγίστας εὐχαριστίας τῷ ὀφει προσάξαντες ὡς διὰ
 τῆς αὐτοῦ συμβουλῆς καὶ τῆς παραβάσεως τῆς γενομένης γεννηθέντος ἐκ
 530 γυναικὸς ὄλου τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους, οἵτινες καὶ Ὀφῖται δικαίως
 προσαγορεύονται. Μανιχαῖοι δὲ ὁμοῦ τε καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες γυμνοὶ
 ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίαις συνάγονται κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῆς

the garden. If we were to consider these things literally—one exegete said—we will come against thousands of Charybdes and mountainous mazes. God is beyond circumscribing. He fills the heaven and the earth and is present everywhere. And yet he is beyond it all. He does not stir, move, change, come down, or go up. How then did Adam hear his voice as he entered the garden in the evening and walked around?¹ How did Adam see him face to face,² especially—the exegete said—when Scripture says: *No one ever saw God or heard the voice of God?*³ Why even Moses himself, who describes for us the things of Paradise, gives witness that God said to him: "A man will not see my face and live."⁴ Not only Moses, but also Paul the Divine. He saw Paradise, went to Paradise, and beautifully witnessed the unspeakable words spoken in Paradise.⁵ And he wanted to see God there.⁶ But he did not look upon him, and he returned and said of God: *Whom no man saw or is able to see.*⁷

You, who consider in a bodily way the things that were written about the garden: if the observations above hold true, as indeed they do, what will you feel or what will you say, when you hear that God, who is without body of flesh, who is immaterial and without form, made a rustling with his feet in the garden?⁸ How is it said that he, who is without hands, grabbed the dust with his own hands and fashioned man?⁹ How did someone without a body contrive to remove a rib from Adam and build a woman?¹⁰ Not only that, but did God also become a gardener watering his plants,¹¹ a groom of horses, and a servant to his own creation?¹² He knows all things before they are born:¹³ did he lead the beasts and oxen and cattle to Adam, so that he might see what to call them?¹⁴ He blew the breath of life into the face of man.¹⁵ With what kind of mouth and lips? He is incorporeal: he did not have these things. But if already at that time the Word God was incarnate and had assumed the form of man, he would not in more recent times have taken on flesh and become a man¹⁶ from the Blessed Virgin.¹⁷

7. Therefore the mentioned exegetes, because of these reasons—which are incomprehensible—having examined all the things of the garden in a spiritual way, said that diverse heresies were created by some people that heard in a physical way the things that Genesis narrated about God and Paradise. Some heretics taught that God had a corporal form, in the image and material likeness of man.¹⁸ Others gave much gratitude to the snake, because through his advice and the transgression that followed, the whole race of humans was born from woman.¹⁹ These heretics are called the Ophites, and rightly so. And the Manicheans, both men and women together, gather naked in their

¹ Cf Gen 2:8, 10. ² Cf Gen 2:8; 32:31; 1 Cor 13:12. ³ Jn 1:18. ⁴ Ex 33:20. ⁵ Cf 2 Cor 12:1-4; 2 Pet 1:16-17. ⁶ Cf Ex 33:18-23. ⁷ 1 Tim 6:16. ⁸ Cf Gen 3:8. ⁹ Cf Gen 2:7.

¹⁰ Cf Gen 2:21-22. ¹¹ Cf Gen 2:8-10. ¹² Cf Gen 2:19. ¹³ Cf Sus 35a (LXX).

¹⁴ Cf Gen 2:19. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 2:7. ¹⁶ Cf Rom 1:3; Gal 4:4. ¹⁷ Cf Heb 1:2. ¹⁸ Cf Gen 1:26.

¹⁹ Cf Gen 3:1-6; 4:1-2, 25; 5:3-4.

493 λεχθέντα N 503 πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντα] εἰπόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν N 505 παραδεισο-
 σκοπὸς] *scripsi* παράδεισος κοπὸς MNP παραδισόδρομος] *scripsi* παράδεισος δρόμος
 MNP 510 ὁ *om.* P ἀσχημάτιστος] *add.* ὁ P 516 ὁ δ M 523 περὶ] πέρατα M^{corr}
 τοῦ *om.* M 527 εὐχαριστίας P 528 γενομένης P 529 ὄλου M

Εὐας. Ἄλλοι δὲ ὡς ἄκτιστον τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς φύσιν προσεκύνησαν διὰ τὸ
μὴ ἐμφέρεσθαι μὴμην πυρὸς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἐξαήμερῳ κτίσει. Ἄλλοι τῷ
ὔδατι ἐλάτρευσαν ὡς ἀκτίστῳ, ἐπειδὴ οὐ γέγραπται· | *Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός·* 964A
535 *Γενηθήτω ὕδωρ.* Ἔτεροι, ἐξ ὧν εἰσὶ καὶ Πέρσαι, ἀδελφογαμίας καὶ
μητρογαμίας ἡσκησαν διὰ τὸ τοὺς προπάτορας ταῖς οἰκείαις μητράσι καὶ
ἀδελφαῖς συνάπτεσθαι. Εἰσὶ δὲ αἱρέσεις τινές, αἱ καταμέμφονται τοῦ Θεοῦ
ὡς μὴ κωλύσαντος τὸν πονηρὸν διὰ τοῦ ὁφείως πλανῆσαι τὴν Εὐαν.
Ἄλλη δὲ πάλιν αἱρέσις λογικὰς εἶναι καὶ τὰς τῶν θηρίων ψυχὰς
540 ἐδογματίσας δυναμένας ἀκοῦσαι καὶ γεωργῆσαι λόγον ἀκοῦσασα τοῦ
Θεοῦ εὐλογοῦντος τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ τοὺς ἰχθύας καὶ καταρωμένον τὸν ὄφιν
καὶ προσάγοντος τῷ Ἀδὰμ τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ πετινὰ καὶ κτήνη, ὅπως ἴδῃ τί
ὀνομάσῃ αὐτά.

8. Ταύτας δὴ οὖν καὶ ἑτέρας πλείστας αἱρέσεις ἐκ τῶν περὶ παρα-
545 δείσου γραφικῶν ῥημάτων τὰς ἀφορμὰς λαβούσας οἱ προειρημένοι
ἐξηγηταὶ θαυμάσιοι ἀνατρέψαι βουληθέντες, λοιπὸν δὲ καὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ γραφῇ
πνευματικῶς ἀτενίσαντες, καθὼς Παῦλος διακελεύεται, δύο τινὰς
παραδείσους εἶναι ὥσπερ καὶ δύο Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐδογματίσαν πνευματικόν
τε καὶ αἰσθητόν, ἐπίγειον καὶ οὐράνιον, ὁρώμενον καὶ νοούμενον, καθὼς
550 ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ οὐράνιος ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐπίγειος, κατὰ τὸν τύπον τῶν
δύο ἐκκλησιῶν, τῆς ἐπιγείου λέγω καὶ οὐρανοῦ πόλεως Κυρίου τῶν
δυνάμεων. Ἐνθα ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ δευτέρα καὶ ἀληθεστέρα γῆ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας,
ἡ χώρα τῶν ζώντων καὶ μοναὶ καὶ σκηναὶ αἰώνιοι καὶ ἀδιάδοχοι καὶ ἡ γῆ
τῶν πραέων ἡ δευτέρα καὶ ἀφθαρτος, ἡ τὰ ἀφθαρτα δένδρα καὶ ὕδατα
555 καὶ φυτὰ ἁμαράντινα καὶ ἀειθαλεῖς τοὺς καρποὺς ἔχουσα τοὺς ἐκ πηγῆς
τῆς ἀενάου ζωῆς ἀενάως ἀρδεομένους καὶ ποτιζομένους καὶ εἰς
αἰῶνας αἰώνων ὁσημέραι διανοῦντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον αὐξανόμενους
καὶ οὕτω τε τοῦ προκόπτειν καὶ ἐπαύξειν καὶ μορφοῦσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον
καὶ ὑπέρτερον ἀφισταμένους καὶ πεφυτευμένους καὶ ἰδρυμένους ἐν τῷ
560 οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄνω αὐλαῖς αὐτοῦ ἐξανθίζοντας, οἳ αἱ εἰσὶν αἱ
κέδροι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Λιβάνου, ἃς ἐφύτευσε φύσεις νοεράς ὁ Μονογενής,
μεθ' ὧν ἐκεῖ καὶ στρουθία ἁγίων ψυχῶν ἐννοσεύσουσι καὶ τοῦ ἐρωδιοῦ ἡ
κατοικία Χριστοῦ ἡγεῖται αὐτῶν, δι' οὓς δὴ καὶ μόνους τὸν ἀκήρατον
ἐκείνου καὶ ἀγῆρω λειμῶνα τὸν νοερὸν καὶ αὐλον κατεφύτευσε καὶ συνεσ-
565 τήσατο, περὶ οὗ εἴρηται· *Καὶ ἐφύτευσε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδέμ*
κατὰ ἀνατολὰς καὶ ἐθετο ἐκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἐπλασεν.

VI 1. Ἐδὲμ μὲν οὖν ἐρμηνεύεται πυρίζουσα ἢ αἵματιζουσα τρυφή· ὡς
δὲ ὁ ἀρχαῖος Ἰουδαῖος λέγει ὅτι Ἐδὲμ ἐρμηνεύεται ἐκφλογισμὸς ἀνθρα-
κῶν, ὅπερ πάννυ ἐπὶ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ καὶ αὐλοῦ καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ νοεροῦ
570 παραδείσου ἀρμόζει λέγεσθαι, Ὁ ποιῶν γάρ, φησί, τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ

churches in imitation of Adam and Eve.¹ And others have worshipped
the nature of fire as uncreated, because there is no mention of fire in all
the six-day creation. Still others have offered their worship to water as
uncreated, because it was not written: "And God said: 'Let there be
water'."² And still others, including the Persians, have had the practice
of marrying their sisters and mothers, because our first ancestors had
slept with their own mothers and sisters.

And there are some heresies that blame God because he did not
prevent the Evil One from deceiving Eve through the snake.³ Yet
another heresy taught that the souls of beasts were rational and were
able to understand and cultivate speech. This heresy heard that God
had blessed the birds and fish and cursed the snake, and that God had
led the beasts and the birds and herds to Adam, so that he might see
what to name them.⁴

8. The admirable exegetes mentioned above wanted to overturn these
and many other heretical fabrications that took as their starting point
the written statements about Paradise. They meditated on the Holy
Scripture with their spirits—just as Paul orders⁵—and they taught that
there were two Paradises. Just as there are two Jerusalems,⁶ there also
exist a tangible Paradise and a spiritual, an earthly and a heavenly, a
visible and of the mind.

Just as there exist a heavenly Christ together with an earthly. These
are according to the type of the two Churches: I mean the earthly and
the heavenly city of the Powers of the Lord.⁷ There in that place exists
the second and truer land of the promise,⁸ the land of the living,⁹ the
unique,¹⁰ perpetual, and eternal tents,¹¹ the second and incorruptible
land of the gentle.¹² It has trees that are incorruptible, waters, and
plants that never fade. It has fruits that are always ripe. These are
forever irrigated and watered by the spring of eternal life.¹³ They bloom
every day forever and ever,¹⁴ increasing for the better, and are never
finished with advancing or enlarging or changing to that which is nobler
and more excellent. They are planted and watered in the home of God
and bloom in his upper courts.¹⁵

The cedars of the heavenly Lebanon are such as these, whose intel-
lectual natures were planted by the Only Begotten. Here the sparrows,
the holy souls, will make their nest. And the home of the heron, Christ,
will lead them.¹⁶ For them alone did he prepare and plant that
immaterial and intellectual meadow, which never grows old and is never
defiled, and about which Scripture said: *And the Lord God planted a*
garden in Eden in the East, and there he placed the man that he had
*fashioned.*¹⁷

VI 1. *Eden* is translated as "a delight that is fiery" or "bloody". But as
an ancient Jew said, *Eden* means "the flaming up of coals." This
statement is in close harmony with the spiritual, immaterial, and
angelic noetic Paradise. For Scripture says: *Who makes his angels spirits*

540 οδογματίσαι P² corr. ἐδογματίσαι PP² corr. 542 καὶ] om. M 543 ὀνομάσθη P 545 λαβού M
546 βουληθέν M 547 καθὼς] add. ὁ N 548 παραδείσους M² corr. 553 ζόντων P
554 ἀφατος M 557 διαδοῦντας M 558 ἐπαύξει M 559 πεφυτευμένους καὶ] om. M
560 ἄνω] om. N 564 ἀγείρω N 567 ὡς δὲ ὁ] MN ὡς δὲ P

¹ Cf Gen 2:25. ² Cf Gen 1:2, 3, 6, 14. ³ Cf Gen 3:14-15. ⁴ Cf Gen 2:19.
⁵ Cf 1 Cor 2:13. ⁶ Cf Gal 4:25-26; Hebr 12:22. ⁷ Cf Ps 47(48):9. ⁸ Cf Heb 11:9.
⁹ Cf Ps 114(116):9. ¹⁰ Cf Jn 14:2. ¹¹ Cf Lk 16:9. ¹² Cf Ps 36(37):11; Mt 5:5.
¹³ Cf Rev 21:6. ¹⁴ Cf Rev 14:11. ¹⁵ Cf Ps 91(92):14. ¹⁶ Cf Ps 103(104):16-17.
¹⁷ Gen 2:8.

πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα, διησφαλίσαντο δὲ
 μάλα ἑαυτοὺς οἱ ἐξηγηταὶ εἰς τὸν τοῦ πνευματικοῦ παραδείσου λόγον
 τὸν θεῖον Ἰεζεκιήλ καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ λαλοῦντα Θεὸν παραγαγόντες
 μάρτυρας, ἐν οἷς φαίνεται ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ προφήτην αἰνιγματω-
 575 δῶς τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐκπτώσιν τοῦ διαβόλου ἡμῖν ἐκκαλύπτων καὶ λέγων
 οὕτως· Καὶ σύ, υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, λαβὲ θρῆνον ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα Τύρου καὶ
 εἰπὼν αὐτῷ· Τάδε λέγει Κύριος Κύριος· Σὺ ἀποσφράγισμα ὁμοιώσεως καὶ
 στέφανος κάλλους ἐν τῇ τρυφῇ τοῦ παραδείσου τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐγεννήθης. Καὶ
 580 ποῖος, εἰπέ μοι, ἄνθρωπος ἀσεβῆς ἐν τῇ τρυφῇ τοῦ παραδείσου τοῦ Θεοῦ
 ἐγεννήθη; Ἀσεβῆς γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἄρχων Τύρου καὶ εἰδωλολάτρης ἐπὶ τῶν
 ἡμερῶν Ἰεζεκιήλ τοῦ προφήτου.

2. Ἄκουσον γοῦν καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς ῥημάτων τοῦ προφήτου. Λέγει γὰρ
 αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐνδεδυμένον τοὺς δώδεκα περιφήμους λίθους
 τοὺς πολυτίμους, ἴσως τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν ἀνωτάτων δυνάμεων. Καὶ
 585 εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν τῶν λίθων ἐκδυσιν ἐπιφέρει λέγων· Ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας
 ἐκτίσθης μετὰ τῶν Χερουβὶμ, ἔδωκά σε ἐν ὄρει ἁγίᾳ Θεοῦ, τουτέστιν ἐν
 τῷ οὐρανῷ. Λέγει γὰρ ἀκολουθῶς οὕτως· Ἐγεννήθης ἐν μέσῳ λίθων
 πυρίνων, τῶν ἐμφλόγων αὐτοῦ πάντως νοερῶν δυνάμεων κατὰ τὸν
 590 λέγοντα· Ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς
 αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα.

3. Ἀκούσωμεν καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς. Λέγει γὰρ· Ἐγεννήθης ἁμώμος ἐν ταῖς
 ἡμέραις σου, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐκτίσθης, ἕως οὗ εὐρέθη τὰ ἀδικήματα ἐν σοί.
 Ταῦτα κυρίως εἰς τὸν διάβολον εἴρηται ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Οὐδέποτε γὰρ
 ἁμώμως ἔζησεν ὁ ἄρχων Τύρου, ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἀσεβῆς ἦν καὶ υἱὸς ἀσεβῶν
 595 τελευτήσας, οὔτε μὴν ἐν μέσῳ ἀνθρώπων καὶ λίθων πυρίνων ἐγεννήθη,
 καθὰ περὶ τούτου τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἀκούομεν.

4. Καὶ ἐπάγει λέγων ὁ Θεὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ· Ἀπὸ πλήθους τῆς ἐμπορίας
 σου ἐμπλήσας τὰ ταμίειά σου ἀνομίας. Πλήθος ἐμπορίας τὸ πλήθος
 νόησον τῆς γνώσεως καὶ σοφίας, ἧς τὸ πρὶν ὥς ἀρχιστράτηγος
 600 ἐκτήσατο ὁ διάβολος, δι' ἧς γνώσεως εἰς ὑπερηφανίαν ἐξολισθήσας
 ἐλογίσαστο εἰπὼν ὅτι Θήσω τὸν θρόνον μου ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν καὶ
 ἔσομαι ὅμοιος τῷ Ὑψίστῳ. Διὸ πάλιν καταβοᾶται αὐτοῦ διὰ τῶν ἐξῆς
 ῥημάτων Ἰεζεκιήλ ὁ Θεὸς λέγων· Καὶ ἡμαρτες καὶ ἐτραυματίσθης ἀπὸ
 τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Θεοῦ, τουτέστιν ἐπτωματίσθης ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕψους τοῦ
 605 οὐρανοῦ. Τοῦτο γὰρ αἰνίττεται εὐθέως ἐπιφέρων· Καὶ ἡγαγέ σε τῷ
 Χερουβὶμ ἐκ λίθων πυρίνων. Ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ὥσπερ τινὶ ἐξοχωτάτῳ καὶ μεγα-
 λοπρεπεῖ ἄρχοντι τῷ Χερουβὶμ ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Θεὸς δίκην τινὸς καταδίκου

and his ministers flames of fire.¹ The exegetes attached themselves
 firmly to the argument for a spiritual garden. And they brought forth as
 witnesses the divine Ezekiel and God, who spoke through him. Ac-
 cording to these exegetes, God seemed to reveal to his prophet
 enigmatically the expulsion of the devil from heaven. He said: And you,
 son of man, raise a lamentation for the prince of Tyre, and say to him:
 "These things says the Lord Lord: 'You were born as an image of my
 likeness and a crown of beauty in the delight of God's garden'."² So tell
 me: what kind of unholy man was born in the delight of the garden of
 God? For in the days of Ezekiel the prophet, the prince of Tyre was
 unholy and a worshipper of idols.

2. Listen now to the prophet's next statements. He says that this
 prince is the one that had been clothed in the twelve precious and
 famous stones,³ perhaps the authority over the highest powers. Indeed
 immediately after the prince was stripped of the stones, Ezekiel adds:
 From the day when you were created with the Cherubim, I established
 you on the holy mountain of God.⁴ That is: in heaven. For he says so in
 the following passage: You were born in the midst of fiery stones.⁵ That
 is, in the midst of his burning, completely intellectual Powers—
 according to the one that said: Who makes his angels spirits and his
 ministers flames of fire.⁶

3. Let us listen to the things that come next. He says: You were born
 without stain in your days—from the day you were created—until
 injustices were found in you.⁷ Strictly, these things were said by God to
 Satan. Never did the prince of Tyre live without stain. For that one was
 indeed the son of unholy parents and died unholy. And he was not born
 in the midst of coals and fiery stones, as we hear about that prince of
 this age.⁸

4. And God adds this statement about him: From the abundance of
 your wealth, you filled your storehouses with lawlessness.⁹ This abun-
 dance of wealth should be considered the abundance of understanding
 and wisdom, which the devil, as a leading commander, had possessed
 before.¹⁰ But from the height of his knowledge he slipped away to pride.
 And after some thought he said: I will place my throne upon the clouds
 and I will be like the highest.¹¹ Therefore God cried out against him, in
 the following statements by Ezekiel: And you sinned and you were
 wounded from the mountain of God.¹² That is: you fell from the height of
 heaven.¹³ This is suggested by the addition: He led you by the Cherub
 away from the burning stones.¹⁴ To me it seems as if God had ordered
 some eminent, leading Cherub to seize the devil on account of his crime,

¹ Ps 103(104):4. ² Ezek 28:12-13. ³ Cf Ezek 28:13. ⁴ Ezek 28:13-14. ⁵ Ezek 28:14.

⁶ Ps 103(104):4. ⁷ Ezek 28:15. ⁸ Cf 1 Cor 2:6, 8. ⁹ Ezek 28:16. ¹⁰ Cf 1 Cor 2:6-8.

¹¹ Is 14:13-14. ¹² Ezek 28:16. ¹³ Cf Is 38:14. ¹⁴ Ezek 28:16.

571 διησφαλίσαντο P 573 τὸν¹ τὸ M^{corr} 575 οὐρανοῦ] add. οὐκ N^{corr} 576 λαβὲ] scripsi
 λάβε MNP 577 εἰπὼν] scripsi εἶπον MNP Κύριος²] om. M 579 εἰπέ] scripsi εἶπε MP
 εἰπέ N 580 ἐγενήθη P^{corr} γάρ] om. P εἰδωλολάτρης P 585 τὴν] om. P 586 ὄρει M
 587 ἐγενήθης M 588 ἑαυτοῦ M 591 ἐγενήθης MP 595 ἐγενήθη MP 598 σου¹] om. M
 ταμίειά] scripsi ταμίεια MNP ταμίια P^{corr} 601 ἐπὶ N 602 καταβοᾶτε MP 604 ὄρους N
 τοῦ²] om. MN 605 γάρ] om. P τῷ] τὸ- N 606 Χερουβὶμ] M^{corr} P Χερουβείμ NM^{corr}
 607 Χερουβὶμ] P Χερουβείμ MN

παραλαμβάνοντι τὸν διάβολον ἐξαγάγει αὐτὸν τοῦ χοροῦ ἐκ μέσου τῶν νοερῶν στρατιῶν καὶ ἀπορρίπτει τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Διὸ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἔφασκεν ὅτι Ἐἶδον τὸν Σατανᾶν πεσόντα ὡς ἀστραπὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

610 5. Ἀκούσωμεν καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς. Λέγει γὰρ πάλιν ἀκολουθῶς· Ὑψώθη ἡ καρδιά σου ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει σου διεφθάρη ἡ ἐπιστήμη σου μετὰ τοῦ κάλλους σου. Κάλλος μὲν γὰρ λέγει τὸ ἐξαίρετον τῆς μορφῆς, ἧς τὸ πρὶν ὡς πύρινος καὶ φωτοφόρος καταπήλαυεν ὁ διάβολος, ἐπιστήμην δέ 615 τὴν πολλὴν γνῶσιν τῶν μυστηρίων καὶ τῆς σοφίας, ὥστε καὶ ἐντεῦθεν μανθάνομεν ὡς οὔτε τὸ λαμπρὸν τῆς φαιδρότητος καὶ τῆς εὐπρεπείας, ἦν τὸ πρὶν ἐκέκτηντο οἱ δαίμονες καὶ ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν, κέκτηνται σήμερον οὔτε μὴν τὴν σοφίαν καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν τὴν προτέραν ἔχουσι.

6. Ἀκουσον λοιπὸν τὴν φαιδρὰν αὐτοῦ ἄνωθεν ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ παρα- 620 δέισου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς τρυφῆς καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὅρους κατὰπτωσιν. Λέγει γὰρ οὕτως ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς· Διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν σου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἔρριψά σε. Ἰδοὺ σαφῶς ἠκούσαμεν ὅτι ἐξ ὑψηλοῦ τινος παραδείσου καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ πυρίνων ἀν|θράκων Χερουβικῶν εἰς γῆν ἀπερρίφη ὁ 966A λεγόμενος αὗτος ἄρχων Τύρου. Τύρος δὲ κράτος καὶ ὄρος ἐλληνίζεται, 625 ὡς ἐντεῦθεν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων τῷ Ἰεζεκιήλ σαφῶς ἐστὶ γινώσκειν ὅτι πάντες οἱ πατέρες οἱ εἰπόντες ὡς ἐστὶ μετὰ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ καὶ πνευματικὸς τις παράδεισος καὶ πνευματικὰ ξύλα τοῖς τούτου τοῦ προφήτου θεοῖς ῥήμασιν ἀκολουθήσαντες εἰρήκασιν, ἐξ ὧν εἰσι καὶ οἱ πάνσοφοι Γρηγόριοι τινες θεωρίας λέγοντες εἶναι τὰ φυτὰ, ὡς ἡ αὐτῶν θεωρία ὑποτίθηται.

630 7. Τίς δὲ ἦν ἡ Γρηγορίου θεωρία πνευματικὴ ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκείνη ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἔλλαμψις; Περὶ τῆς θεωρίας φησὶν ὁ Κύριος ὅτι Μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὁρῶνται. Ὅρα γὰρ ὅτι οὐχ ἀπλῶς παράδεισος λέγεται αὗτος ὁ παρὰ τῷ προφήτῃ, ἀλλὰ 635 παράδεισος Θεοῦ. Ὁ δὲ Μωσαϊκὸς παράδεισος οὐ θεώνυμος γέγραπται, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς παράδεισος. Ὁθεν καὶ ὁ κατὰ πάντα θεὸς Ἀμβρόσιος καὶ Ἰουστίνος ὁ θεόληπτος μάρτυς ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὴν ἑξαήμερον αὐτῶν ὑπομνήμασι τὰ περὶ παραδείσου διεξιόντες μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν περὶ αἰσθητῶν δένδρων καὶ ὑδάτων καὶ καρπῶν καὶ γηγενεῶς παραδείσου παρήγαγον ἐν μέσῳ τὰ προκείμενα τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰεζεκιήλ περὶ παραδείσου οὐρανοῦ 640 ῥήματα, καὶ πολλὴν ἐξέτασιν καὶ θεωρίαν λεπτήν ἐν αὐτοῖς διεξεληθόντες ἐπήγαγον λέγοντες ὡς αἰσχιστόν τε καὶ θεοστυγὲς τὸ φάσκεν ἢ τὸ ὅλως εἰς ἔννοιαν λαβεῖν τὴν μακαρίαν τε καὶ προσκυνητὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου θεότητα σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ ληστῇ εἰς ῥευστόν τε καὶ ὑλικὸν παράδεισον

614 φωτοφόρος M 615 καὶ? om. N 617 οἱ δαίμονες - κέκτηνται om. M 621 οὕτως N τοῖς τῆς M 622 τινος add. τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς τρυφῆς καὶ τοῦ οὐ(ρα)νοῦ ὅρους κατὰπτωσιν· λέγει γὰρ οὕτως ἐν τῇ ἐξῆς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν σου, εἰς τὴν γῆν ἔρριψά σε. Ἰδοὺ σαφῶς ἠκούσαμεν ὅτι ἐξ ὑψηλοῦ τινος παραδείσου M per dittographiam 625 ἐστὶ MNP 626 ἐστὶ MNP 627 τις scripsi τίς MNP 629 εἶναι om. N 631 τοῦ om. P 643 προφήται P^{acomp} 634 μωσαϊκῶς M^{acomp} 635 ἀμβρόσιος N 639 Ἰεζεκιήλ add. καὶ P 641 φάσκεϊ M

to lead him from the midst of the choir of intellectual armies, and to hurl him from heaven. And because of this, Christ said: I saw *Satan falling like a star from heaven*.¹

5. Let us listen also to the next words, for he continues: *Your heart was raised on account of your beauty; your knowledge was destroyed along with your beauty*.² On the one hand, he talks about the distinctive beauty of his figure, which the devil, fiery and brilliant, had enjoyed. And on the other hand, he talks about his knowledge: the full understanding of the mysteries and of wisdom.³ We learn from this that the lamp of brilliant comeliness, which the demons and their leader had once possessed, is not possessed by them today. And they do not have their former understanding and wisdom.

6. Listen finally to his bright fall from above, from that garden of God, from that delight, and from that heavenly mountain. He says so in the following: *On account of the multitude of your sins, I tore you down to the earth*.⁴ Listen: clearly we have heard that he was torn from a high Paradise, from delight, and from the fiery coals of the Cherubim down to earth, this so-called prince of Tyre. Tyre is translated into Greek as κράτος ("strength") or ὄρος ("mountain").

So from the things spoken to Ezekiel, it is possible to understand clearly that all the Church Fathers who have said that along with the tangible there existed a spiritual Paradise and spiritual trees—they spoke in accordance with the divine words of the prophet. Among these writers were the two Gregorys, full of wisdom. They say that the plants were considerations, as their own contemplation establishes.

7. And the spiritual contemplation of Gregory: what was it other than the illumination of the Holy Spirit? The Lord said of this contemplation: *Blessed are the clean in heart, because they will see God*.⁵

And observe this too: the prophet Ezekiel did not call it simply a garden, but a "garden of God".⁶ The garden of Moses was not written with the name of God: it was simply a "paradise".⁷

Ambrose, who was completely given to God, and Justin the God inspired martyr, discussed in detail the things concerning Paradise in their commentaries about the six-day creation. After speaking about the tangible trees and waters and fruits of the earthly Paradise, they introduced the statements by the divine Ezekiel that were discussed above: those about the heavenly Paradise. And having gone through a lengthy analysis and detailed examination of these passages, they advanced the following. They said that it would be very shameful and hateful to God⁸ for one to say or even consciously accept that God the Word, in his blessed and sacred divinity, and the righteous thief entered together into a material and seasonal Paradise. Would this have

¹ Lk 10:18.

² Ezek 28:17.

³ Cf 1 Cor 2:6-8.

⁴ Ezek 28:17.

⁵ Mt 5:8.

⁶ Cf Ezek 28:13.

⁷ Cf Gen 2:8.

⁸ Cf Rom 1:30.

645 εἰσελθεῖν. Καὶ τίς ἅγιος μισθὸς τῆς σεπτῆς ἐκείνης καὶ θεοπρεποῦς ὁμολογί-
 646 ας ῥοϊκῶν καὶ ὀπωρικῶν καὶ στεμφυλῶν καὶ σύκων ἐφθαρμένων βρώσιν
 ὡς μισθὸν ἀνταποδοῦναι τῷ ληστῇ; Τίς δὲ πάλιν, ἢ φασίν, νοῦν ἔχων 967A
 θεόφρονα λέξει ἐν σικυηλάτοις σκαπάνῃ καὶ πελέκει λαχανιζομένοις εἰς
 πτῆσιν τὸν οὐρανοδρόμον Παῦλον μετενεχθῆναι καί, ἅπερ οὔτε ἐν <τῷ>
 δευτέρῳ οὔτε ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ οὐρανῷ ἄρρητα ῥήματα εὔρε, ταῦτα ἐν ὑδρο-
 650 χῳ ἀρούρη γεηρᾷ μυσταγωγηθῆναι ἐξ ἀχράντου καὶ θεοῦ στόματος
 Χριστοῦ καὶ ὅτι κηποφυλακοῦσι νῦν ἐπὶ γῆς τὰ ὑψηλότερα πασῶν τῶν
 ἄνω δυνάμεων καὶ πλησιώτερα Θεοῦ καὶ τιμιώτερα Χερουβίμ;

VII 1. Ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν ἅλιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Μωσαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν
 ἐπανιτέον καὶ σκοπητέον περὶ τῶν προκειμένων. Οἶμαι γὰρ κάκεϊ τοῖς
 655 φῶς ἔχουσι θείας γνώσεως ἔστι κατιδεῖν τὰ περὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν
 παραδείσων τούτων λεγόμενα, τοῦ τ' αἰσθητοῦ φημὶ καὶ τοῦ νοητοῦ.
 "Ὅθεν τάξει τι καὶ ἀκολουθίᾳ χρώμενος πρῶτον ἡμῖν ὡς πρῶτον
 διηγείται τὸν πνευματικόν, καθὼς καὶ ἡδη προεῖπον, ὡς ὅταν λέγῃ· *Καὶ*
ἐφύτευσε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς παράδεισον ἐν Ἑδέμ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς. Οὐχ
 660 εὐρίσκομεν δὲ ἐπὶ γῆς τόπον ὀνομαζόμενον Ἑδέμ. Καὶ τὸ μὴ σημάναι δὲ
 κατὰ ἀνατολὰς εἴτε τῆς γῆς εἴτε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔμφασιν τινα ἡμῖν δίδωσι
 περὶ τῶν ἄνω ἀνατολῶν, ἐνθα ὁ Πατήρ τῶν φώτων καὶ τὸ φῶς τῶν
 ζώντων, καὶ ἐκεῖ εἶναι καὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον παράδεισον. Ἀμέλει ὡς περὶ
 πνευματικοῦ πινος διηγούμενος παραδείσου οὔτε ξύλων οὔτε ὑδάτων
 665 οὔτε λίθων οὔτε γῆς οὔτε χρυσοῦ οὔτε βρώσεως οὔτε χωρῶν οὔτε
 ἐνορίων οὔδε πινος ἄλλον μιμνήσκειται ἐν αὐτῷ. Τὸ δέ· *Καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ τὸν*
ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἔπλασεν, τουτέστι ἐν τῷ οὐρανίῳ παραδείσῳ, προφητεί-
 670 αν εἶπον περὶ τῆς ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν χρόνων γενομένης ἐν Χριστῷ
 ἀναλήψεως ἐν οὐρανοῖς τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως.

2. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἡδη παρωχηκὸς τὸ μέλλον ὁ προφήτης λέγει, ἔχεις περὶ
 τούτου πλείστας ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, φησὶν ὁ μέγας Ἀμβρόσιος, ἀποδείξεις, ὡς
 ὅταν λέγῃ· *Παιδὸν ἐγεννήθη ἡμῖν, καὶ ὤρυξαν χεῖράς μου καὶ πόδας*
μου, καὶ· Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος τῷ Κυρίῳ μου· Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, καὶ τό·
Ἐδωκαν εἰς τὸ βρώμά μου χολὴν, καὶ ὅσα τοιουτότροπα. Καλῶς δὲ
 675 εἴρηται τό· *Καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἔπλασεν*, ὃν ἔθετο
 κληρονόμον πάντων Χριστόν. "Ὅθεν Ἑβραίων παῖδες ἐκ τῆς ἀκανονί-
 680 στου βιβλου τῆς παλαιᾶς, τῆς λεγομένης Διαθήκης τῶν Πρωτοπλάστων,
 φασὶ τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰσεληλυθέναι τὸν Ἀδάμ ἐν παραδείσῳ.
 Καθὼς καὶ τινι ἱστορικῷ χρονογράφῳ Πύρρωνι τοῦτο καὶ πιν
 680 ἐξηγηταῖς δοκεῖ, ὁ ἢ πάνυ προσφυῶς ἀρμόζει ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν οὐρανῳ 968A

been a payment worthy of that thief's august and marvelous testimony:¹
 to reward him with a meal of juicy fruits, pressed grapes, and dried figs?
 And what sane and pious person—they said—will claim that Paul, when
 he flew up to the heavens,² was taken in rapture to cucumber beds ripe
 for the spade and ax? And Paul did not hear the unspeakable words in
 the second or the third heaven; these mystical words were mystically
 revealed by the divine and immaculate mouth of Christ in some muddy
 plot of land? And even now, they that are higher than all the powers
 above and closer to God and more honorable than the Cherubim: are
 they guarding a vegetable patch upon the earth?³

VII 1. But enough of these things. It is necessary to return to the
 examination of Moses' narrative about these subjects. I think that there
 it is possible to see, for those who have the light of divine understanding,
 things said about both paradises, the tangible and the spiritual. Moses,
 making use of a hierarchical order, described for us the spiritual first,
 since it is the first—as I mentioned earlier. He said: *And the Lord God*
planted a garden in Eden, in the East.⁴ We do not find a place on earth
 called Eden. And the fact that there is no sign of such a place in the East
 or on earth or in the sky emphasizes for us that this is about the
 heavenly East. There the Father of the Lights and the Light of the
 Living exist.⁵ And there such a paradise exists. Moses is certainly
 talking about this spiritual paradise, and not recalling some trees or
 waters or stones or earth or gold or food or territories or borders or
 anything else in it. *And there he placed the man whom he had made*⁶—
 that is: in the heavenly garden. I said that this was a prophecy about the
 final times:⁷ when the nature of man, in the person of Christ, was taken
 up into heaven.⁸

2. So the prophet Moses spoke about the future as if it were already
 past? The great Ambrose states that you have ample examples of this in
 Scripture, as when it says: *A child has been born to us*;⁹ and *They pierced*
my hands and my feet;¹⁰ and *The Lord said to my Lord: "Sit on my*
right";¹¹ and this: *They gave me gall as my food*;¹² and other such
 passages. And this too was well said: *And there he placed the man whom*
*he had made*¹³—the one whom he had made heir of all things, Christ.¹⁴

The children of the Hebrews say that Adam entered into Paradise on
 the fortieth day, and they cite a non-canonical book of the Old Testa-
 ment, the one called *The Testament of the First-Formed*. This seemed
 correct also to a certain historian and chronologist, Pyrrho, as well as to
 some commentators. And it is, of course, in close harmony with the
 Ascension of Christ into heaven.¹⁵ And even after his birth in
 Bethlehem, he entered the earthly Jerusalem on the fortieth day.¹⁶

¹ Cf Luc 23:39-43. ² Cf 2 Cor 12:1-4. ³ Cf Gen 3:24. ⁴ Gen 2:8. ⁵ Cf Job 33:30;
 Ps 55(56):14; Jas 1:17. ⁶ Gen 2:8. ⁷ Cf 1 Pet 1:20. ⁸ Cf Mk 16:19; Lk 9:51; 24:5;
 Acts 1:9-11. ⁹ Is 9:5. ¹⁰ Ps 21(22):17. ¹¹ Ps 109(110):1. ¹² Ps 68(69):22. ¹³ Gen 2:8.
¹⁴ Cf Heb 1:2. ¹⁵ Cf Mk 16:19; Lk 9:51; 24:5; Acts 1:9-11. ¹⁶ Cf Lk 2:22.

644 εἰσελθεῖς N 645 ῥοϊκῶν MP ὀπωρικῶν N^{a corr} ὀπωρικῶν P ὀπωρικῶν Grabe *Spicilegium* σταμφυλῶν MP^{corr} P σταφυλῶν M^{a corr} Grabe *Spicilegium* 646 φασὶ μὲν P
 νοῦν] οἶν M 647 σικυηλάτοις Grabe *Spicilegium* λαχανιζομένοις] χειμαζομένοις N Grabe *Spicilegium* 648 ἐν] *ad d.* τῷ Grabe *Spicilegium* 649 ἐν τῷ] *om.* Grabe *Spicilegium* 652 πλη-
 σιωτέρα M καὶ] *om.* MN 653 ἅλιν M ἐπὶ δὲ M ἐπὶ δὲ P μωσαϊκῇ M 658 λέγει P
 663 ζόντων P 664 διηγόμενος P 667 ἔπλασε NP 670 παρωχηκῶς P 672 ἐγενήθη P^{a corr}

ἀναλήψεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπιγείῳ Ἱερουσαλὴμ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Βηθλέεμ γέννησιν τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰσελήλυθε.

3. Λεγόντων δὲ ἡμῶν τὰ περὶ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ παραδείσου μὴ καυχάσθω Ὡριγένης ὁ κυρτὸς ὡς ὀρθόφρων. Αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀπλήστως
685 χρυσάμενος ταῖς ἀναγωγαῖς καὶ πνευματικαῖς θεωρίαις πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ ἑξαήμερῳ κτίσματα εἰς μυθικὰς τραγωδίας ἀλληγόρησε μήτε οὐρανὸν αἰσθητὸν μήτε γῆν μήτε τὰ ὕδατα ὕδατα μήτε τὰ φυτὰ ἀληθῶς φυτὰ μήτε τοὺς ἀστέρας ἀληθῶς ἀστέρας οὐδέ τι ἕτερον κατὰ τὸ γράμμα νοήσας, οὐ σκότος, οὐ φῶς, οὐκ ἄβυσσος, οὐ πνεῦμα, οὐ στερῆμα, ὡς
690 κινδυνεύειν λοιπὸν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὅσον κατὰ τὴν Ὡριγένους ληρωδῖαν καὶ διδασκαλίαν πιστεῦσαι κτήματα Θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν ὀρώμενον κόσμον. Διὸ καὶ δικαίως Ὡριγένην συνοδικῇ ψήφῳ καθελοῦσα ἀπεβάλλετο, ἐχρὴν γὰρ αὐτὸν πρῶτον τὴν κατὰ τὸ γράμμα ἱστορίαν παραδέξασθαι, εἴθ' οὕτως πρὸς ἀναγωγὰς, ἐν οἷς χρή, χωρῆσαι.

4. Ταύτης γοῦν τῆς αἰτίας χάριν, λέγω δὴ τῆς Ὡριγένους ματαιο-
695 πονίας εἰς ἀλληγορίαν τὴν ἑξαήμερον πᾶσαν κτίσιν μυθολογήσαντος καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἱερᾶς γραφῆς ἀλλοιώσαντος, οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν πατέρων, λέγω δὴ οἱ περὶ τὸν θεῖον Βασίλειον, καὶ τὸν Χριστοῦ ποταμὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν Χρυσόστομον, Θεόδωρον τε τὸν ἐλεεινὸν ὄντως Ἀντιοχέα, καὶ
700 Σευηρίανδον τὸν Γαβαλεώτην, Εὐσέβιον τε τὸν Ἑμεσηνόν, καὶ τὸν λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ τρισμακάριστον Ἐπιφάνιον, Κύριλλον τε τὸν θεοφάντορα καὶ θεόφιλον μᾶλλον, οὗτοι πάντες κατὰ τὸ γράμμα τὰ συγγράμματα ἑαυτῶν περὶ τῆς ἑξαήμερου ἐξέθεντο τὰς ἀλληγορίας καὶ ἀναγωγὰς ἀφιέμενοι διὰ τὴν Ὡριγένους, ὡς προεῖπον, ματαιοπониαν, φέροντες καὶ
705 αὐτοὶ πιστοτάτας ἀποδείξεις τε καὶ παραστάσεις περὶ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ παραδείσου τοῦ μετὰ τὸν προειρημένον πνευματικὸν ἀκολουθῶς κειμένου. Ἐπήγαγε γὰρ ὁ νομογράφος Μωϋσῆς εὐθέως λέγων· Καὶ ἐξανέτειλε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἔτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς πᾶν ξύλον ὥραϊον εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρώσιν καὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ τὸ ξύλον τοῦ
710 εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ. Ποταμὸς δὲ ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἐδέμ ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον. Ἐκεῖθεν ἀφορίζεται εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχάς. Ὄνομα τῷ ἐνὶ Φεισῶν· οὗτος ὁ κυκλῶν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Εὐλάτ, ἐκεῖ αὖν ἔστι τὸ χρυσεόν· τὸ δὲ χρυσεόν τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης καλόν· ἐκεῖ ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος
969A καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος. Καὶ ὄνομα τῷ (ποταμῷ τῷ) δευτέρῳ Γεῶν· οὗτος ὁ κυκλῶν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Αἰθιοπίας. Καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ τρίτος Τίγρης· οὗτος ὁ πορευόμενος κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων. Ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς ὁ τέταρτος, οὗτος Εὐφράτης.

681 καὶ²] om. M 682 εἰσελήλυθεν P 683 τοῦ] om. M 686 μυθικὰς P 687 ὕδατα³] om. MN 688 οὐδέτι M οὐδέτι P 690 λοιπῶν M ὠρυγένους P Ληδωδῖαν P^{corr.} 692 ὠριγένην N ὠρυγένην P 695 ὠρυγένους P 700 Σευηριανὸν] correxi Σαυήρον MNP ἑμεσσηνόν P Ἑμεσηνῶν LeQuien 700/1 λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις LeQuien 704 ἀφιέμενοι MN ἀφιέμενοι LeQuien ὠρυγένους P ματαιοπониαν N^{corr.} φέρον⁴] N 707 νομογράφως P 712 φουσῶν N^{corr.} φουσῶν N^{corr.} 714 ποταμῷ τῷ] om. MNP

3. In our discussion of the things of the spiritual garden, Origen, the twisted, should not boast that he was thinking straight. Having made unrestricted use of anagogical and spiritual contemplations, he allegorized (like mythic tragedies) all that had been created during the six days. He thought that neither heaven nor earth was perceptible to the senses;¹ the waters were not waters,² the plants were not really plants,³ and the stars were not really stars.⁴ And he did not take anything else literally: not the darkness, the light, the abyss, the wind,⁵ or the firmament.⁶ And he concluded that the Church was in grave danger, to the extent that it believed that the things created by God are the visible world.

But Origen's teachings were madness. And therefore, by a vote of the holy council, the Church justly condemned and cast him out. For it was necessary that he first embrace the narrative as literal fact. And then, only where necessary, should he have proceeded to an anagogical interpretation.

4. The great pains taken by Origen, when he mythologized all the six-day creation as allegory and thus altered the body of Holy Scripture, were in vain. For this reason, the more recent Fathers published writings adhering to the literal meaning of the six-day creation. I mean the followers of the divine Basil, and that river of Christ, John Chrysostom, and Theodore of Antioch, who was genuinely merciful, and Severian of Gabala, and Eusebius of Emesa, and Epiphanius, who was thrice blessed in word and deed, and Cyril, who revealed God and was deeply loved by God. All of these writers rejected the allegories and anagogical interpretations of Origen—as I said above—as great pains taken in vain. And they presented reliable proofs and evidence about a tangible Paradise, which follows the spiritual one discussed above. For Moses, who wrote the Laws, immediately added: *And the Lord God still caused to spring up from the earth every tree, beautiful to see and good to eat, and the tree of life in the middle of the garden, and the tree of knowing and understanding good and evil. A river flows out from Eden to water the garden. From there it separates into four branches. The name of one is Phison. This is the one going around all the land of Evilath. Gold is there, and the gold of that land is good. Ruby is there and emerald. And the name of the second river is Geon. This is the one going around all the land of Ethiopia. And the third river is the Tigris. This is the one going against the Assyrians. And the fourth river: this is the Euphrates.*⁷

5. Considering these earthly places and nations and names and territories, and also the gold and the emerald, and Ethiopia, the Assyrians, and the Euphrates, the majority of the Fathers confidently

¹ Cf Gen 1:1. ² Cf Gen 1:7, 9. ³ Cf Gen 1:11-12. ⁴ Cf Gen 1:16. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:2-3. ⁶ Cf Gen 1:6-7. ⁷ Gen 2:9-14.

5. Ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν γηγενῶν τόπων τε καὶ ἔθνων καὶ προσηγοριῶν
καὶ ἐνοριῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ τοῦ λίθου τοῦ πρασίνου καὶ τῆς
720 Αἰθιοπίας καὶ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου δι᾽ ἄσχυρίσαντο οἱ
πλείονες τῶν πατέρων νοῆσθαι ταῦτα εἰς τὸν γηγενῆ παράδεισον μάλι-
στα, καὶ ἐκ τῶν φύλλων τῆς συκῆς, ὧν ἔρραψαν ἑαυτοῖς οἱ πρωτόπλαστοι
εἰς περιζώματα. "Οθεν κατὰ τὸ γράμμα νοοῦντες τὰ ὕδατα ὕδατα εἶπον
αἰσθητὰ καὶ τὰ ξύλα ξύλα ἀληθῶς βρώσιμα καὶ τοὺς καρπούς κηπω-
725 ρικούς καὶ φθαρτοὺς καὶ τὸ χρυσίον χρυσίον εἶναι ὕλικόν. Ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν
ἀνθρακα καὶ τὸν πράσινον σμαράγδινον λίθον καὶ τὴν συκὴν συκὴν
ἔφασαν εἶναι ἀληθῆ, καὶ μάλιστα ὁ θεοφόρος Ἐπιφάνιος ἐκ τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι
τῆς γραφῆς λεγούσης εἶναι τὴν γῆν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποτιζομένην τὸ πρὶν
ὡς τὸν παράδεισον καὶ ὡς τὴν γῆν Αἰγύπτου, ἦντινα γνώμην καὶ πατρι-
730 κὴν περὶ αἰσθητοῦ παραδείσου παράδοσιν καὶ δεχόμεθα καὶ ἀποδεχόμεθα
καὶ κατασπαζόμεθα. Προησφαλισάμεθα γὰρ πολλάκις ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ
πραγματείᾳ ἑαυτοὺς ὅτι οὐ καταλύομεν τὴν κατὰ τὸ γράμμα ἱστορίαν
τῆς θείας γραφῆς οὔτε μὴν τὰς τῶν ὁσίων ἡμῶν πατέρων ἀνατρέπομεν
γνώμας τε καὶ ἐκδοχάς. "Ομως, ἐπειδὴ ἀκούομεν τοῦ θεσπεσίου Παύλου
735 πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ εἰς Χριστὸν μυστικῶς ἀναφέροντος, τουτέστι τὴν
σκηνήν, τὴν κιβωτόν, τὴν στάμνον, τὸν ναόν, τὸν ἄμνόν, τὰ βρώματα,
τὰ πόματα, τὰ ξύλα, τὰ ζῶα, τὰ πετεινά, τὸ χρυσίον, τοὺς σμαράγδους,
τοὺς ἀνθρακας, τὰ ὕδατα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἅπαντα τὰ τότε μὲν μυστικῶς
κατὰ τὸ γράμμα γενόμενα, νῦν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀληθῶς πνευματικῶς
740 ὁρώμενα, ἐπισκεπτόμεν μήπως καὶ ταῦτα τὰ νῦν περὶ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ
παραδείσου ὑπὸ Μωσέως σωματικῶς γραφέντα εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν
ἐκκλησίαν τυπικῶς προδιεγράφησαν, εἴ γε πάντα διὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ εἰς
Χριστὸν ἐγένοντο τὴν αὐτοῦ προμηνύοντα σάρκωσιν. Οὐκοῦν ἐπόμενοι
τῷ τῆς θεολογίας ῥήτορι Γρηγορίῳ τῷ φήσαντι τὸν Ἀδὰμ φυτῶν ἀθα-
745 νάτων γεωργὸν εἶναι ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ θείων ἐννοιῶν ἀνέλθωμεν
ἀπὸ τοῦ γράμματος τοῦ ἀποκτείνοντος ἐπὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ζωοποιούν,
αἰεὶ γὰρ τὸ γράμμα τὸ ἱερὸν συναναβαίνει τοῖς ἀναβαίνουσι.

VIII 1. Καὶ ἐξανέτειλε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἔτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς πᾶν ξύλον ὥραϊον
εἰς ὅρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρώσιν.

750 Ζητῆσαι προσήκει ἐνταῦθα ἐπιμελῶς τί μὲν ἐστὶν ἀνατολή καὶ τί
ἐξανατολή. Ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκ γῆς λεγομένων τε καὶ φυομένων ἀνατέλλον μὲν
γὰρ λέγεται τὸ εὐθέως ἐν πρώτοις ἀναφαινόμενον, ἐξανατέλλον δὲ τὸ
μαρανθὲν ἢ ξηρανθὲν, καὶ πάλιν ἐξανατεῖλαν κατὰ δευτέραν τάξιν δι'
ὕδατος καὶ γεωργικῆς ἐπιμελείας, ὥστε μάλα σαφῶς καὶ προσφόρως
755 περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προφητικῶς εἴρηται τό· Καὶ ἐξανέτειλε Κύριος ὁ Θεός

721 πλείονες] *correcti* πλείους MNP π(ατέ)ρων] MNPP^{corr.} τερῶν P^{corr.} 724 ξύλα] ξύλλα P 726 σμαράδινον M 729/30 πατρικὴν] πρτ̄ κήν M 737 σμαράγδους M 740 τὰ] *om.* P 745 γεωργῶν P^{corr.} 746 ἀποκτείνοντος] *correcti* ἀποκτείνοντος MNP 751 γῆς] *om.* P^{corr.} ἀνατέλλον μὲν] ἀνατέλλομεν M 753 ἡ M 755 τό· Καὶ ἐξανέτειλε] τὸ, ἐξ ἀνέτειλε P

concluded that most of these things pertain to an earthly Paradise—and also considering the leaves of the fig tree, which the first-formed humans sewed to clothe themselves.¹ Therefore, thinking literally, they said that the waters were tangible waters,² and the trees were really trees for eating,³ and the fruits were of the garden variety and perishable,⁴ and the gold was solid gold.⁵ Similarly they said that the ruby and the emerald were a smaragdus stone,⁶ and the fig tree was a real fig tree.⁷ Especially the divinely inspired Epiphanius: from what he heard the Scripture saying, he declared that, like Paradise, and like the land of Egypt, the land of Jordan was well irrigated long ago.⁸

We accept, approve, and embrace this opinion and the tradition of the Fathers about a tangible garden. We have confirmed again and again in the present work that we are not unraveling the literal history of Divine Scripture and we are not rejecting the opinions and expositions of our holy Fathers.

Yet at the same time, we hear the oracular Paul mystically comparing everything in the Law to Christ:⁹ the tent, the arc, the jar, the sanctuary, the lamb, the food, the drink, the trees, the animals, the birds, the gold, the emeralds, the rubies, the waters, and all the other things that mysteriously came into being then, according to the letter, and now in truth are seen spiritually in the Church.¹⁰ One should take heed therefore: perhaps even the things written physically by Moses about the tangible Paradise were written also as early types applying to Christ and the Church.¹¹ All things came into being through Christ and for Christ¹² and offer premonitions of his Incarnation. Should we not therefore follow Gregory, the rhetorician and theologian, when he says that Adam was a gardener of deathless plants and divine contemplations in Paradise? Let us rise from the letter, which kills, to the Spirit, which gives life.¹³ Forever the sacred letter ascends with those ascending.

VIII 1. *And the Lord God still caused to spring up from the earth every tree, beautiful to see and good to eat.*¹⁴

It is appropriate now to examine carefully what is "spring up" and what is "spring up from". With respect to things that are said to grow from the earth, the words "springing up" are used for their first appearance. The words "springing up from" are used for things that previously had dried up or withered away. By means of water and agricultural care, they "sprang up from" this, a second time.¹⁵ Thus these words were clearly and aptly used in a prophetic manner about the Church: *And the Lord God still caused to spring up from the earth every tree, beautiful to see and good to eat.*¹⁶ At first, when the Church came into being, it "sprang up" with its own thick, verdant, and

¹ Cf Gen 3:7. ² Cf Gen 2:10-14. ³ Cf Gen 2:9. ⁴ Cf Gen 3:2-3. ⁵ Cf Gen 2:11-12.

⁶ Cf Gen 2:12. ⁷ Cf Gen 3:7. ⁸ Cf Gen 13:10. ⁹ Cf Heb 9:2-5. ¹⁰ Cf Eph 5:31-32.

¹¹ Cf Eph 5:32. ¹² Cf Jn 1:3; Col 1:16. ¹³ Cf Jn 6:63; 2 Cor 3:6. ¹⁴ Gen 2:9.

¹⁵ Cf Jn 15:1-2. ¹⁶ Gen 2:9.

ἔτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς πᾶν ξύλον | ὥραϊον εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρῶσιν. 970A
 Ἄνέτειλε μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀρχαῖς, ἡνίκα γέγονεν ἡ ἐκκλησία χλοερά τε καὶ
 εὐθαλῇ καὶ πυκάζοντα τὰ οἰκεῖα δένδρα ἔχουσα, ἐξηράνθη δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ
 καύσωνος τοῦ πονηροῦ ἡλίου τοῦ μετασχηματιζομένου εἰς ἄγγελον
 760 φωτός, συρίσαντος αὐτῇ διὰ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ ὄφεως, καὶ ταύτην διὰ
 τῆς εἰδωλοατρίας ξηράναντος.

2. Ἐλθὼν οὖν ὁ οὐράνιος ποταμὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεὸς Λόγος καὶ δι'
 ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος ποτίσας καὶ ἀρδεύσας αὐτὴν ἐξανέτειλε καὶ
 ἀνέθαλε καὶ ἀνεξωποίησε τὰ λόγικα αὐτῆς ξύλα, περὶ ὧν εἴρηται ὅτι
 765 *Καὶ ἐξανέτειλε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τῆς γῆς*, τουτέστι μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν
 καὶ ξηρανθῆναι ἔτι κατὰ δευτέραν τάξιν ἐξανεβλάστησεν ἡ λογικὴ
 Χριστοῦ γῆ *πᾶν ξύλον ὥραϊον εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρῶσιν*, ἐν οἷς
 ξύλοις οὐ λέγει ἡ γραφὴ χόρτον, οὐκ ἄχυρα, οὐ χλόην, οὐ βοτάνην, οὐ
 ξύλον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν ὥραϊον καὶ καλὸν εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ εἰς βρῶσιν καὶ
 770 ξύλον ἄκαρπον καὶ γὰρ χόρτος καὶ καλάμη καὶ τὸ ἄχυρον ἐκκόπτεται
 καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ξύλοις, ἀλλὰ
 πάντα ὥραϊα εἰς ὄρασιν, πάντα καλὰ λέγει εἶναι εἰς βρῶσιν, πάντα
 εὐθαλῇ, πάντα θεόβλαστα. Οὐ γὰρ κατὰ πρόσταξιν ἐξανέτειλαν ἐκ γῆς,
 775 ἀλλ' αὐτουργὸς αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς σύμφυτος καὶ σύσσωμος καὶ συγγενὴς
 αὐτῶν γενόμενος γηγενὴς ὡς ἴδια μέλη ἐβλάστησεν αὐτὰ ἐκ γῆς σῶμα
 Χριστοῦ ὄντα καὶ μέλη ἐκ μέρους, ὅλα ὥραϊα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Ὡραῖος
 κάλλει λέγεται *παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων*.

3. Ὅθεν καὶ μετὰ τὴν διάβασιν τῆς ἑκτῆς ἡμέρας ἡ θεία γραφὴ ἱστορεῖ
 τὴν τῶν ξύλων τούτων ἐξανεβλάστησιν, τουτέστι μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σαββά-
 780 του καὶ τῆς νομικῆς λατρείας κατάπαυσιν περὶ τούτων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστι-
 κῶν ὥραϊων ξύλων εἴρηται *Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον ξύλα καρποφόρα καὶ*
πᾶσαι κέδροι. Καὶ πάλιν φησὶν Χορτασθήσονται τὰ ξύλα τοῦ πεδίου, τοῦ
Κυρίου λέγοντος· Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἄμπελος, ὑμεῖς τὰ κλήματα, καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ
μου ὁ γεωργὸς ἐστίν. Ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ ἐδοξάσθη ὁ Πατὴρ μου, ἵνα καρπὸν
 785 *πολὺν φέρητε καὶ γένησθε ἐμοὶ μαθηταί.* Περὶ τούτων τῶν ξύλων ἐβόα
 Ἰουδαῖοις ὁ Σωτὴρ λέγων ὅτι *Ἀρθήσεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὁ ἄμπελὼν καὶ δοθή-*
σεται ἔθνει ἐτέρῳ ποιοῦντι τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ. Ἐκ τούτων τῶν ὥραϊων
 ξύλων, ὡς χρησίμων ὄντων πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ σκάφους τῆς ἐκκλησίας,
 λαβὼν τις ἔλεγε· *Κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι ὡς σοφὸς*
 790 *ἀρχιτέκτων θεμέλιον τέθεικα.*

4. Πρόκριτοι καὶ πρόφυτοι τῶν ὥραϊων τούτων ξύλων εἰσὶν ἐκεῖ οἱ
 ὥραϊοι πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων εἰρήνην. Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ὥραϊοις
 ξύλοις εἰσὶ τὰ ξύλα τῶν δικαίων τῶν πεφυτευμένων παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους

blooming trees. It dried, however, under the heat of the evil sun,¹ dis-
 guised as the angel of light,² who hissed at the Church through the
 mouth of the serpent³ and dried her up through idolatry.

2. Therefore God the Word, the heavenly river of God, arrived. And
 he irrigated her through water and the Spirit⁴ and made her spring up
 from it and bloom again, and he restored her rational trees to life. About
 these trees it was said: *And the Lord God still caused to spring up from*
*the earth.*⁵ That is: the rational earth of Christ, after it had been drained
 and had died, yet bloomed forth a second time⁶ with *every tree beautiful*
*to see and good to eat.*⁷ Among these Scripture does not mention hay,
 chaff, green pasture, or a tree that does not produce fruit, as beautiful
 and good to see and to eat. For the unproductive tree,⁸ hay,⁹ straw,¹⁰ and
 weed¹¹ are cut down and thrown into the fire.¹² But there was no such
 thing among these trees. Rather, it says that all were beautiful to look
 at, all were good to eat, all were thriving, and all were divine young
 shoots.

And they did not spring up from the earth by his command. For
 through his own efforts God was born from the earth and became like
 them in birth, in body,¹³ and in nature.¹⁴ And he caused them to bloom
 from the earth as his own limbs¹⁵ and to become the body of Christ:
 indeed individually they were limbs¹⁶ and as a whole they were beauti-
 ful, since he was called *comely in his beauty beyond the sons of men.*¹⁷

3. Divine Scripture relates that after the sixth day was crossed, after
 the cessation of the Sabbath and worship according to the Law, the trees
 rose up from it. And the following has been said about these beautiful
 trees of the Church: *Praise the Lord, you trees that bear fruit and all you*
*cedars!*¹⁸ And again it says: *The trees of the plain will be satiated.*¹⁹ And
 the Lord said: *"I am the vine, you are the branches,"*²⁰ and *my Father is*
*the vinekeeper.*²¹ For *in this my Father is glorified: that you bear much*
*fruit and become my disciples.*²² The Savior also proclaimed about these
 trees to the Jews: *"The vine will be removed from you and given to*
*another nation, which will produce his harvest."*²³ Since these beautiful
 trees were also useful for building the ship of the Church, someone
 having received them said: *According to the grace of God that has been*
*given to me, like a master builder I have wisely placed the foundation.*²⁴

4. Choice, fruitful, and at the forefront of these beautiful trees, are
 the beautiful feet of the evangelists of peace.²⁵ And among these beauti-
 ful trees are the trees of the just, which have grown beside the mouths of
 the waters. They give their fruit in their season.²⁶ One said: *Like the*
*olive tree, I bear fruit at the home of God.*²⁷ And another sang: *The Lord*
is my shepherd and I lack nothing. In a place of fresh grass, there he
*settled me. By tranquil water he raised me,*²⁸ in order that *the just man,*

¹ Cf Jas 1:11. ² Cf 2 Cor 11:14. ³ Cf Gen 3:1-5, 14-15. ⁴ Cf Jn 3:5; 1 Jn 5:6.

⁵ Gen 2:9. ⁶ Cf Gen 1:11-12; Jn 19:28-30. ⁷ Gen 2:9. ⁸ Cf Mt 21:18-19; Mk 11:12-14;
 Lk 13:6-9; Jude 12. ⁹ Cf Mt 6:30; Lk 12:28; 1 Cor 3:12. ¹⁰ Cf 1 Cor 3:12. ¹¹ Cf Mt 3:12;
 Lk 3:17. ¹² Cf Mt 3:10; Lk 3:9. ¹³ Cf Eph 3:6. ¹⁴ Cf Rom 6:5. ¹⁵ Cf Rom 12:5; 1 Cor
 6:15; 12:12-13, 20, 27; Eph 5:30. ¹⁶ Cf 1 Cor 12:27. ¹⁷ Ps 44(45):3. ¹⁸ Ps 148:1, 9.
¹⁹ Ps 103(104):16. ²⁰ Jn 15:5. ²¹ Jn 15:1. ²² Jn 15:8. ²³ Mt 21:43. ²⁴ 1 Cor 3:10.
²⁵ Cf Is 52:7; Nah 2:1 (1:15); Rom 10:15. ²⁶ Cf Ps 1:3. ²⁷ Ps 51(52):10. ²⁸ Ps 22(23):1.

757 ἀρχαῖ M 758 εὐθαλῆς M^{com} 763 πνεύματος] om. M^{com} 766 κατὰ δευτέραν] M
 καταδευτέραν N κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν P 770 ἄκαρπον] καρπον M^{com} 779 τὴν] om. P
 781 αἰνεῖται P 783 ἄμπελος P 785 εὐβία M 787 ἔθνει] correxi ἔθνη MNP 790 τέθεικα P
 791 Πρόκριτοι M

795 τῶν ὑδάτων, ἃ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῶν διδόασιν ἐν καιρῷ αὐτῶν, ὁ μὲν
λέγων· Ἐγὼ δὲ ὥσει ἐλαία κατάκαρπος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἄλλος
ψάλλων· Κύριος ποιμαίνει με, καὶ οὐδὲν με ὑστερήσει. Εἰς τόπον χλόης ἐκεῖ
με κατεσκήνωσεν, ἐπὶ ὕδατος ἀναπαύσεως ἐξέθρεψέ με, ὅπως Δίκαιος ὡς
φοῖνιξ ἀνθήσῃ, καὶ ἕτερος ὡς ἄρκευθος πυκάζουσα, καὶ ἄλλος ὡς ἰτέα ἐπὶ
800 παραρρέον ὕδωρ καὶ ὡς μῆλον ἐν τοῖς ξύλοις τοῦ δρυμοῦ καὶ ὡς κυπά-
ρισσος καὶ | πεύκη καὶ κέδρος τὸν λειμῶνα τῆς ἐκκλησίας εὐωδιάζοντα
καὶ κατακοσμοῦντα, ἐν ᾧ ἐξανέτειλε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἔτι καὶ ἔτι καὶ εἰς τὸν
αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος πᾶν ξύλον ὡραῖον εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρώσιν.

5. Ὑραῖα ξύλα εἰσὶν ἐκεῖνα περὶ ὧν εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν
ὀράσεις ὄφονται, καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι θεῖα ἐνύπνια ἐνυπνιασθήσονται.
805 Ὑραῖον ξύλον ἦν εἰς ὄρασιν ἐκεῖνο τὸ λέγων· Οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου διὰ
παντός πρὸς τὸν Κύριον. Ὑραῖα ξύλα εἰς ὄρασιν εἰσὶν οἱ ὄρασιν ἔχοντες,
οἶαν εἶχεν ἐκεῖνος ὁ βλέπων Θεοῦ ὀπτασίαν Δανιὴλ λέγων· Ἐθεώρουν ἐν
ὀράματι τῆς νυκτὸς ἕως οὗ θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν. Τοιαύτην ὄρασιν εἶχε καὶ
Ἡσαΐας ὁ λέγων· Ὅρασις Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου, ἦν ἐθεάσατο λέγων·
810 Ἐίδον τὸν Κύριον καθήμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἐπηρμένου. Τοιαύτην
ὡραῖαν ὄρασιν δηλοῖ ὁ λέγων· Ἐγὼ καθεύδω, καὶ ἡ καρδιά μου ἀγρυ-
πνεῖ. Τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ Παῦλος ὁ βλέπων τῇ πνευματικῇ ὀράσει τὸν Κύριον.
Καὶ συντόμως εἰπεῖν, πᾶς νοῦς διορατικὸς καὶ πρὸς θείας ὀράσεις
ἐπιτηδεύων ὡραῖον εἰς ὄρασιν λέγεται εἶναι δένδρον.

6. Καλὸν | δὲ πάλιν ξύλον εἰς βρώσιν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας 972A
ἐστὶ πᾶς διδάσκαλος ὀρθοδοξίας δόγμασι τρέφων τὰ τῆς ποιμνῆς τοῦ
Χριστοῦ πρόβατα καὶ οὐδὲν θανατηφόρον ἢ βλαβερὸν αὐτοῖς παρατιθέ-
μενος μάθημα, ἀλλ' ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ τοὺς καρπούς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος,
οὓς ὁ Ἀπόστολος καὶ ἐβλάστησε καὶ ἀπηρίθμησεν· Ἀγάπην, χαράν,
820 εἰρήνην, χρηστότητα, μακροθυμίαν, ἀγαθωσύνην, πίστιν, πραότητα,
ἐγκράτειαν, καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις ὅμοια. Οὕτως ἐμοί γε δοκεῖ νοεῖν ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰ ξύλα τὰ ὡραῖα εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ καλὰ εἰς βρώσιν, τὰ ἐκείνην
τὴν βρώσιν καὶ ποιοῦντα καὶ προτιθέμενα, οἶαν εἶπε τὸ τῆς ζωῆς δένδρον
τὸ φάσκον ὅτι Ἐμὸν βρώμᾳ ἐστὶν ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Πατρός μου.
825 Αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. |

like a date palm, might bloom.¹ And another spread his leaves like a
juniper tree.² And another was like a willow tree beside flowing water;³
and like an apple tree among the trees of the forest;⁴ and like a cypress,
a pine, and a cedar,⁵ which decorate and make fragrant the meadow of
the Church. Here, the Lord God still, and still and forever and ever
caused to spring up from it every tree, beautiful to see and good to eat.⁶

5. Beautiful are those trees about which God said: *Your young men
will see visions and the old men will dream divine dreams.*⁷ And that
was a beautiful tree to see, the one that said: *My eyes are always on the
Lord.*⁸ And they are beautiful trees to see, they that have a vision like
Daniel's. He saw God appear⁹ and said: *In a vision of the night I gazed
until the thrones were placed.*¹⁰ Isaiah too beheld such a vision and said:
"This is a vision of Isaiah the prophet, what he saw when he said: *I saw
the Lord sitting on a throne raised up high.*"¹¹ Such a beautiful vision
was also revealed by the one saying: *I lie down to sleep, but my heart
remains awake.*¹² And such a one was Paul, who in a spiritual vision saw
the Lord.¹³ Indeed, to put it briefly: every mind that is discerning and fit
for divine visions is, it is said, a tree beautiful to see.¹⁴

6. And every teacher that nourishes with orthodox dogmas the sheep
of Christ's flock is a tree good to eat in the paradise of the Church.¹⁵ This
teacher does not present lessons that are deadly or harmful, but which
have the fruits of the Holy Spirit in themselves. The apostle produced
and enumerated these fruits: *love, grace, peace, kindness, patience, good-
ness, faith, gentleness, endurance, and the like.*¹⁶

So to me it seems correct to consider these trees, which are beautiful
to see and good to eat, as living in the Church.¹⁷ They produce and
provide the food about which the Tree of Life said:¹⁸ *"My food is that I do
the wish of my Father."*¹⁹

The glory and the power be his forever and ever. Amen.

¹ Ps 91(92):13. ² Cf Hos 14:9. ³ Cf Is 44:4. ⁴ Cf S of S 2:3. ⁵ Cf Is 60:13.

⁶ Gen 2:9. ⁷ Acts 2:17; cf Jl 3:1. ⁸ Ps 24(25):15. ⁹ Cf Dan (Theod.) 9:23;

10:1, 7-8, 10. ¹⁰ Dan 7:7, 9. ¹¹ Is 1:1; 6:1. ¹² S of S 5:2. ¹³ Cf Acts 9:3; 22:6; 26:13.

¹⁴ Cf Gen 2:9. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 2:9; Jn 10:16; 21:15-17. ¹⁶ Gal 5:22. ¹⁷ Cf Gen 2:9.

¹⁸ Cf Gen 2:9; 3:22, 24. ¹⁹ Jn 4:34.

798 ἄρεθος P^a corr. 799 ὕδω P^a corr. 801 καὶ² om. M 803 εἰσὴν M 804 ἐνυπνιασθήσονται
add. καὶ οἱ πρεσ M^a corr. 807 δανιήλέγων P^a corr. 808 εἶχεν N καὶ om. N 809 Ἡσαΐας
correcti Ἡσαΐας MNP Ἡσαΐου correcti Ἡσαΐου MNP 816 τρέφω M 819 ἀπηρηθήμεν N
822 ξύλα τὰ om. N

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀκολουθῶς
λόγος ὄγδος Ι

1. Καὶ ἐξανέτειλε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τῆς γῆς πᾶν ξύλον ὠραῖον εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρώσιν καὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ τὸ ξύλον τοῦ εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ.

Πολλῆς τιμῆς ἡμῖν δεῖ τῆς ἀνωθεν ἐπιπνοίας καὶ ἐλλάμψεως εἰς τὸ σαφῶς διαναβλέψαι καὶ εἰπεῖν τίς ἡ ἀληθὴς τούτων δὴ τῶν δύο ξύλων οὐσία τε καὶ ὑπόστασις. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν οὐ δεῖ τὰ σεσιωπημένα τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ διερευνᾶν, δῆλον, πάντα γὰρ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ὠκονόμησε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

2. Ὅθεν καὶ τοῖς σοφοῖς τῶν ὑπομνηματιστῶν οὐ μία οὐδὲ ὁμοία ἡ περὶ τούτων τῶν ξύλων γνώμη γέγονε καὶ ὑπόνοια. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀνέκαθεν προφάντορες κατ' ἐκδοχὴν θεωρίας τὰ δύο ταῦτα φυτὰ ὑμνησαν, οἱ δὲ ὅτι μὴ αἰσθητὰ καὶ βρωτὰ. Θεοδώρητος δὲ ὁ τῶν Κυρζήρησιτικῶν συκὴν εἶπεν εἶναι τὸ ξύλον τοῦ καρποῦ, οὗ ἔφαγεν ὁ Ἀδάμ· ὡσαύτως καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ Ἀντιοχεύς· ὡσαύτως καὶ Ὡριγένης ὁ ἁθλιός. Ἄθλιον δ' αὐτὸν ἀποκαλῶ, ὅτι πολλοὺς καὶ χρησίμους ἰδρώτας καταβαλὼν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ πᾶσαν παλαιὰν καὶ καινὴν γραφὴν κατὰ λέξιν προσφόρως ἐρμηνεύσας ὕστερον, καθὰ καὶ Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παλαιστιναιὸς, τῆς ἀληθείας διωλίσθησε.

3. Τοῦ Πνεύματος τοίνυν τοῦ ἁγίου σιωπήσαντος καὶ ἀποκρύψαντος ἡμῖν τὴν τούτων τῶν δύο ξύλων προσηγορίαν καὶ φύσιν εὐδὴλον ὅτι περ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οὔτε ὠφέλιμος ἡ τῶν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἀποκρυβέντων ἔρευνα καὶ φανέρωσις, ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ | καὶ τοῖς πατράσι ἀσύμφωνος γέγονεν ἡ περὶ τούτων κατάληψις. Οὐκοῦν ἡ ἐκκλησία μὴ τὴν φύσιν τῶν δύο τούτων ξύλων ἐπιζητεῖτω, ἀλλὰ μάλλον τὸ τίνας εἰσὶ τύποι τὰ δύο ταῦτα ξύλα καὶ τίς ὁ ζωοποιὸς καρπὸς καὶ ἡ βρώσις, ἐξ ἧς φαγὼν τις ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ζήσεται καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, τίς δὲ πάλιν ὁ ἕτερος καρπός, ἐξ οὗ γευσάμενός τις τὴν ἰδίαν γύμνωσιν καὶ αἰσχύνην ὀψεται καὶ θανάτῳ αἰωνίῳ ἀποθανεῖται. Ἐπιστημῆσθαι γὰρ ἐχρῆν ὅτι τὸ μὲν τῶν ξύλων τούτων ζωῆς ἡμῖν παρεκτικόν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον θανάτου ποιητικόν, αἵτινες δύο βρώσεις σύμβολα ἴσως ὑπῆρχον ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀρετῆς καρποφόρος καὶ δοτὴρ ὁ Χριστός, ὃν προδιέγραφεν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς· διὸ ὡς ζωὴ καὶ ζωοποιὸς ἐβόα· Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ζωὴ, ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζωὴ ἦν, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἡ ζωὴ γὰρ ἡμῶν κέκρυπται ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, καὶ ὅταν φανερωθῇ ὁ Χριστός, ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν, ζωοποιήσῃ τὰ νεκρὰ ἡμῶν σώματα, ὁ λέγων· Ἰνα ὡς περ Ζῶ ἐγὼ καὶ ὑμεῖς ζήσεσθε, ζῶν γὰρ ὁ Λόγος τοῦ

971B.

972B

titulus

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972C

This is the eighth book in the series by the same author.

I 1. And the Lord God still caused to spring up from the earth every tree, beautiful to look at and good to eat. And the tree of life was in the middle of the garden, and the tree of knowing and understanding good and evil.¹

What was the true essence and character of these two trees? It would require much inspiration and illumination from above for us to see and then explain this lucidly. And clearly it is not right to explore the things passed over in silence by Divine Scripture, since the Holy Spirit has managed all things for our advantage.

2. Therefore even among the wise commentators there has not arisen a single, unanimous understanding or conjecture about these trees. Some, graced with vision from above after receiving contemplation, have sung the praises of these two trees; and others have said that they were neither tangible nor edible. But Theodoret of Cyrillus said that the tree of the fruit from which Adam ate was a fig.² So also Theodore of Antioch. And so also poor Origen. I call him poor, because his work for the Church was prodigious and useful; and especially helpful were his interpretations, word by word, of the Old and New Testaments. Yet later in his life, just like Eusebius of Palestine, he slipped from the truth.

3. The Holy Spirit kept quiet and concealed from us the species and the nature of these two trees. Obviously, it is neither useful nor necessary for the Church to investigate and reveal what God has hid; thus even among the Fathers there was no agreement in their comprehension of these things. Therefore, the Church now should not seek out the physical nature of these two trees. Rather, it should ask: "These two trees: of what are they types? What is the food, what is the life-giving fruit from which someone in the Church can eat and thus live and not die forever?³ And what is the other fruit, from which one tastes and then sees one's own nakedness and shame and dies an eternal death?"⁴

At least this needed to be pointed out: one of these trees offers us life, the other creates death. Perhaps these two foods were symbols of virtue and evil, and the virtuous fruit was carried and shared by Christ, whom the tree of life described beforehand. On account of this, Christ as the life and the giver of life said:⁵ "I am the life."⁶ Life was in him, and his life was the light of men.⁷ Our life has been hidden in Christ.⁸ And when Christ our life appears, he will bring to life our dead bodies.⁹ He is the

¹ Gen 2:9. ² Cf Gen 3:6. ³ Cf Gen 3:22; Jn 11:25-26. ⁴ Cf Gen 2:17; 3:6-7, 10. ⁵ Cf Jn 11:25, 43-44; 14:6. ⁶ Jn 11:25; 14:6. ⁷ Cf Jn 1:4. ⁸ Cf Col 3:3-4. ⁹ Cf Rom 8:11.

8 γνωστὸν] om. P 4 ἐπιπνοίας P 6 σεσίωμένα I^a corr τῇ] om. M 7 διερευνᾶν N^a corr
12 μὴ M Κυρρηστικῶν] correxi κυριστικῶν MNP 14 ὠρυγένης P 17 εὐσεβείους P
18 διολίσθησε P 24 εἰσὺ P 25 φαγὼν τις] scripsi φαγὼν τίς MNP 27 ἔπος M
γευσάμενός τις] scripsi γευσάμενος τίς MNP

Θεοῦ ἐστὶ καὶ ζωὴ καὶ ἀνάστασις. Ὡς περ δὴ πάλιν θάνατος ὑπάρχει ὁ
 πονηρὸς διάβολος, ὃν ἐσήμανε τὸ ἕτερον ξύλον τὸ λεγόμενον γνωστὸν
 καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ. Πρότερον μὲν γὰρ καλὸς ἦν, ἡνίκα γέγονεν, ὕστερον
 40 δὲ ἐγένετο πονηρὸς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσηγορεύθη πρῶτον μὲν ξύλον
 γνωστὸν καλοῦ, εἶτα καὶ πονηροῦ τὸ θανατηφόρον ξύλον ὁ διάβολος,
 περὶ οὗ φησι πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ὁ Χριστὸς ἡ ζωὴ· Ὑμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς
 973A ὡμῶν τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστέ. Ἐκεῖνος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁ
 ἐσθίων ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖται.

4. Εἰ δὲ ζητεῖς καὶ τίνος χάριν ἀπέκρυπεν ἡ θεία γραφή τὰς
 προσηγορίας τούτων τῶν δύο ξύλων, λέγω δὴ τοῦ ζῶντος Υἱοῦ τοῦ
 Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου ἐχθροῦ, μάνθανε ὅτι μιαιφῶ καὶ ἀκαθάρτῳ καὶ
 φιληδόνῳ ἔθνη ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλουσα οὐκ ἠβουλήθη ὅλως ἀποκαλύπτειν
 Ἰουδαίοις τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἵνα μὴ τεκνοθεῖαν καὶ θεογαμίαν καὶ
 50 πολυθεΐαν νοήσωσιν οἱ τὸν βούν καὶ τὴν μυῖαν θεοποιήσαντες. Κατὰ
 τοῦτον γοῦν τὸν τρόπον οὐδὲ τὸν διάβολον αὐτοῖς σαφῶς ἀπεκάλυπεν,
 ἀλλὰ ποτὲ μὲν αὐτὸν ὄφιν, ποτὲ δὲ δένδρον θανατηφόρου καρποῦ
 προσηγόρευσεν ἀποκρύψασα παντελῶς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ τοῦ
 55 αὐτῶν εἰδωλομανίαν, ἵνα μὴ μαθόντες εἶναι τινὰς φύσεις ἀύλους καὶ
 νοερὰς θεοποιήσωσι ταύτας. Καὶ μαρτυρεῖ μου τῷ λόγῳ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς
 διὰ τοῦ Ὡσῆ τοῦ προφήτου ὡδὲ πη πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραὴλ λέγων· Ἐγὼ
 Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς σου στερεῶν οὐρανὸν καὶ κτίζων γῆν, οὐ αἱ χεῖρες ἐκτίσαν
 πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιάν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκάλυψά σοι αὐτὰ τοῦ
 60 πορεύεσθαι ὁπίσω αὐτῶν. Ἐντεῦθεν προφανῶς μανθάνομεν τὸ τίνος
 χάριν ἀπεισιωπήθη ἐν τῇ Μωσαϊκῇ γραφῇ ὁ περὶ ἀγγέλων λόγος ὡς περ
 καὶ ὁ περὶ τούτων τῶν δύο ξύλων, περὶ ὧν φησιν ὅτι Καὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς
 ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ τὸ ξύλον τοῦ εἶδέναι γνωστὸν καλοῦ
 τε καὶ πονηροῦ.

5. Ἐνταῦθα ἡκριβώσαντο τὴν περὶ τούτων τῶν δύο ξύλων λέξιν τινὲς
 τῶν τὰ θεῖα καλῶς ἐρευνᾶν ἐπισταμένων φάσκοντες· Τί δήποτε οὐ λέγει
 ταῦτα ἡ γραφή κατὰ γενικὴν κλησιν ἡ γοῦν ὄντων ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παρα-
 65 δέου, ἀλλὰ δοτικῶς ποιεῖται τὴν λέξιν λέγουσα ταῦτα εἶναι ἐν μέσῳ
 τοῦ παραδείσου· Ὡς ἐκ τῆς λέξεως μανθάνειν ἡμᾶς ὅτι οὐ σύμφυτα οὔτε
 70 συγγενῆ τῶν ἄλλων ξύλων ὑπῆρχον ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ γυμνάσια ἀρετῆς καὶ
 κακίας ἐγενήθησαν πρὸς δοκιμὴν τῆς αὐτεξουσίᾳ ἡμῶν προαιρέσεως.
 Ἀμέλει γοῦν εὔρομεν ἐν τοῖς ἀνοθεύτοις τῶν Ἐξαπλῶν ἀντιγράφων ὅτι
 μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν· Καὶ ἐξανέτειλε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς πᾶν ξύλον
 75 ὥρατον εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρώσιν στίξας ὁ συγγραφεὺς τελείαν
 στιγμήν, ὡς οἷα πληρωθέντος τοῦ περὶ τῶν ξύλων κεφαλαίου, τότε

one who said: "In order that just as *I live*, so also you will live."¹

The Word of God is living² and the life and the resurrection.³

Just so, the evil devil is death. And the other tree, called the knowledge of good and evil,⁴ signified him. Earlier, when Lucifer came into being, he was good; later, he turned evil. So on account of this, he was first called the tree of the knowledge of good; then he became the deadly tree of evil, the devil. It was about him that Christ the Life⁵ said to the Jews: "You are from your father the devil. That one, from the beginning, was a murderer."⁶ And the one that eats from his fruit will die in death.⁷

4. So why did Divine Scripture hide the identities of these two trees—and here I am speaking of the living Son of God⁸ and his hostile opponent? If you look into the matter, you will see it was because Scripture was reporting these things to a sinful, unclean, and hedonistic people. It did not want to reveal the Son of God completely to the Jews, lest they who once had worshipped both the calf and the fly as gods,⁹ should conceive child gods, marriage of gods, and multiplicity of gods.

And following this same method, Scripture did not reveal the devil to them clearly. At one time it identified him as a snake, and at another time as a tree of deadly fruit.¹⁰ And because of their insatiable mania for idolatry, Scripture hid completely all the creation of the invisible world of intelligent powers, so they would not know that some created natures were immaterial and intelligent and would not make these into gods.

God himself gave evidence for my argument. Through Hosea, the prophet to Israel, he somewhere said thus: "I am the Lord your God, who made firm the heaven and created the earth. My hands created all the host of heaven. But I did not reveal these things to you so that you would walk behind them."¹¹ From this we clearly learn why the Scripture of Moses did not explain the story of the angels—just as it kept silent about the two trees. About the trees it said simply: *And the tree of life was in the middle of the garden, and the tree of knowing and understanding both good and evil.*¹²

5. Some have made a careful study of the text about these two trees. And they, experienced and skillful at investigating divine things, asked: "Why does Scripture not say these things with a genitive case, or say 'of the things' in the middle of the garden? Instead, it uses the dative case when it says that they were in the middle of the garden."

This was so that we might learn, by the terms used, that they were not linked by nature or by birth to the other trees. They were created as exercises in good and evil, to test our free will.

Indeed, we find the following in the uncorrupted manuscripts of the *Hexapla*. After the passage *And the Lord God still caused to spring up from the earth every tree, beautiful to look at and good to eat*,¹³ the scribe marked a full stop with a period. It was as if the passage about the trees

40 ξύλον P 41 τὸ| om. P 48 ἐθνεσι M 50 νοήσωσιν] NP^{corr}. νοήσωσιν MNP^{corr}
 intelligent Hv. 52 θανατηφόρου] scripsi θανατηφόρον MNP arborem mortiferum
 fructum ferentem Hv. 53 πανταλῶς P 57 ὡδὲ M 67 ὄντων] scripsi ὄντα MNP
 67/8 παραδείσου] add. καὶ τὸ ξύλον P^{corr}. 68 ἀλλὰ P ad initium lineae 69/70 οὔτε - ταῦτα]
 om. P 74 εἰς ὄρασιν] om. MP

¹ Jn 14:19. ² Cf Heb 4:12. ³ Cf Jn 11:25. ⁴ Cf Gen 2:9. ⁵ Cf Jn 11:25; 14:16.

⁶ Jn 8:44. ⁷ Cf Gen 2:17. ⁸ Cf Mt 16:16; 1 Jn 5:11-12. ⁹ Cf Ex 32:1-8; 2 Kg 1:2-17.

¹⁰ Cf Gen 3:1-3; Mt 7:15-20. ¹¹ Hos 13:4. ¹² Gen 2:9. ¹³ Gen 2:9.

ἀρχὴν στίχου ἐποίησατο λέγων· Καὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ τὸ ξύλον τοῦ εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ, ὡς ἵνα εἴπῃ μεταβατικῶς καὶ εἰσαγωγικῶς ταύτων ἐλθόντων ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ.

6. Καὶ ὅτι μείζων καὶ ζωοποιὸς ὁ Χριστὸς εἶρηται ἡμῖν πρὸ βραχείας.
80 "Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ξύλον ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάζει ἄκουσον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς μιαινοὺς Ἰουδαίους λέγοντος· "Ἡ ποιήσατε τὸ δένδρον καλὸν καὶ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ καλόν, ἢ ποιήσατε τὸ δένδρον σαπρὸν καὶ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ σαπρὸν, ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον γινώσκεται. Ταῦτα δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, ἐπειδὴ ἔλεγον ὅτι Ἐν Βεελζεβούλ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια. Ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος ἐπὶ τὸν κῆπον τοῦ
85 Γολγοθᾶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐξερχόμενος καὶ τὸ ξύλον τοῦ σταυροῦ βαστάζων ξύλον ζωῆς ἑαυτὸν ἐκάλεσε λέγων ταῖς θρηνουσαῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ κοπτομέναις· *Θυγατέρες Ἰερουσαλὴμ, μὴ κλαίετε ἐπ' ἐμέ, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἑαυτάς κλαίετε καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν, εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ ξύλῳ ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν, ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ τί γενήσεται;* Ὑγρὸν, τουτέστι ζωῆς ξύλον ἑαυτὸν λέγων ὁ
90 Κύριος, ξηρὰ δὲ ξύλα καὶ ἄκαρπα καὶ πυρὸς ὕλην τοὺς Ἰουδαίους.

7. Εἰ δὲ καὶ μέσον αὐτὸν ὄντα τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς ἐκκλησίας θέλεις μαθεῖν, ἄκουσον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς λέγοντος· *Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν ὡς ὁ διακονῶν.* "Ὅθεν καὶ Ἰωάννης τοῖς ὄχλοις ἔλεγεν ὅτι *Μέσον ὑμῶν ἔστηκεν ὃν ὑμεῖς οὐκ οἴδατε, ὁ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν μαθητῶν στὰς καὶ ἐμφυσήσας καὶ εἰπὼν· Λάβετε Πνεῦμα ἅγιον κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον· Ὁ Θεὸς ἔστι ἐν συναγωγῇ θεῶν, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ θεοὺς διακρινεῖ, ὃς μεσίτης ὑπάρχων Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐργασάμενος σωτηρίαν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς, ὅστις ἔστι τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς.* "Ὅθεν ὡς ἀκτίστου οὐσῆς τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ
100 τούτου χάριν οὐ λέγει αὐτὸν σύμφυτον τῶν ξύλων, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ ὄντα τοῦ παραδείσου. Ὁμοίως καὶ πονηρὸν, λέγω δὲ τοῦ καλοῦ μέσον ξύλον θανατοποιόν, τοῦ γινώσκειν γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ, διὰ τὸ ἑτεροούσιον αὐτὸν εἶναι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἐκείνων τῶν λεγομένων *ὡραίων ξύλων* τούτου χάριν καὶ αὐτὸν δοτικῇ πτώσει λέγει ἢ γραφῇ
105 ὄντα ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου. "Ὅθεν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ πρὸς τὸν ὄφιν διαλεγομένη *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου* εἶπε τὸ αὐτὸ ξύλον. Μέσα δὲ λέγονται τὰ δύο ξύλα, τὸ τῆς θείας λέγω καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀντικειμένης δυνάμεως, ἐπειδὴ ἐπιθυμητὴ ἐπίσης παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ εὐρίσκεται καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ κακία διὰ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον ἡμῶν τῆς προαιρέσεως. Καὶ οἶμαι διὰ τοῦτο
110 νομοθετῶν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ὁ Θεὸς περὶ τινῶν δύο ξύλων λέγει αὐτῷ· *Ἴδού τίθημι ἐνώπιόν σου σήμερον τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸν θάνατον, ζωῆς γὰρ καὶ θανάτου ὑπῆρχον τὰ δύο ξύλα σημαντικὰ καὶ ποιητικὰ.*

II 1. *Ποταμός δὲ ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἐδέμ ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον.*

76 ἀρχιστίχου Μ καὶ τὸ ξύλον καὶ τὸ ξύλος Ν om. P 76/7 τῆς - παραδείσου om. P ξύλων M^{800r} 78 μετὰ βατικῶς Μ μεταματικῶς Ρ 79 καί? add. ὁ Ρ 80 ἑαυτὸν add. πρὸς τοὺς μιαινοὺς N^{800r} 81/2 καλὸν καὶ - δένδρον om. P 84 βεελζεβούλ scripti βεζεβούλ M^{800r} Ν ζεβουήλ M^{800r} βεζεβούλ Ρ 88 θυγατέρας Ρ 90 γήνηται Ρ 91 ὕλην Ρ 94 ὁ om. Ρ μέσων Ρ 95 ἔστηκεν MP 105/6 ὅθεν - παραδείσου om. Ρ 107 τὸ? om. Ρ 108 καί? om. Ρ

was complete. Then he began a new sentence: *And the tree of life was in the middle of the garden, and the tree of knowing and understanding good and evil.*¹ This was as if to say that there is a transition and introduction when they entered Paradise.

6. It was said a little while ago that Christ is the greatest and the life giver. And to find that he calls himself a tree: just listen to what he says to the Jews that were defiled with blood. *"Either make the tree good and its fruit good; or make the tree bad and its fruit bad. The tree is known by its fruit."*² He said these things to them because they were saying: *"He casts out demons through the leader of the demons, Beelzebul."*³

Similarly, on the way to the garden of Golgotha during the Passion, while carrying the tree of the cross and going out to Adam, he called himself the Tree of Life. He said to the women that were grieving and beating their breasts: *"Daughters of Jerusalem, do not weep for me. But weep for yourselves and for your children."*⁴ For if they do these things to the tree that is thriving, what will happen to the dry?⁵ The Lord was calling himself "thriving": that is, the Tree of Life. But he was calling the Jews trees that were dry, barren, and fuel for fire.

7. If you want to know that he is in the middle of the Paradise, which is the Church, listen to him speak to his disciples: *"I am in the midst of you like a minister."*⁶ Thus also John said to the crowds: *"He stood in the midst of you, but you did not know him."*⁷ And standing in the midst of his disciples,⁸ he breathed on them and said:⁹ *"Receive the Holy Spirit."*¹⁰ This was according to what had been said: *God stands in the gathering of gods. In their midst, he will judge the gods.*¹¹ The one who is the mediator between God and men¹² and who worked out salvation in the middle of the world:¹³ this is the Tree of Life.¹⁴ And since his divinity was uncreated, Scripture did not say that he was born with the trees, but that he was in the middle of the garden.

The situation of the evil one is similar—and here I am speaking of the deadly tree in the middle of the good, the one of recognizing and understanding good and evil.¹⁵ He has an essence different from the human nature of those who are called beautiful trees. Therefore, Scripture says (in the dative case) that he too is in the middle of the Paradise. And when the woman is explaining to the serpent, she also says that the same tree is *in the middle of the garden.*¹⁶ Both trees are said to be in the middle—and here I am speaking of the tree of divinity and the tree of the opposing power—because both virtue and evil are equally desirable to every one who seeks them. We have the power of free choice.

I think that God was speaking about these two trees when he gave the Law to Israel and said: *Look, today I place before you life and death.*¹⁷ The two trees both signified and caused our life and death.

II 1. *A river goes out from Eden to water Paradise.*¹⁸

¹ Gen 2:9. ² Mt 12:33. ³ Lk 11:15. ⁴ Lk 23:28. ⁵ Lk 23:31. ⁶ Lk 22:27. ⁷ Jn 1:26.

⁸ Cf Jn 20:19. ⁹ Cf Gen 2:7. ¹⁰ Jn 20:22. ¹¹ Ps 81(82):1. ¹² Cf 1 Tim 2:5.

¹³ Cf Ps 73(74):12. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 2:9. ¹⁵ Gen 2:9. ¹⁶ Gen 3:3. ¹⁷ Dt 30:15. ¹⁸ Gen 2:10.

115 "Ἐτερος καὶ δεύτερος καὶ ἀνόμοιος τοῦ προτέρου ποτισμοῦ οὗτος ὁ
ποταμός. Ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἐκ γῆς ἀνερχόμενος ὅλον τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς
γῆς κατέκλυξε νεκρὸν αὐτὸ καὶ ἄκαρπον ἐργασάμενος. Διὸ καὶ ἠύχετο
πρὸς Θεὸν τις τῶν προφητῶν λέγων· Κύριος τὸν κατακλυσμὸν κατοικιεῖ,
τουτέστιν ἀναστείλη, καὶ καθιεῖται Κύριος βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Οὗτος
120 δὲ ὁ ποταμός τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξ Ἑδέμ ἐκπορεύεται τὸν παράδεισον ὡς ἰδικὸν
χωρίον καὶ κτῆμα Θεοῦ ἰδιαιρέτως ποτίζων. Ἐπισημῆνασθαι γὰρ ἐχρῆν
ὅτι περὶ ὡς ἡδη καταπαυθέντος ἐκείνου τοῦ προτέρου ποτισμοῦ παρωχη-
κότα αὐτὸν ὠνόμασεν ἡ γραφή λέγουσα· Πηγή δὲ ἀνέβαινε καὶ ἐπότιζε,
τοῦτον δὲ ὡς ἀενάως εἰς αἰῶνα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀρδεύοντα ἐνεστώτα
λέγει, Ποταμός γάρ φησιν ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἑδέμ, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τρυφῆς,
125 ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον.

2. Προασφαλισμένων τοίνυν ἡμῶν ἑαυτοὺς μὴ καταλύειν τὴν κατὰ
τὸ γράμμα σωματικὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἱστορίαν τὴν περὶ τούτων
μάλιστα τῶν προκειμένων ποταμῶν καὶ χωρίων εὐφύχως θεωρήσωμεν,
πῶς καὶ ταῦτα εἰς Χριστὸν προδιετυπώθησαν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.
130 Ἀκούομεν γάρ τινος περὶ τούτου τοῦ ἐκπορευομένου ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς
ἐκκλησίας λέγοντος ὅτι Τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰ ὀρμήματα εὐφραίνουσι τὴν
πόλιν τοῦ Θεοῦ, διότι ὁ ποταμός τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ ἐκ τῆς πατρικῆς πηγῆς
προελθὼν ἐπληρώθη ὑδάτων ἔθνων, ἅτινα ἔθνη εὐηγγελίζετο ὁ προφή-
της λέγων· Καὶ εἰσελεύσεται Κύριος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὡς ποταμός εἰρήνης ὁ
135 λέγων ὅτι Ἐγὼ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μου ἐξῆλθον καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον.
Ἐξῆλθον εἰς σωτηρίαν λαοῦ μου τοῦ σῶσαι τοὺς χριστοὺς μου. Οὐκοῦν
τούτου τοῦ θείου ποταμοῦ τὴν θείαν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐξοδὸν προδιαγράφει
Μωσῆς λέγων ὅτι Ποταμός ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἑδέμ, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς
ἐμπόρου τρυφῆς, ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον δι' ἐκείνου τοῦ ἐκπορευομένου
140 ὕδατος, τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευομένου. Ὁ τοῦτον γὰρ
τὸν ποταμὸν δεχόμενος ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ρεύσουσιν ὕδατος
ζώντος διάφοροι. Τοῦτο γὰρ σαφῶς ἡμᾶς διδάσκει ἡ ἱστορία λέγουσα
τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐξ Ἑδέμ ἐκπορευόμενον εἰς τέσσαρας ποταμοὺς πληθυ-
νόμενον καὶ σχιζόμενον καὶ τὴν τρυφὴν τὴν πνευματικὴν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
145 ποιοῦμενον, περὶ ἧς Δαυὶδ ἔφησε λέγων· Μεθυσθήσονται ἀπὸ πίότητος
οἴκου σου, καὶ τὸν χειμάρρουν τῆς τρυφῆς σου ποτιεῖς αὐτούς, ὅτι παρὰ
σοὶ πηγὴ ζωῆς.

3. Ποταμός δὲ ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἑδέμ ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον· ἐκεῖθεν
ἀφορίζεται εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχάς.

150 Τὸν μὲν καταχθόνιον τοῦ πονηροῦ ποτισμὸν πηγὴν ὁ προφήτης
Μωσῆς προσηγόρευσε δεικνύων αὐταίτιον καὶ γεννήτορα τῆς κακίας
ὄντα τὸν διάβολον καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τινος ἑτέρου παραλαβόντα τὸ κακόν, ἀλλ'

This river is another one, a second one, not like the earlier. That first
one rose from the earth and flooded the whole face of the earth.¹ It made
the earth's face dead and barren. One of the prophets prayed to God
about it, saying: *The Lord will settle the flood*—that is, he will restrain
it—and *the Lord will sit as king forever*.²

This one, however, is the river of God, which flows from Eden.³ In its
own special way, it waters the garden as its own land, the property of
God. It should be pointed out that as soon as that other river had
stopped, Scripture referred to it in the past tense: *a spring rose up and
watered*.⁴ Scripture says, however, that this one remains and waters the
Church continuously forever. *A river*, it says, *goes out from Eden* (that is,
from "delight") *to water Paradise*.⁵

2. Earlier, we made assurances that we would not negate the
physical history of events according to the literal meaning. Yet let us
bravely speculate how these rivers and places now under discussion
were also early types of Christ and the Church.

We hear someone mention this flowing river and the Church, when
he says: *The rush of the river delights the City of God*.⁶ The river of God
went forth from its paternal source and swelled with the waters of the
nations.⁷ And the prophet was announcing this good news about the
nations when he said: *And the Lord will flow to them*⁸ *like a river of
peace*.⁹ And the Lord himself said: *"I have come out from my Father and
gone into the world"*.¹⁰ I have come out for the salvation of my people, to
save my anointed ones."¹¹

Surely Moses describes beforehand the divine exodus from heaven of
this divine river. He says: *A river goes out from Eden*—that is, from a
foreign "delight"—*to water the garden*¹² through the outpouring water,
the Spirit that proceeds from the Father.¹³ And when one receives this
river, diverse *ivers of living water will flow out from inside him*.¹⁴ The
present narrative clearly teaches us this, when it says that the river
that goes out from Eden splits and multiplies into four branches,¹⁵ and
creates spiritual delight for the Church. And David was speaking of this
when he said: *They will become drunk from the richness of your home.
And you will give them drink from the torrent of your delight, because the
spring of life is beside you*.¹⁶

3. *A river goes out from Eden to water Paradise. From there it divides
into four branches*.¹⁷

The prophet Moses talked about the subterranean river of evil as a
source,¹⁸ and thus pointed out that the devil was the generating cause of
wrong. He had not received his evil from someone else: he was the
source and the beginning of sin. But Moses called the grace of

117 τις] scriptis MNP 123 αἰῶνα] N^p corr. αἰῶνα M αἰῶνας N^a corr. ὦνα P 124 γάρ
φησιν] γραφή M^a corr. 126 τὴν κατὰ] om. N 132 ὁ] om. M 138 Μωσῆς P 142 ἱστορία M
144 τὴν] om. P 145 πίότητος] copexi ποιότητος MNP 146 χεῖμαρρουν N^a corr
χεῖμαρουν P 151 προηγόρευσε N δεικνύων P 152 ἀλλ' Pad initium lineae

¹ Cf Gen 2:6. ² Ps 28(29):10. ³ Cf Gen 2:10. ⁴ Gen 2:6. ⁵ Gen 2:10. ⁶ Ps 45(46):5.

⁷ Cf Ps 64(65):10. ⁸ 2 Chr 33:11. ⁹ Is 66:12. ¹⁰ Jn 16:27-28. ¹¹ Hab 3:13.

¹² Gen 2:10. ¹³ Cf Jn 15:26. ¹⁴ Jn 7:38. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 2:10. ¹⁶ Ps 35(36):9-10.

¹⁷ Gen 2:10. ¹⁸ Cf Gen 2:6.

αὐτὸν εἶναι πηγὴν καὶ ἀρχὴν τῆς ἀμαρτίας, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος
 χάριν ὡς ἐκ Πατρὸς πηγιμαίου ἐκπορευομένην ποταμὸν ὠνόμασεν
 155 ἀφορίζομενον ἐκ τῶν ἀπίστων, ποτίζοντα δὲ ἐκ τεσσάρων ἀρχῶν (τῶν
 περάτων φημί τῆς οἰκουμένης) τὸν παράδεισον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν
 πιστευόντων εἰς Χριστόν.

III 1. Ὅνομα δὲ τῷ ἐνὶ Φεισῶν οὗτος ὁ κυκλῶν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν
 Εὐιλὰτ.

160 Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς καταδήλοις τῶν ἐπιγείων χωρῶν τόπος
 καλούμενος Εὐιλὰτ, ὥστε κἀντεῦθεν ἐλέγχομεν τοὺς ἀπίστους ὅτι
 μυστήρια ἡμῖν πνευματικά διηγείται ἡ γραφή. Φεισῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐρμηνεύ-
 εται στόματος ἀλλοιώσις, αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἀλλοιώσις τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ ὑψίστου
 γέγονε τοῦ θείου Λόγου ἀλλοιώσαντος τὸ στόμα καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς
 165 ἐκκλησίας ἐκ βλασφημίας εἰς πίστιν καὶ ἐκ δυσφημίας εἰς θεολογίαν. Καὶ
 Εὐιλὰτ δὲ πάλιν ὠδίνουσα ἐρμηνεύεται καὶ τίκτουσα, σημαίνει γὰρ
 κυρίως τὴν ποτε στεῖραν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκκλησίαν, πρὸς ἣν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ
 φωνῆς τοῦ προφήτου βοᾷ· Εὐφράνθητι, στεῖρα ἢ οὐ τίκτουςα, ῥῆξον καὶ
 βόησον, ἢ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα, διότι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον
 170 ἐκκλησίας ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα Ἰουδαίους, ὅτι στεῖρα ἔτεκεν ἑπτὰ ἢ
 ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἐκκλησία, καὶ ἡ πολλὴ ἐν τέκνοις ἡσθένησε συναγωγὴ, καὶ ὥς ἡ
 ὠδίνουσα ἐγγίζει τοῦ τεκεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὠδίνι αὐτῆς ἐκέκραγεν, οὕτως
 ἐγενήθημεν τῷ ἀγαπητῷ Υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τῷ λεγομένῳ Φεισῶν, τῷ
 175 στόμα ὄντι τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἀλλοιώσαντι τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἐκ φθορᾶς εἰς
 ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ κυκλοῦντι καὶ φρουροῦντι πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Εὐιλὰτ τὴν
 ὠδίνουσαν καὶ τίκτουςαν αὐτὸν Χριστόν.

2. Διὸ ἐπέγαγε λέγων περὶ ταύτης τῆς πνευματικῆς Εὐιλὰτ ὅτι Ἐκεῖ
 οὐ ἔστι τὸ χρυσίον, τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης καλόν, τουτέστιν ἡ
 180 θεότης ἡ | ἐν τῇ γῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λάμπουσα καὶ προσκυνουμένη, τὰ γὰρ
 χρυσία τῶν λοιπῶν γαιῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἡγουν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ τὰ εἰδωλα,
 976A πονηρὰ καὶ ζοφερὰ καὶ κίβδηλά εἰσιν. Ἐν πολλοῖς δὲ τόποις τῆς θείας
 γραφῆς καὶ αὐτὸς διερευνήσας εὐρήσεις εἰς τύπον τῆς θεότητος τοῦ
 Λόγου τὸ χρυσίον λαμβανόμενον, καὶ γὰρ ἡ ξυλίνη κιβωτὸς ἡ γεηρὰ
 χρυσίῳ καθαρῷ περιείληπτο ἐνδοθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν εἰς τύπον τῆς θεότητος.
 185 Ὅμοίως καὶ ὁ ναὸς Σολομῶντος τῷ καθαρῳτάτῳ χρυσίῳ κατακεκόσμη-
 το, καὶ ἡ στάμνος δὲ ἡ χρυσὴ τὸν Χριστὸν ἡμῖν Λόγον προδιέγραφε. Καὶ
 τάχα τούτου χάριν καὶ οἱ Μάγοι τῷ Χριστῷ ἐκ προσώπου τῶν ἐθνῶν
 πάντων τὸ χρυσίον προσήγαγον τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς ἐν βαβυλῶνι εἰδωλο-
 190 λατρίας συντρίψαντες καὶ ταύτην αὐτῷ προσαγαγόντες, ἵνα τὴν
 ἀμαρτωθεῖσαν εἰκόνα τοῦ Ἀδὰμ τὴν κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ

the Holy Spirit flowing out from the Father as from a spring a "river"
 separated from the unfaithful. And from its four branches (and here I
 am speaking of the four boundaries of the inhabited world) it waters the
 Paradise of the Church of those believing in Christ.

III 1. The name of one is Phison. This is the one circling all the land
 of Hevilat.¹

In all the known lands upon the earth there is no place called
 Hevilat. From this fact, therefore, we are able to prove against
 unbelievers that Scripture is explaining spiritual mysteries to us.

Phison is translated as "a change of mouth". This change of the right
 hand of the Highest² occurred when God the Word changed the mouth
 and the spirit of the Church from blasphemy to faith, and from slander
 to talk of God. Hevilat is translated as "being in labor" and "giving
 birth". It particularly signifies the Church among the nations. It once
 was sterile. Then God called out to it through the voice of the prophet:
*Be happy, you who are infertile and not giving birth. Break out and
 shout, you who are not in labor. Because the children of the Church, once
 barren, are many more than of the woman having a husband among the
 Jews,³ because the Church of the Gentiles, which once was infertile, has
 given birth to seven. The synagogue that had many children has become
 weak.⁴ Like one in labor she is near to giving birth, and cries out in her
 agony. That is how we have been engendered to the beloved Son of God,⁵*
 who is called Phison because he is the "mouth" of the Father and he
 "changes" our kind from corruptible to incorruptible. He encircles and
 embraces all the land of Hevilat, which is in labor and gives birth to
 Christ himself.

2. Therefore, he added this statement about the spiritual Hevilat:
Gold is there; and the gold of that land is good.⁶ This is the divinity that
 shines and is worshipped in the land of the Church. The gold of the
 other lands of the nations—their gods and idols—is adulterated, dim,
 and worthless.

In many passages of Divine Scripture, if you yourself look, you will
 find that gold is used as a type of the divinity of the Word. Even the
 wooden, earthly ark was covered inside and out with pure gold as a type
 of his divinity.⁷ Similarly, the temple of Solomon was filled with purest
 gold.⁸ And the golden jar was a prefigurement for us of Christ the Word.⁹
 And perhaps on account of this, the Magi presented gold from all the
 Gentile nations to Christ.¹⁰ They had ground down the image of idolatry
 in Babylon and presented this to him.¹¹

The image of Adam had been made in the image and the likeness of
 God.¹² But it became dim, it was worn away by passions, and it became

¹ Gen 2:11. ² Ps 76(77):11. ³ Is 54:1. ⁴ 1 Sam 2:5. ⁵ Is 26:17. ⁶ Gen 2:11-12.

⁷ Cf Ex 25:10-11; Dt 10:1; Heb 9:4. ⁸ Cf 1 Kg 6:21-22 (*secundum textum Origenis*);
 2 Chr 3:5. ⁹ Cf Ex 16:33; Heb 9:4. ¹⁰ Cf Mt 2:11. ¹¹ Cf Is 21:9. ¹² Cf Gen 1:26-27.

154 πηγιμαίου P 155 τῶν] MNP 160 καταδήλοις] *correxī* καταδειλοῖς MNP
 162 ἡμῶν M 163 στόματος ἀλλοιώσις] *correxī*; cf. 525/6 στόματος ἀλλοιώσεως MNP *os*
alterationis Hv. 165 καὶ] *om.* MP 167 πρὸ P 170 ἄνδρα Ἰουδαίους] P ἄνδρα, Ἰουδαίους
 MN 170/1 ἢ ἐξ - συναγωγῇ] *om.* P 172 ὠδίνι] M ὠδίνι N ὠδίνῃ P 179 λάμπουσιν P
 183 ξυλίνη P 185/6 κατεκεκόσμητο M 186 χρυσή P 190 κατ'] *om.* M

γενομένην τὴν κακῶς παραχαρᾶσθαι καὶ τοῖς πάθεσι χειροτριβη-
θεῖσαν καὶ λειψὴν τῶν θείων ἐντολῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἰοῦ τοῦ ὀφειλῶς γεγεννημένην
ὡς θεῖος χαρακτήρ Χριστός, ὁ χαρακτήρ τῆς πατρικῆς ὑποστάσεως,
ἀναμορφώσῃ ἐαυτὸν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ δούλου μορφῇ μορφώσας καὶ τῇ
195 σφραγίδι τοῦ βαπτίσματος δι' ὕδατος καὶ πυρὸς ἀνακαθάρῃ τὸν οἰκεῖον
λόγον ἐν αὐτῇ τῆς πίστεως ἀνατυπώσας, ὅπως πάλιν γένηται τὸ χρυσί-
ον τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης καλὸν κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον περὶ τῆς πνευματικῆς
Εὐλὰτ ἐκκλησίας, ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ καὶ μόνη ἐστὶ τὸ δόκιμον καὶ ἀνόθευτον
τῶν δογμάτων χρυσοῦν.

200 3. Τὴν δὲ κιβωτὸν τὴν προσημαίνουσαν τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκκλησίαν
ἐνδοθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν περιελήφθαί φησι χρυσίῳ καθαρῷ τῷ τῆς θεότητος,
ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἔξω αὐτῆς, ἃ ὁρᾷ μόνον ὁ Ἰουδαῖος, ὁ Θεὸς καταστράπτει καὶ
τὰ ἔσω, ἃ σὺν τοῖς ἔξω ὁ ἐθνικός λαὸς κατοπτρεύει, ὁ αὐτὸς καταυγάζει
πανταχόθεν αὐτὴν καταφωτίζων, κἂν ὁ Ἰουδαῖος καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἔξω
205 δοκιμότητα οὐκ οἶδε διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἔσω ἄγνοιαν. Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Σολομῶντος
ναὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον ἐτύπου ναόν, εἰς ὃν οἰκεῖ ἡ Τριάς, ὅς ἔσωθεν μόνον
χρυσῷ καταστράπτεται διὰ τὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔσωθεν
μόνον ὀφείλει ἔχειν τὴν τῶν ἔργων λαμπρότητα, μὴ καὶ ἔξωθεν κατ'
ἐπίδειξιν, ὅτι καὶ ἡ ἀστραπή τῆς θεότητος τὴν ψυχὴν αὐγάζει καὶ
210 χρυσοειδῇ καθιστᾷ, τὸ σῶμα δ' ἀτημέλητον μένει, οὐ γὰρ τούτου λόγος,
ὡς συνέβη πρὸς τὰ ἔσω τὸ σπούδασμα. Καὶ ἡ στάμνος δέ, εἰ μὲν εἰς ψυχὴν
ληφθῇ, τὸ μάννα φέρει Χριστόν, εἰ δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τὸν ἄρτον φέρει
τὸν μυστικόν, αἵτινες οὐκ ἐπὶ ζουσι εἰς τὴν σήμερον καὶ αὔριον καὶ ἔξῃς
συντηροῦσαι τὸ μάννα. Γίνεται γὰρ ἡ μὲν ὅλη Θεὸς χάριτι τὴν χρυσοειδῇ
215 τῆς θεότητος αὐγὴν κατὰ ἀνάκρασιν δεξαμένη, ἡ δὲ τὰ καθαρὰ τῆς θεο-
λογίας καὶ ἀνόθευτα δόγματα δεξαμένη καὶ τούτοις καταλαμπρυνομένη.

4. Καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐνθα ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνθραξ καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος.

Ἄνθραξ οὐράνιος ἡλιος Θεὸς Λόγος, ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν πῦρ κατανα-
λίσκου. Διὸ καὶ ἀνθρακες ἀνήφθησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, τούτου τοῦ λεγομένου
220 ἀνθρακος, | πάντες οἱ σύμμορφοι τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι φωστήρες,
πρὸς οὓς ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου. Τούτου τὸν ἀνθρακα
προδιέγραφε τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου κάκεῖνος ὁ ἀνθραξ, ὃν Ἡσαΐας ἐθεάσατο ἐν
μέσῳ τῆς λαβίδος ὑπάρχοντα καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτοῦ καθαίροντα.
Λαβὶς δὲ Χριστοῦ διὰ δύο πτυχίδων τοῦτον κατέχουσα ἡ ἀχραντος
225 Μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πανάγιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα. Ἐκεῖ ἐστίν, ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν
δηλαδή, ὁ ἀνθραξ κατεχόμενος.

5. Εἴτ' ἐπάγει· Καὶ ὁ λίθος ἐστὶν ὁ πράσινος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ποταμῷ. Τὸ
μὲν πρῶτον τοῦ ἀνθρακος χρῶμα οὐράνιον, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἐπίγειον. Διὰ

191 πάθεσιν MN^{com}. 194 τῇ ἰσμ. MP μορφῇ] σμ. MP 201 φησὶν N 202 μόνον] scripsi
μόνος MNP 203 ἐθνηκός P κατοπτρεύει] MNP forsitan κατοπτρεύει aspicis Hv.
205 δοκιμότητα N τοῦ ἰσμ. P 206 ἐτύπου P μόνον] μὲν P 208 ὀφείλει] correxi
ὀφείλει MN 210 δὲ N μένει] correxi μένη MNP 212 μάννα M εἰ δ' N 213 εἰς τὴν]
correxi τὴν εἰς MNP 214 συντηροῦσαν N τὴν] σμ. P 221 ἔλεγε P 224 πτυχίδων N
κατέχουσιν M 228 ἐπείγειον N^{com}

cheaply debased. Through the venomous alloy of the snake, it became no
more than a scrap of God's original issue. Then the divine stamp, Christ,
the stamp of his Father's person, transformed it.¹ Christ changed
himself in it to the figure of a servant; and with the seal of Baptism,² he
cleansed it through fire and water.³ And finally he hammered upon it his
own motto of faith.

So once again it became the good gold of that land, in accordance with
what was written about the spiritual Hevilat, the Church.⁴ In the
Church and in it alone is the gold that has been proven pure in dogma.

3. Scripture says that the ark was covered inside and out with the
pure gold of divinity.⁵ Thus it became a prophetic image of the Church of
the Gentiles. The Jew sees only the external side. But God makes the
outside to shine, and also sheds light on the inside, which the Gentile
race looks at along with the outside. God himself illuminates it and
makes it glow from all sides, even if the Jew, through his ignorance of
the inside, does not even know the complete excellence outside.

The temple of Solomon was a type of the human sanctuary, in which
the Trinity lives. It was brilliant with gold on the inside alone,⁶ because
the sanctuary of God in man ought to have the brilliance of its works on
the inside only—not on the outside for show. The lightning of divinity
illuminates the soul and makes it like gold, while the body remains of
little concern. There is no reckoning of it, when one is visited by an
eagerness for the things inside.

The golden jar—if it is taken as the soul—carries the manna,⁷ which
is Christ. But if it is taken as the Church, it carries the mystical bread.
These keep the manna and do not smell of rot today, tomorrow, or the
next.⁸ And through grace, the whole soul becomes divine; through
admixture, it receives the golden gleam of divinity. The Church receives
the pure and unadulterated doctrines of theology and through them is
completely illuminated.

4. And there, where there is carbuncle and green stone.⁹

Carbuncle is the heavenly sun, God the Word: for our God is a
consuming fire.¹⁰ The coals have been set on fire by him,¹¹ who is called
carbuncle: all who are identical to his image have become luminaries.¹²
And to them he said: *I am the light of the world.*¹³ This carbuncle of God
the Word was described beforehand by that coal which Isaiah saw: it
was clamped in forceps and purging his sins.¹⁴ The forceps, which was
holding Christ between its two beams, was his flawless mother and his
all-holy body. The carbuncle is held there:¹⁵ in between them, obviously.

5. Then Scripture adds: *and green stone* is there in the same river.¹⁶
So first there is the heavenly color of carbuncle, and second there is the
earthly color. On account of this, Scripture does not call the carbuncle a

¹ Cf Heb 1:3. ² Cf Ps 65(66):12. ³ Cf Phil 2:7. ⁴ Cf Gen 2:11-12. ⁵ Cf Ex 25:10-11;
Heb 9:4. ⁶ Cf 1 Kg 6:21-22 (*secundum textum Origenis*). ⁷ Cf Ex 16:33. ⁸ Cf Ex 16:20,
24. ⁹ Gen 2:12. ¹⁰ Dt 4:24; 9:3; Heb 12:29. ¹¹ Ps 17(18):9. ¹² Cf Rom 8:29.
¹³ Jn 8:12. ¹⁴ Cf Is 6:6-7. ¹⁵ Gen 2:12. ¹⁶ Gen 2:12.

τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδὲ προσαγορεύει λίθον τὸν ἀνθρακα ὡς τύπον ὄντα τῆς ἐν
 230 οὐρανῷ θεότητος, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ αἰθὴρ ὁ πυροειδὴς ἐν οὐρανῷ, ἀλλὰ τὸν
 πράσινον προσαγορεύει λίθον ἐκ γῆς τικτόμενον καὶ τύπον ὄντα τῆς
 γεηρᾶς σαρκὸς τοῦ Λόγου. Διότι δὲ πᾶσα σὰρξ χόρτος, πᾶς δὲ χόρτος
 χλοάζων ἐν χλωρίζουσῃ ὁράται χροῖα ἡγουν πρασίνω, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ
 235 σαρκικὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς ἐκ γῆς ἀναβλαστῆσαν τῷ τοιῷδε χρώματι
 παρεικάσθη. "Ὅθεν καὶ ὁ θεόφρων Δανιὴλ τὴν ἑνσαρκον οἰκονομίαν λίθον
 ἐκήρυξε λέγων ὅτι *Λίθος ἐτμήθη ἐξ ὄρους παρθενικοῦ ἄνευ χειρῶν*
σπορᾶς καὶ φθορᾶς, λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν τῇ σαρκὶ οἱ προσκόψαντες
τοῦ Χριστοῦ μιᾶς οἰκοδόμοι, οἱ νομίζοντες τὸν λαὸν οἰκοδομεῖν γραμ-
 240 *ματεῖς τε καὶ Φαρισαῖοι, περὶ οὗ λίθου φησὶν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ διὰ φωνῆς ἑτέρου*
προφήτου: 'Ἰδοὺ τίθῃμι ἐν Σιών λίθον, ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτὸν μὴ
καταισχυνθῇ.

6. Ταῦτα ἡμᾶς, καθάπερ ἔγω γε οἶμαι, ἡ θεία γραφὴ διὰ τούτων τῶν
 ποταμῶν καὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρακος καὶ τοῦ σμαράγδου αἰνιγ-
 245 ματωδῶς παιδεύει τὰ δόγματα. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ χρυσοχόους ἡμᾶς καὶ
 λιθουργοὺς καὶ χειμεντὰς χρυσοκολλήτων λίθων ἀπεργάσασθαι ἡ γραφὴ
 βουλομένη καὶ παιδεύουσα ταῦτά φησιν.

IV 1. Ἰδωμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐπόμενα τῆς γραφῆς. Εἰποῦσα γὰρ τὸν
 πρότερον ποταμὸν Φεῖσων ἐπήγαγε λέγουσα· *Καὶ ὄνομα τῷ δευτέρῳ*
ποταμῷ Γεῶν· οὗτος ὁ κυκλῶν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Αἰθιοπίας. Εἰλκυσεν ἡμᾶς
 250 προῖων ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τὰ πλάτη τῶν Νειλῶων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ναμάτων πρὸς
 τὸν Γεῶν χειραγωγήσας, πρὸς ὃν μάλιστα καὶ τὸν τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου
 ποταμὸν ὀχετεύομεν. Καὶ δεῖ πάντως εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀστειότερον
 περιστρέψαι τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ῥυσι-
 255 δρομοῦντας ποταμοὺς πολλὴν τινα τὴν οἰκειότητα καὶ ιδιότητα πρὸς
 Χριστὸν ὁρῶμεν ἔχοντα τὸν λεγόμενον τοῦτον Γεῶν ποταμόν. Ὡς γὰρ
 οἱ καλῶς καὶ διηκριβωμένως τὴν Ἑβραϊαν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μεταφρά-
 σαντες γλῶσσάν φασι, Γεῶν ἐρμηνεύεται ἐκχύτης ἢ κενώτης, ὃ ἐστὶ κατὰ
 ἀλήθειαν ὁ Χριστὸς ὡς μὲν ἐκχύτης λέγων· *Ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματός*
μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα, ὡς δὲ κενώτης· *Ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσε μορφὴν δούλου*
 260 *λαβών, ἀνακαινίσας τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀνακαινίσας τὸ*
πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς καὶ πνεῦμα εὐθὲς ἐγκαινίσας ἐν τοῖς ἐγκάτοις ἡμῶν.

2. "Ὅθεν καὶ δευτερογενὴς τοῦ παραδείσου εὐθέως μετὰ τὸν Φεῖσων ὁ
 Γεῶν τάττεται σημαίνων τὸν δευτερογενῶς Χριστὸν ἐπὶ γῆς γεννηθέντα
 τὴν δευτέραν διὰ σαρκὸς γέννησιν μετὰ τὴν προαιώνιον αὐτοῦ ἐκ
 265 Πατρὸς ὁμοούσιον γέννησιν. Καὶ τάχα τούτου χάριν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ
 ποταμὸς Ἰησοῦς εὐθέως γεννηθεὶς ἐπὶ γῆς γηγενὴς ἐκ Παρθένου καὶ ἰ
 Βηθλεεμίτιδος τοῦ σπηλαίου πηγῆς πρὸς τὸν Γεῶν ποταμὸν ἐν 978A

stone. It is a type of the divinity in heaven, since also the ether looks like
 fire in heaven. But that which is green is called a stone. It is born from
 the earth and is a type of the earthly body of the Word.

All flesh is grass.¹ And all grass, when it buds, appears pale green in
 color. Therefore the physical nature of Christ, since it sprouted from the
 earth, was compared to such a color. And Daniel, of godly mind, said
 that the Incarnation was like a stone. He said: *The stone was hewn from*
*a virgin mountain without the hands of seed and corruption.*² But the
 blood-stained builders rejected the stone,³ after they had struck against
 the humanity of Christ. The scholars and the Pharisees were afraid that
 he was building up the people.⁴ And God spoke through the voice of
 another prophet about this stone: *Look. I am placing a stone on Zion, so*
*that everyone who believes in him will not be put to shame.*⁵

6. I think that Divine Scripture, through these rivers and gold and
 carbuncle and emerald, is enigmatically teaching us these doctrines.
 Scripture does not tell us such things because it wants to teach us to
 become goldsmiths, stone workers, or alchemists of gems soldered with
 gold.

IV 1. Let us look at what follows in the text. After it speaks about the
 earlier river, the Phison,⁶ it introduces another: *And the name of the*
*second river is Geon. This is the one circling all the land of Ethiopia.*⁷
 Having guided us to the Geon, the text carries us in its tide to the broad
 waters of the Nile in Egypt, for it is especially with this river that we
 associate the river of this text. Indeed, it is completely necessary for our
 discussion to turn, with special grace, toward the land of Egypt, for we
 see that the river, called here the Geon, has a relationship to Christ
 beyond all other rivers flowing upon the earth.

They who can translate the Hebrew language well and accurately
 into Greek say that *Geon* means "he who pours himself out" or "he who
 empties himself". This is Christ, precisely. As the one who pours himself
 out, he said: *"I pour out from my Spirit to all humanity."*⁸ And as he who
 empties himself: *He emptied himself and took on the shape of a slave.*⁹
 And in this way, he renewed the old man,¹⁰ renewed the face of the
 earth,¹¹ and inaugurated a correct spirit within us.¹²

2. For this reason, the Geon was born from Paradise second, right
 after the Phison.¹³ This was a sign: Christ would be born upon the earth
 in his second birth, his Incarnation, after his consubstantial birth from
 the Father, which was before all time. And the river of God,¹⁴ Jesus,
 after he was born upon the earth from the Virgin, immediately went
 from the grotto spring of Bethlehem¹⁵ to the Geon River in Egypt,¹⁶

¹ Cf Is 40:6. ² Dan 2:45 (*versio Theodotionis*). ³ Cf Ps 117(118):22; Mt 21:42; Mk 12:10; Lk 20:17; Rom 9:32. ⁴ Cf Mt 21:45; Lk 20:19. ⁵ Is 28:16; Rom 9:33; 10:11; 1 Pet 2:6. ⁶ Cf Gen 2:11. ⁷ Gen 2:13. ⁸ J1 3:1 (2:28); Act 2:17. ⁹ Phil 2:7. ¹⁰ Cf Rom 6:6; Eph 4:22; Col 3:9. ¹¹ Cf Ps 103(104):30. ¹² Cf Ps 50(51):12. ¹³ Cf Gen 2:11, 13. ¹⁴ Cf Ps 64(65):10. ¹⁵ Cf Mt 1:23; 2:1; Lk 2:4, 7. ¹⁶ Cf Mt 2:13-14.

231 πράσιον N^acorr. 236 ἐκήρυξε M ὄρους M 238 μίζοντες P 244 χρυσαχόους M^acorr.
 245 χυματᾶς N χρυσοκολλῇ τῶν P 246 βουλευμένη I^acorr. 250 εἰλκῶων M 251 τὸν I
 στη. M 252 πάντως M 267 βηθλεεμίτιδος N^acorr

Αἰγύπτῳ πορεύεται, ὅτι δεύτερος ἐκ παραδείσου ὁ Γεὼν καὶ δεύτερος τῇ ὑποστάσει ἐκ Πατρὸς ὁ Υἱός.

270 3. "Ὅθεν καὶ ἐξ ὕψους τῶν καταρρακτῶν ὁ Γεὼν ἐκπορεύεται καὶ κατέρχεται, ὅτι καὶ ἐξ ὕψους τῶν οὐρανίων καταρρακτῶν ἐπὶ γῆς κατελήλυθε. Τὴν ἄνω τῆς Αἰθιοπίας καὶ τὴν κάτω τῆς Αἰγύπτου χώραν ποτίζει ὁ Γεὼν καὶ πλουτίζει, καθὰ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια πλουτίζων καὶ φωτίζων ἐστίν. Ἐξ ἀγνώστων ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀορά-
275 των καὶ ἀνεπιβράτων καὶ ἐξ ἀνεξερευνητῶν τόπων ἀμφότεροι προερχόμενοι εἰς κατοικουμένους τόπους κατῴσιν.

4. Καὶ ἐν πᾶσι δὲ πράγμασι καὶ σχήμασι καὶ ὑποδείγμασιν ὁ Γεὼν κηρύσσει καὶ σαφειστάτως βοᾷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰ μυστήρια. Διὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ποτε τό τε αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ ὁ Νεῖλος ἀναβλύσας διὰ τοῦ πράγματος ἡμῖν
280 προεκήρυξε τὸ αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ πλευρᾶς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν Γολγοθᾷ ἀναβλύσαν. Γαίαν τε πᾶσαν ποτίζων, οὗτος ὁ Γεὼν ὁμοῦ καὶ αὐθις εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον τὸν πρὶν ἀποκαθιστάμενος ὁράται προτυπῶν Χριστὸν κόσμον ποτίσαντα καὶ φωτίσαντα ὁμοῦ καὶ λέγοντα ὅτι Ἐγὼ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μου ἐξηλθὼν καὶ πάλιν πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα μου
285 ὑπάγω ἐν τοῖς προτέροις μου ἀποκαθιστάμενος ἀπεριγράπτοις τόποις. Οὗτος ὁ περιχαρέστατος καὶ καρποδότης Νεῖλος ἔκτεινε πάλαι γόνους μιᾶς Φαραωνίτιδος πρωτοτοκίας κελεύσει νομοθέτου θανάτῳ παρα-
πεμφθέντας προμηνύων τὸν Χριστὸν τὸν κτείναντα τὰ πρωτοτόκια Φαραῶ τοῦ διαβόλου, λέγω δὴ ἀσέβειαν καὶ εἰδωλολατρίαν ἐν βυθῷ
290 ὕδατος τοῦ βαπτίσματος θανατωθέντα.

5. Οὗτος ὁ Γεὼν ἡμῖν διεζωγράφησε πρῶτος Αἰγυπτίων τὰς ἀνηκέστους τιμωρίας, ἃς ἐπήγαγε Κύριος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τοῖς λαοῖς τῶν δαιμόνων. Μόνος ὁ Γεὼν ἡμῖν ἔσπευεν Ἰωσήφ βασιλέα πάντα τὰ κατὰ Χριστὸν ἡμῖν προτυποῦντα καὶ λαλοῦντα. Πρώτη πασῶν τῶν
295 ἐθνικῶν χωρῶν ἡ Νειλῶα γαῖα τεθέαται Θεὸν ἐν σαρκὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐνδημοῦντα, καὶ οὐδεμία χώρα βαρβάρων ἀλλοφύλων ἐν σαρκὶ Χριστοῦ πρόσσωπον ἐν κόσμῳ ἐώρακεν, εἰ μὴ Αἴγυπτος μόνη. Ἐν ταύτῃ τὸ πάσχα τοῦ Χριστοῦ πάθους τύπος ὁ ἄμνος ἐσφάγη πρῶτος. Ἐν ταύτῃ ἡ λύτρω-
σις τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡ ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ τυράννου προδιεγράφη κόσμου. Αἴγυπτος
300 εἶδε πρώτη ἁμνοῦ αἷμα πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐν οἰκίαις πρὸς σωτηρίαν σημειωθὲν καὶ δείκνυσι τὸ τοῦ ἁμνοῦ Χριστοῦ αἷμα πρὸς ἐσπέραν τῶν χρόνων ρυέν, ἕως οὗ τὸν οἶκον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐχρωματούργησε.

6. Μετὰ τὸν νομικὸν χειμῶνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀνάβασιν εἰς τὸ ἔαρ ἐν σταυρῷ ποιήσας ὁ Κύριος ἐκεῖθεν ἐκ πλευρᾶς ζωῆς ἡμῖν ὕδωρ ἐπήγαγεν
305 ἐν τῷ κήπῳ τοῦ Γολγοθᾷ. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Γεὼν μετὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τὴν

268 αἰγύπτα P 270 καταρρακτῶν M 271 καὶ] om. M ὁ Χριστὸς] Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος M 272 κατελήλυθεν M 276 κατῴσιν P 281 ποτίζων] MN πόζων P 282 ὁράτε P 283 φωτίσαντα καὶ ποτίσαντα P 287 πρωτοτοκίας] om. N 289 ἐν] ἐκ M 293 ὁ] om. N^{2. corr.} τὰ] om. P 294 πᾶσα N 295 ἐθνικῶν P 298 τόπος P ὁ] om. P ἐσφάγη M ἐσφάγῃ P 302 οἶκτον P

because the Geon flowed from the garden second and the Son came from the Father as second in person.

3. The Geon comes down from the height of the cataracts because Christ came to earth from the height of the heavenly cataracts. The Geon irrigates and enriches the upper land of Ethiopia and the lower land of Egypt, just as Christ is enriching and illuminating the things of heaven and earth.¹ Both proceed from places unknown, invisible, unreachable, and unsearchable, and go down to inhabited places.

4. Indeed, in many actions, configurations, and patterns, the Geon announces and very clearly declares the mysteries of Christ.

First, the Nile once gushed both blood and water.² Through this action, it predicted for us the blood and water that gushed from the side of Jesus,³ the river of God on Golgotha.⁴

And the Geon, when it has watered all the earth, returns and settles into its former place. This seems to be a type of Christ, who bathed the world with light and said: "I have come out from my Father and again I return to my Father,"⁵ settling into my former place, which cannot be described."

This Nile, fruitful and very joyful, killed the offspring, the firstborn, of the evil court of Pharaoh. They were sent to death by command of the lawgiver [Moses].⁶ Thus the river foreshadowed Christ, who was to kill the firstborn of that other Pharaoh, the devil. And here I am speaking of impious idolatry, which was killed in the depths of the water of Baptism.

5. The Geon was the first to describe for us the deadly retributions against the Egyptians, which the Lord Jesus would bring on our behalf against the demonic peoples.⁷ And the Geon alone crowned Joseph as king for us,⁸ who was a prototype communicating to us all the things concerning Christ. And the land of the Nile was the first of all Gentile countries to behold God in the flesh, when he emigrated to it.⁹ Indeed no country of non-Greek speaking foreigners saw the face of Christ in the flesh, while he lived in this world, but Egypt alone. And here the first paschal lamb was slaughtered:¹⁰ a type of the passion of Christ. He thereby ransomed the nations from the fist of the tyrant of the world: and this was described beforehand in Egypt.¹¹ Yes it was Egypt that first saw the blood of the lamb at evening:¹² a sign of salvation among their homes, it also pointed out the blood of the lamb Christ,¹³ which flowed near the evening of the ages, until it painted the home of the Church.

6. After the frigid winter of the Law, the Lord made his ascent upon the cross to bring spring. And from his side,¹⁴ the water of life gushed into the garden of Golgotha for us.¹⁵ On account of this, the Geon, after

¹ Cf Jn 1:9; Col 1:16. ² Cf Ex 7:20. ³ Cf Jn 19:34. ⁴ Cf Ps 64(65):10; Mt 27:33; Mk 15:22; Jn 19:17. ⁵ Jn 16:10, 27-28; cf Jn 13:3. ⁶ Cf Ex 12:29-30. ⁷ Cf Ex 7:14-12:30. ⁸ Cf Gen 41:39-46; 45:8. ⁹ Cf Mt 2:13-15. ¹⁰ Cf Ex 12:6, 21. ¹¹ Cf Ex 14:30; 15:13, 16. ¹² Cf Ex 12:7, 22-23. ¹³ Cf Jn 1:29, 36; 19:34, 36. ¹⁴ Cf Jn 19:34. ¹⁵ Cf Mt 27:33; Mk 15:22; Jn 19:17.

σωτήριον τοῦ λαοῦ ποιούμενος ἀνάβασιν πρὸ πάντων ποτίζει Αἰθίοπας
 κηρύττων ἡμῖν ὅτι πρῶτους τοὺς ἐσκοτισμένους λαοὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν σώζει
 καὶ φωτίζει καὶ ποτίζει Χριστός, περὶ ὧν φησιν ὁ Δαυὶδ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ·
 310 Δεδοξασμένα ἐλαλήθη περὶ σοῦ, ἡ πόλις τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἀλλόφυλοι
 καὶ Τύρος καὶ λαὸς τῶν Αἰθιόπων, οὗτοι ἐγενήθησαν ἐκεῖ. Αἰθιοπία γὰρ
 προέφθασε χεῖρα αὐτῆς τῷ Θεῷ διδοῦσα καὶ ποιῶσα συνθήκας πρὸ
 πάντων Χριστῷ δι' ἐκείνου τοῦ εὐνούχου, ὃς ἦν ὁ Κανδάκης τῆς βασιλίσ-
 315 σης τῶν Αἰθιόπων ἐκκλησίας, ἣτις Χριστῷ ἐνωθεῖσα | βοᾷ· Μέλαινα εἰμι
 καὶ καλὴ, θυγατέρες Ἱερουσαλήμ, μέλαινα τὸ πρὶν τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ, ἡ τῇ νῦν
 σκοτεινὴ ταπεινοφροσύνη, καλὴ δὲ νῦν τῇ θεογνωσίᾳ. Ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμι ἡ
 βασίλισσα τοῦ νότου ἡ ἀναστᾶσα ἐκ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς ἐθνῶν, καὶ
 ἐλοῦσα εἶδον τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ ἀληθῶς Σολομῶντος τοῦ πρὸς ἐμὲ βοήσαν-
 320 τος· Ἀνάστα ἐλθέ, ἡ καλὴ, ἡ πλησίον μου, πρὸς με, ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμι ἡ
 ἀνάστασις καὶ γὰρ εἰμι ὁ ποταμὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ διὰ σέ γεγόμενος γηγενῆς
 Γεὼν καὶ κυκλῶν καὶ περιλαμβάνων πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν
 Αἰθιοπίας καὶ Αἰγύπτου, τῆς πρὶν ἀπίστου, νῦν δὲ πισταρχούσης, ἐπειδὴ
 οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι πρῶτοι τὸν Κύριον εἶδον, καὶ γνωστὸς γέγονε Κύριος τοῖς
 Αἰγυπτίοις, καὶ ἔστι θυσιαστήριον τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ παγὲν ἐν πέτρᾳ
 Πέτρου καὶ στήλη τῷ Κυρίῳ πρὸς τὸ ὄριον Αἰγύπτου.
 325 7. Ἐκάθισε γὰρ Κύριος ἐν Βηθλεὲμ ἐπὶ νεφέλης κούφης, ὡς οὐράνιος
 ὑετός ἐν κόλποις νεφέλης Μαρίας τῆς οἰκείας μητρός, καὶ δρομαῖος ἦλθεν
 εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐκφεύγων χεῖρας μιᾶρων παρανόμων ἐκουσίως, καὶ ἔσεισε
 τὰ χειροποίητα Αἰγύπτου, καὶ κατέθραυσε τὰ γλυπτὰ Αἰγύπτου, καὶ
 ἤγειρε κειμένην ταύτην, ὅτι δέδεκται Αἴγυπτος χερσὶν οἰκείαις Θεὸν
 330 φυγάδα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐλθόντα τρέχοντα, καὶ ἔκρυπεν ἐκ θηρίων ἀγρίων
 Ἰουδαίων τὸν ταύτην ἀρπάσαντα ἐκ χειρῶν δαιμόνων, καὶ σέσωκεν
 ἀγκάλαις περιλαβοῦσα τὸν ταύτην ἐκ πλάνης καὶ κόσμον σώσαντα, καὶ
 ἐσκέπακε τὸν ταύτην καὶ πάντας τῇ χειρὶ σκέποντα. Καὶ ἐξενάγωγησεν
 Αἴγυπτος Θεὸν σαρκὶ ἐκουσίως ἐν αὐτῇ ξενιτεύσαντα καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς
 335 ξένους ἐν αὐτῇ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναγαγόντα. Καὶ ἐξέθρεψεν Αἴγυπτος τὸν
 οὐράνιον ἄρτον τὸν πάντας θρέψαντα. Καὶ πεπότικε Γεὼν Αἰγύπτου
 ὕδωρ τὴν πηγὴν τῆς ζωῆς. Καὶ ἤνοιξε θύραν πρῶτη Αἴγυπτος τῷ
 λέγοντι· Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ θύρα, καὶ δέδωκεν εἰσόδου ἀρχὴν τῷ ἐξ ἀνάρχου
 340 ἀρχῆς συνανάρχῳ ἐν ἀρχῇ Θεῷ Λόγῳ. Καὶ εὗρε Χριστὸς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ
 ποῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν κλίνει τῇ πίστει, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ τόπος
 πίστεως ἐν τῷ καταλύμ[μ]ατι τῆς καταλειφθείσης συναγωγῆς Ἰουδαίων.
 Καὶ Θεὸς θεῶν Κύριος ἐλάλησεν «καὶ ἐκάλεσεν» ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τὸν Υἱὸν

winter, rises in flood, which brings salvation to its people. Before all others, it irrigates Ethiopia, and so announces to us that Christ waters and illuminates and saves the people of the nations first, who were once in shadows.¹ About these David said to the Church: *Glorious things were said about you, City of God. For look! Foreigners, and Tyre, and the people of Ethiopia: these were born there.*² Ethiopia was the first to extend her hand to God. Before all others she made a pact with Christ, through that eunuch, who was from Candace, the queen of the Ethiopians,³ the Church. Unified with Christ, she cried out: *I am black and beautiful, O daughters of Jerusalem!*⁴ Black, because she had been faithless before; she was dark now in her humility and beautiful now in her knowledge of God.

"For I am the queen of the south. I ascended from the ends of the land of the nations. And when I arrived, I saw the wisdom of the true Solomon,⁵ who cried to me: *Arise and come to me, beautiful one, my companion,*⁶ for *I am the resurrection,*⁷ and I am *the river of God,*⁸ the Geon, who became earth-born because of you. *I circle and embrace all the land of Ethiopia and Egypt of the nations*."⁹

Egypt, which had been faithless before, is now the faithful leader. And since it was the Egyptians first that saw the Lord, and the Lord became known to the Egyptians,¹⁰ there is an altar to the Lord in Egypt, fixed on the rock of Peter, and a monument to the Lord near the border of Egypt.¹¹

7. In Bethlehem,¹² the Lord reclined on a light cloud,¹³ like a heavenly mist in the embrace of a cloud, which was Mary his mother. Then fleeing at full speed the hands of bloody lawbreakers, he came of his own will to Egypt.¹⁴ And he shook the handmade images of Egypt,¹⁵ he shattered the sculptures of Egypt, and he raised her that was lying there. This was because Egypt, with her own hands, had received God, a fugitive running to her. She concealed him from the wild Judean beasts; and he then snatched her from the hands of demons. She took him in her arms and saved him, who then saved her and the world from wandering. She sheltered him, whose hand would shelter her—and all.

Egypt, of her own free will, guided God in the flesh, when he was a stranger in her. And now God guides us, strangers in her, to heaven. Egypt nourished the heavenly bread, who now nourishes everyone. Geon, the water of Egypt, gave drink to the font of life. Egypt was the first to open her door to the one that would say: *"I am the door."*¹⁶ And Egypt provided the beginning of an entrance to God the Word, who, from the beginning that had no beginning, likewise had no beginning in the beginning.¹⁷

Christ found in Egypt a place where he could rest his head in faithfulness,¹⁸ because in his own land there was no faithful place for him in the lodging of the forsaken Jewish synagogue.¹⁹ And the Lord God of Gods summoned his son from Egypt,²⁰ and he sent us God as an

310 Τύρος] *scripsi* τύρος MNP 313 εἰμι] NP εἰμὴ M 314 θυγατέρας P ἥ] *scripsi* ἡ MNP quae Hn. τῇ] τοι M^{corr}. 322 Αἰγυπτίους M εἶδος M 323 ἔστη P 327 ἐκφεύγον M 331 τὸν] τὴν P 332/3 ἐκ πλάνης - ἐσκέπακε] *om.* M^{corr}. 333 τὸν ταύτην] *om.* M 336 τὸν] *om.* P 337 αἰνοῖξε N^{corr}. πρῶτην P 338/9 ἐξ ἀνάρχου - συνανάρχῳ] ἐξ ἀνάρχῳ P 341 καταλύματι] *correxī* καταλύματι MNP καταληφθείσης P 342 καὶ ἐκάλεσεν] *supplevi*; cf. Ps 49(50):1; Mt 2:15.

¹ Cf Is 8:23-9:1; Mt 4:15:16. ² Ps 86(87):3-4. ³ Cf Act 8:27. ⁴ S of S 1:5. ⁵ Cf Mt 12:42; Lk 11:31. ⁶ S of S 2:10, 13. ⁷ Jn 11:25. ⁸ Ps 64(65):10. ⁹ Gen 2:13. ¹⁰ Cf Is 19:21. ¹¹ Cf Is 19:19. ¹² Cf Mt 2:5. ¹³ Cf Is 19:1. ¹⁴ Cf Mt 2:13-15. ¹⁵ Cf Is 19:1. ¹⁶ Jn 10:9. ¹⁷ Cf Jn 1:1. ¹⁸ Cf Mt 8:20; Lk 9:58. ¹⁹ Cf Lk 2:7. ²⁰ Cf Ps 49(50):1; Hos 11:1 (*secundum textum Hebraicum*); Mt 2:15.

αὐτοῦ πρὸ ἀποστόλων ἀπόστολον Θεὸν ἡμῖν ἀποστείλας. Καὶ γέγονεν ὁ
 Γεὼν ἅγιος διὰ τοῦ Ἁγίου τῶν Ἀγίων ἁγιασθεὶς πρὸς φωτισμόν τε καὶ
 345 ἁγιασμόν προφθάνει τὸν Ἰορδάνην ὁ χρυσορροῶν Χριστὸν σαρκὶ ἐν
 ῥείθοις οἰκείοις δεξάμενος. Καὶ δεδεκται πάλιν Μαρίαν δεύτερον καὶ
 ἁγιωτέραν ἁγίων ἢ Αἴγυπτος, ἀντὶ Μαρίας Μωσαϊκῆς Μαρίαν δέσ-
 ποιαναν. Καὶ πλουτεῖ δεύτερον Ἰωσήφ ὁ Γεὼν ἄνδρα μὲν λεγόμενον, ἀλλ'
 350 τοῦ ἑαυτὸν κενώσαντος Χριστοῦ.

V 1. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ Αἰγύπτου ἐγκώμια ἐν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ
 πλατύτερον ἐξυμνήσαντες ἰδικῶ λόγῳ εἰς ταύτην συνετάξαμεν. Νῦν δὲ
 λοιπὸν ἡμᾶς καιρὸς καλεῖ καὶ τοὺς ἑτέρους τῶν ποταμῶν διὰ βραχέων
 διαπλεῦσαι σκοποῦντας πῶς καὶ οὗτοι εἰς Χριστὸν τὴν ἀναφορὰν καὶ τὸν
 355 παράδεισον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν ἐθνῶν ἔχουσι. Λέγει γὰρ οὕτως ἡ τῆς
 γραφῆς ἀκολουθία. *Καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ τρίτος Τίγρις· οὗτος ὁ πορευόμενος κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων.*

2. Τί δήποτε τοὺς μὲν δύο ποταμούς, τὸν Φεισὼν λέγω καὶ τὸν Γεὼν,
 κυκλοῦντας ὀνομάζει καὶ ὥσανεὶ φρουροῦντας καὶ περιτειχίζοντας τὸν
 360 παράδεισον Χριστοῦ, τὸν δὲ τρίτον ποταμὸν οὐ κυκλοῦντα, ἀλλ' ὥσανεὶ
 μετὰ μάχης καὶ πολέμου ὑπαντῶντα κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων; Ἀσσύριοι
 μὲν οὖν ἐρμηνεύονται οὐ κατευθύνοντες, Τίγρις δὲ τῇ Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ
 λέγεται ὁ πλατὺς καὶ αὐστηρὸς. Οὐκοῦν τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις μὴ κατευθύνουσι
 τὸν ἑαυτῶν βίον εἰς ὁδὸν εἰρήνης κατευαντίον ἵσταται πολεμοῦν αὐτοῦς
 365 τὸ εὐαγγελικὸν κήρυγμα. Οἶδαμεν γὰρ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ἐχθροὺς καὶ
 πολεμίους ὄντας τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ πόλεως Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὸν
 οἶκον τοῦ Θεοῦ διαφόρως πορθήσαντας καὶ ἐμπρήσαντας, οἷς ὁ τρίτος
 ποταμὸς τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς Τριάδος, λέγω δὴ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον,
 κατέναντι πολέμιος αὐτῶν καὶ αὐστηρὸς πορεύεται.

370 3. Ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς ὁ τέταρτος, οὗτος Εὐφράτης.

Ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ διαφόροις τόποις οἱ ἱεροὶ θεολόγοι τῶν Μωσαϊκῶν
 διδαγμάτων μέγα ἐκώθασιν προσαγορεύειν, ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν τεσ-
 σάρων ποταμῶν, μόνον τὸν Εὐφράτην, ὡς ὅταν λέγῃ ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς τὸν
 Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι *Καὶ θήσω τὰ ὅριά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Αἰγύπτου ἕως τοῦ*
 375 *ποταμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου Εὐφράτου.* Εὐφράτης μὲν οὖν τῇ Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ
 μεθερμηνεύεται καρποφορία αὐτῶν, Εὐφραθαῖοι δὲ πάλιν οἱ καρποφο-
 ροῦντες λέγονται. Τινὲς δὲ τῶν ἐρμηνευτῶν διασκεδασμὸν κακίας τὸν
 Εὐφράτην ἐρμηνεύουσι, τὴν δὲ Εὐφραθὰ καρποφορομένην γῆν. Οὐκοῦν
 διὰ τοῦτο ὁ ποταμὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ μέγας Εὐφράτης Χριστός, ἡ
 380 καρποφορία τῶν Εὐφραθαίων καρποφορούντων ἐθνῶν, ἐν τῇ Εὐφραθᾷ

345 χρυρροῶς M¹ corr. 346 Μαρία M 353 καιρὸν N¹ corr. 354 ἀναφορὰν M 355 γὰρ] om. P 356 τίγρις] scipsi τίγρης MNP 359 καὶ] om. P 360 ὥσανεὶ] add. ἀλλ' M² corr. 362 τίγρις] scipsi τίγρης MNP 362/3 λέγεται τῇ ἐλλάδι φωνῇ P 363 τὰ ἀσσυρία N 364 ἑαυτῶν] N ἑαυτοῦ P 371 μωσαϊκῶν M 373 λέγει P 380 εὐφραθέων pe corr.

apostle before the apostles.¹ And the Geon became holy, sanctified by the Holy of Holies himself. The Nile had outrun even the Jordan to the light of holiness; and flowing with gold, its streams received Christ in the flesh. Egypt received Mary a second time, more holy than the saints, Queen Mary, in place of Moses' Mary, and the Geon became rich a second time in Joseph. He was called her husband, but he did not become so with the wholly uncorrupted mother.² This was his will when he was face-to-face with Christ,³ who had emptied himself out.⁴

V 1. I have sung these praises of Egypt more at length in another book, its own book, which I composed for that purpose. Now indeed, the time calls to sail briefly down the other rivers and examine how they relate to Christ and the Paradise of the Church of the Gentiles.

The next sentence of Scripture says this: *And the third river is the Tigris. This is the one going against the Assyrians.*⁵

2. Scripture describes the first two rivers—I am speaking of the Phison and Geon—as “circling”.⁶ Indeed, it is as if they are walling off and enclosing Christ's Paradise. The third river, however, is not identified as circling, but as if opposing the Assyrians with war and sword.⁷ Why so?

Assyrians is interpreted as “not going straight”. *Tigris*, in the Greek language, means “the wide and rough”. The evangelical message stands and makes war against those that are not going straight in their life (the *Assyrians*) along the road of peace.⁸ For we know that the Assyrians were vicious enemies of the city of God, Jerusalem. They variously ravaged her and burned the city and the house of God.⁹ Thus the third river, the completion of the Trinity—I am speaking here of the Holy Spirit—comes as a rough force bringing war against them.

3. *The fourth river: this is the Euphrates.*¹⁰

In many and various places, the holy theologians of the Mosaic teachings usually address the Euphrates, alone from these four rivers, as “great”. God himself said to Israel: *And I will place your boundaries from the river of Egypt all the way to the great river, the Euphrates.*¹¹ *Euphrates* in the Greek language is interpreted as “their fruitfulness”. And the *Euphratheans* are called “the fruit bearers”. Some translators, however, interpret the *Euphrates* as “the act of driving away evil” and *Euphratha* as “the fruit-bearing land”. Surely because of this, the river of God, the great Euphrates, Christ, was born in Euphratha, in Bethlehem.¹² He was the fruitfulness of the fruit-bearing Gentiles, the

¹ Cf Heb 3:1. ² Cf Mt 1:19, 25. ³ Cf Mt 11:26; Lk 10:21. ⁴ Cf Phil 2:7. ⁵ Gen 2:14. ⁶ Cf Gen 2:11, 13. ⁷ Cf Gen 2:14. ⁸ Cf Ps 13(14):3; Rom 3:17. ⁹ Cf 2 Kg 25:8-10. ¹⁰ Gen 2:14. ¹¹ Gen 15:18; Ex 23:31. ¹² Cf eg Gen 35:19; 48:7; Jos 15:59; Ru 4:11; Mic 5:1.

Βηθλεέμ ἐτέχθη, ὅπως διασκεδάσῃ τὴν κακίαν τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ καρποφορουμένην γῆν ἀναδείξῃ τὴν πρὶν ἄκαρπον ἐκκλησίαν, ὅπως ἡ γῆ ἡμῶν δώσῃ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῆς ἀχωρίστου ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπάρχοντος τοῦ καρποδότου Εὐφράτου. Ἐπιστήσαι γὰρ μᾶλλον προσήκει νουνεχῶς πῶς
 385 ὁ μὲν Φεισὼν κυκλοῦν λέγεται αὐτὴν τὴν ὅλην γῆν Εὐιλάτ ἡγουν
 ὠδίνουσιν, ὁ δὲ Γεὼν ὁμοίως περιέχει φρουρῶν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ λαοὺς τῶν
 πρὶν Αἰθιοπίων, ὁ δὲ Τίγρις ὑπερασπίζειν καὶ προίστασθαι ταύτης
 κατέναντι τῶν πονηρῶν Ἀσσυρίων, ὁ δὲ μέγας Εὐφράτης οὐδὲ μεθ-
 390 ἴστασθαι γέγραπται οὐδὲ πορεύεσθαι οὐδὲ κυκλοῦν, ἀλλ' ἐδραῖος καὶ
 ἀμετάθετος εἶναι ὡς αἰὲ λέγων ὅτι Ἰδοὺ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας
 ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος, καὶ οὐκ ἀφήσω ὑμᾶς ὀρφανούς. Διὰ
 τοῦτο γὰρ οὔτε χώραν ὑπὸ τῆς γραφῆς τινα μίαν λέγεται οὗτος ὁ μέγας
 ποταμὸς ποτίζειν οὔτε τόπον, οὐ γὰρ τόπον, ἀλλὰ κόσμον ὅλον ὁ
 τέταρτος οὗτος ποτίζει ποταμός. Τέταρτον δὲ ποταμὸν νόησον τὸ εὐαγ-
 395 γελικὸν καὶ οἰκουμενικὸν κήρυγμα μετὰ τὸν φυσικὸν καὶ Μωσαϊκὸν καὶ
 προφητικὸν τυπικὸν νόμον.

VI 1. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ σκληρὰ καὶ βεβιασμένα τὰ νῦν περὶ τούτων τῶν
 ποταμῶν λεγόμενα οὐ μόνον Ἰουδαίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας
 τοῖς σαρκικοῖς οὔσι καὶ μὴ χωροῦσι μετὰ Παύλου νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν ὅτι *Τὸ*
 400 *γράμμα ἀποκτένει*, ὁ γὰρ νόμος πνευματικός ἐστι, φέρε ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς
 θείας γραφῆς ἀμφοτέροις δεῖ|ξωμεν πνευματικὸν Εὐφράτην προνομαζό-
 μενον τὸν Χριστόν. Φαίνεται τοίνυν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κελεύων ὁ Θεὸς τῷ
 Ἰσραὴλ τρεῖς πινὰς καιροὺς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐρχεσθαι καὶ
 προσκυνεῖν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ πάντα ἀρσενικὸν ἄνδρα ἐκ πάσης γῆς, οὐ ἐὰν
 405 κατοικεῖ, ἐπιθείς καὶ δεσμόν φρικτὸν καὶ ὄρον ἀποφηνάμενος ὅτι
Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ὅς οὐ ποιεῖ πάντα τὰ
 γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου. Εἰ τοίνυν τὰ ὅριά σου
 τέθηκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Αἰγύπτου ἕως τοῦ ποταμοῦ, οὐ σὺ νομίζεις
 410 μέγαλον Βαβυλωνίου Εὐφράτου, πῶς δυνατόν σοι τρίτον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ
 ἐλθεῖν ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ προσκυνεῖν Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ;
 Ἡνάγκασται τοίνυν ὁ Ἰουδαῖος ἐν ἐκ τῶν δύο εἰπεῖν, ἢ ὅτι ὁλος ὁ σκοπὸς
 τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ οὗτος ἦν τοῦ δεσμεῖσαι καὶ δεῖξαι ἐπικατάρατον
 εἶναι αἰὲ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ μὴ ἰσχύοντα μηδὲ δυνάμενον ποιῆσαι τὰ προστάγ-
 415 ματα, ἃ προσέταξεν ὁ Θεός, ἢ ὅτι Εὐφράτην τὸν Χριστόν ὀνομάζει
 πνευματικῶς ἡ γραφὴ λέγουσα τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι *Καὶ θήσω τὰ ὅριά σου*,
 τουτέστι τὸν ὅρον τοῦ χρόνου τῆς νομικῆς λατρείας, ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ
Αἰγύπτου ἤτοι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξόδου Ἰσραὴλ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἕως τῆς παρουσίας
 Χριστοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου καρποφόρου Εὐφράτου, καὶ εὐθέως ἀρθήσεται

Euphratheans. He drove away evil from the Gentiles and presented the Church, which once had been unfruitful, as fruit-bearing land. And our land yields its fruit, because the fruitful Euphrates exists inseparably within.¹

It is fitting to pay careful attention now and understand how the Phison is said to encircle the whole land of Hevilat,² which is in labor. The Geon, likewise, encircles and holds the people in its land, formerly the Ethiopians.³ The Tigris shields and defends the land against the evil Assyrians.⁴ But it is not written that the great Euphrates changes place, or goes anywhere, or encircles.⁵ Steadfast and unchanging, it is like one saying forever: "Look. I am with you all your days until the end of time."⁶ And: "I will not leave you orphans."⁷ Therefore Divine Scripture does not say that this great river irrigates any single country or place. For not a single place, but the whole world is watered by the fourth river. You should regard the evangelical and ecumenical proclamation as the fourth river; it came after the natural law, and the Mosaic Law, and the prophetic law of types.

VI 1. The things that are now being said about these rivers will seem harsh and strained not only to Jews but also to many in the Church—those who are focused on the physical, and not capable of thinking and saying with Paul: *The letter kills*,⁸ for *the Law is spiritual*.⁹

Since this is so, come now and let us demonstrate for the benefit of both, from Divine Scripture, that the spiritual Euphrates foretells the name of Christ.

It seems that in the Law, God gives the order to Israel that every male person from all the earth—no matter where he lives—come three times each year and worship in Jerusalem.¹⁰ And God adds a dreadful and binding oath. He says: "Every man in Jerusalem is cursed, who does not do all the things written in the Law of this book."¹¹

But he established your boundaries from the river of Egypt to the river that you consider the great Babylonian Euphrates.¹² If this is so, then how is it possible for you to come from Mesopotamia to Jerusalem and worship the Lord God three times each year?

It is necessary then for the Jew to admit one of the following two things. Either that God's whole goal in the Law was to lay traps and show that Israel was forever cursed, because it was not able or strong enough to do the commands that God laid forth. Or that Scripture calls Christ "the great Euphrates", spiritually. And so it says to Israel: *I will place your boundaries*¹³—that is, the time limit for worship according to the Law—from the river of Egypt¹⁴—or from the exodus of Israel out of Egypt—to the appearance of Christ, the great fruit-bearing Euphrates.¹⁵

And immediately sacrifice and offering will be taken away,¹⁶ as

¹ Cf Ps 84(85):13; Ez 34:27. ² Cf Gen 2:11. ³ Cf Gen 2:13. ⁴ Cf Gen 2:14.
⁵ Cf Gen 2:14. ⁶ Mt 28:20. ⁷ Jn 14:18. ⁸ 2 Cor 3:6. ⁹ Rom 7:14. ¹⁰ Cf Dt 16:16 (and Ex 23:17; 34:23; 2 Chr 8:13). ¹¹ Dt 27:26; Gal 3:10. ¹² Cf Gen 15:18; Ex 23:31.
¹³ Ex 23:31. ¹⁴ Gen 15:18. ¹⁵ Ex 23:31. ¹⁶ Dan 9:27.

387 τίγρις] *scripsi* τίγρης MNP 390 ἡμῶν M 392 ἀπὸ M 396 τυπικὸν] *om.* N
 399 καὶ] *om.* M 401 δεῖξωμεν P 402 τὸν] *om.* M 404 ἐὰν] *an* N 408 τοῦ] *om.* M
 411 ἡνάγκασται M 415 καὶ] *om.* N 417 τῆς] *correxī* τοῦ MNP

420 θυσία καὶ σπονδή, ὡς φησιν ὁ Δανιήλ. Καὶ γνώση καὶ συνήσεις ἀπὸ
ἐξόδου τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι καὶ τοῦ οἰκοδομῆσαι Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἕως Χριστοῦ
ἡγουμένου, καὶ ἐξαλειφθήσεται χρίσμα καὶ κρίμα, τέλος γὰρ νόμου
Χριστός, ὁ γὰρ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἕως Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ.

2. Δριμύττεται, οἶδα, καὶ ἀγανακτεῖ τούτων ἀκούων ὁ Ἰουδαῖος
ψευδεῖς ληρωδίας καλῶν τὰ εἰρημένα. Οὐκοῦν ὑπαντήσωμεν αὐτῷ διὰ
425 τῆς ἄλλης ἀρχῆς, τουτέστι τοῦ Γεῶν. Θήσω, φησί, τὰ ὅρια σου ἀπὸ τοῦ
ποταμοῦ Αἰγύπτου ἕως τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου Εὐφράτου. Οὗτος
πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραὴλ λόγος καὶ ὅρος τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐκ ἐνὶ δὲ Θεὸς ἀληθῆς
ψευδόμενος. Τὸ γὰρ ῥῆμα Κυρίου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, καθὰ καὶ ὁ Δαυὶδ
φησιν ὅτι *Εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, Κύριε, ὁ λόγος σου διαμένει ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. Εἰς*
430 *γενεάν καὶ γενεάν ἡ ἀλήθειά σου.* Τοῦ Θεοῦ τοίνυν ὑποσχομένου καὶ μὴ
ψευδομένου καὶ εἰπόντος πθέσαι τὰ ὅρια Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ Γεῶν Αἰγύπτου
ἕως τοῦ Εὐφράτου πῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ Γεῶν οὔτε μὴ τῶν πλησίον τοῦ Γεῶν
χωρῶν οὔτε πάλιν τοῦ Εὐφράτου οὐδέ τινος ἐνορίας τῶν πλησίον τοῦ
Εὐφράτου ἐδέσποσεν ὁ Ἰσραὴλ; Ἐπανελθὼν ἐν τῇ τῶν Χαναναίων
435 Παλαιστίνῃ ὅτου γοῦν χάριν οὐ κατέσχευ ἕως τοῦ Εὐφράτου; Κάγῳ δὲ
πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἔτι ἐρῶ ὅτι Καὶ πῶς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ διὰ παντός
παροργίσας τὸν Θεὸν κατέσχευ καὶ ἐκράτησας ἀπὸ Δάν ἕως Βηρσαβεῖ
Ἀμοραίους καὶ Χετταίους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς Χανανά;

3. Οὐκοῦν μανθανέτω καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ ὁ Ἰουδαῖος ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς
440 ἐξόδου Αἰγύπτου ἕως τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου Εὐφράτου Χριστοῦ
ὥρισεν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ ὅρια τῆς νομικῆς λατρείας κρατεῖν. Οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ
πνευματικὸς Εὐφράτης ὁ διαφθείρας τὴν δι' αἵματος λατρείαν καὶ
σπονδὴν. Καὶ τοῦτον προσημαίνων ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Εὐφράτην λέγει τῷ
Ἱερεμίᾳ πρὸ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὄντι· Ὑπαγε,
445 βάλε τὸ περιζῶμα εἰς τὸν Εὐφράτην. Εὐφράτην δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Θεὸς
τόπον κατάρρυτον ὕδασι, πλησίον Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὄντα, καλούμενον Φαρά
ἦτοι καρποφόρον. Καὶ θέντος ἐκέῖσε τοῦ προφήτου τὸ λέντιον τῆς ὁσφύος
αὐτοῦ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν | μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπισκέψασθαι καὶ ἄγειν αὐτό, καὶ
450 Ἱερεμίαν λέγων· Οὕτω διαφθαρήσεται ὁ λαὸς οὗτος, καθ' ὃν τρόπον τὸ
περίζῶμα τοῦ λεντίου, περίζῶμα τοῦ λεντίου ὀνομάσας τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ὁ
Θεός, ὃν διέφθειρεν ὁ μέγας ποταμὸς Εὐφράτης Χριστὸς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ.
Ἐξηδάφισε δὲ αὐτὸν ὅλον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Τίτου καὶ Οὔεσπασιανοῦ, καὶ
γὰρ τὸ περίζῶμα οὐ μόνον τῆς φύσεως, ἐν τῇ ὁσφύϊ τῆς γαστρὸς καὶ
455 τῶν παιδουργῶν μορίων ἐπικείμενον. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐλθὼν

Daniel said. *And you will know and you will understand: from the exodus, for the answer and for the building of Jerusalem, until the time of Christ the Prince.*¹ Then the anointment and the judgment will be removed,² because Christ is the end of the Law.³ For the Law and the Prophets existed until John the Baptist.⁴

2. I know that the Jew, when he hears these things, is pained and displeased. He calls this discussion false and silly. So let us approach him from another river branch, the Geon. *I will place,* Scripture says, *your boundaries from the river of Egypt all the way to the great river, the Euphrates.*⁵ This is the statement and boundary given by God to Israel. And it is impossible for the true God to lie. The utterance of the Lord remains forever,⁶ said David: *Your word, Lord, endures in heaven for eternity. To generation after generation is your truth.*⁷ God said and promised, and did not lie, that he was placing the boundaries of Israel from the Geon of Egypt to the Euphrates. How is it then that Israel does not govern the Geon, or the lands beside the Geon, or the Euphrates, or any territory of the lands beside the Euphrates? Having returned to Palestine of the Canaanites, why did Israel not seize control to the Euphrates? Moreover I will also say to him: "And how is it that you seized control and held the Amorites, the Hittites, and the other races in the land of Canaan,⁸ from Dan to Beersheba,⁹ although you had angered God continuously in the desert?"¹⁰

3. Both the Church and the Jew should learn from this. God swore to keep its boundaries—the rituals according to the Law—from the exodus out of Egypt until the great Euphrates River, which is Christ.¹¹ For he is the spiritual Euphrates: the one that abolished the blood ritual and the libation.

God signifies this mystical Euphrates when he says to Jeremiah, who was in Jerusalem before the capture of Israel. "Come," God says, "throw your girdle into the Euphrates."¹² Here the Euphrates, which God mentions to him, is the place flowing with water near Jerusalem; it was called Phara or "fruit-bearer".¹³ And after the prophet had placed there the cloth from his loins, God sent him the next day to fetch and examine it. Jeremiah went and found that it was rotten. And there came the word of the Lord to Jeremiah: "So also will this people be destroyed, in the same way as the girdle made of cloth."¹⁴ God referred to Israel as Jeremiah's cloth girdle, which the great river, the Euphrates, Christ, destroyed in Jerusalem. And God destroyed all of Israel under the Romans Titus and Vespasian: for the girdle was not only of a physical nature, placed on his loins about the stomach and his generative parts. On account of this, when Christ came to the supper of the new covenant,¹⁵ to bind the nations to himself in kinship, he took

419 σπουδή M^{a.corr.} N^{a.corr.} Δανιήλ] (Ισρα)ήλ M^{a.corr.} P 419/20 καὶ γνώση - ἕως] om. MP 420 χριστοῦ] τοῦ MP 422 ἰω(άνν)ου] MN ἰω P 424 ληδωρίας P^{a.corr.} 427 δὲ θ(εὸς)] MN δὲ λόγος τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ Θ(εὸς) P^{a.corr.} δὲ λόγος-τοῦ-Θ(εο)ῦ Θ(εὸς) PP^{a.corr.} 430 ὑποδεχομένου P 433 πλησίον P 435 τοῦ] om. M 436 δὲ] om. P 437 Βηρσαβεῖ] scripsi βύρσαβεῖ MNP 443 σπουδὴν M 446 ὕδατι P 450 οὕτω] οὕτως MP 453 Ἐξηδάφισε] correxi ἐξεδάφησε MN ἐξ ἐδάφησε P

¹ Dan 9:25. ² Dan 9:26. ³ Cf Rom 10:4. ⁴ Lk 16:16. ⁵ Gen 15:18; Ex 23:31; Jos 1:4. ⁶ Cf Is 40:8. ⁷ Ps 118(119):89-90. ⁸ Cf Dt 32:21. ⁹ Cf Gen 15:19-21; Ex 3:8, 17; 13:5; 23:23, 28; 33:2; 34:11; Num 13:29; Dt 7:1; 20:17; Jos 3:10; 9:1; 11:3; 12:8; 24:11; Jg 3:5; 1 Kg 9:20; 2 Chr 8:7; 2 Esd 19:8. ¹⁰ Cf Jg 20:1; 1 Sam 3:20; 2 Sam 3:10; et al. ¹¹ Gen 15:18; Ex 23:31; Jos 1:4. ¹² Cf Jer 13:4-5. ¹³ Cf Jos 18:23. ¹⁴ Cf Jer 13:5-10. ¹⁵ Cf Mt 26:28; Mk 14:24; Lk 22:20; 1 Cor 11:25.

ἐπὶ τὸν δεῖπνον τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης συγγενεῖάσαι ἑαυτῷ τὰ ἔθνη λαβὼν
λέντιον διέζωσεν ἑαυτόν.

4. Λείπεται τοίνυν ἡμῖν καὶ τινα πνευματικὸν Γεὼν ἐν Σιών ὄντα
460 ὑποδείξει τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰς τὸ πείσαι τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους μὴ
μόνον κατὰ τὸ γράμμα νοεῖν τὰς γραφάς, τὸ γὰρ γράμμα ἀποκτένει.
"Ὅρα γὰρ ὅτι, ἐὰν σωματικῶς νοήσωμεν τὸ παρὸν γραφικὸν θεώρημα
τὸ φάσκον ὅτι Καὶ θήσω τὰ ὅρια Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Αἰγύπτου
ἕως τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου Εὐφράτου, ψευσάμενον εὐρίσκομεν τὸν
Θεόν, καθὰ Μανιχαίοις μιανοῖς ἔδοξε ψεύστην εἶναι τὸν Θεόν τὸν
465 λαλήσαντα τὴν παλαιὰν διαθήκην. Οὐκοῦν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῖς αὐτοῖς
περιπέσωμεν βρόχοις, πεισθῶμεν Χριστῷ τῷ εἰπόντι ὅτι Ἰῶτα ἐν ἡ μία
κεραία οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται εἰς αὐτόν,
περὶ αὐτοῦ γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ ἐγράφη.

5. Εὐρίσκομεν τοίνυν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς Τρίτης τῶν Βασιλειῶν τὸν Δαυὶδ
470 μέλλοντα τελευτᾶν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεῦσαι αὐτὸν τριάκοντα καὶ τρεῖς
χρόνους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σιών εἰς τύπον τῆς κατὰ σάρκα ἡλικίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ
λέγοντα· Καλέσατέ μοι Σαδὼκ τὸν ἱερέα καὶ Νάθαν τὸν προφήτην καὶ
Βανέαν υἱὸν Ἰωδᾶε· καὶ εἰσῆλθον ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ
βασιλεὺς· Λάβετε τοὺς δούλους τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπιβιβά-
475 σατε τὸν υἱόν μου Σαλομών ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμίονον τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ καταγάγετε
αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν Γεὼν, καὶ χρίσατε αὐτὸν εἰς βασιλείαν ἐπὶ Ἰερουσαλὴμ. Καὶ
ἐποίησαν καθὼς προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ὑπέστρεψε Σολομών
ἐκ τοῦ Γεὼν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Δαυὶδ βασιλεύσας, ὥστε οὐδὲν
ἔλειπε τότε τὸν Δαυὶδ εἰπεῖν, ἥνικα ἀνῆλθεν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Γεὼν
480 πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι Ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου. Γεὼν γὰρ τὴν
Αἰγύπτου σημαίνει, καὶ γὰρ ποταμός ἐστι καὶ οὗτος ἐν τῇ Ἰερουσαλὴμ ὁ
λεγόμενος Σιλωάμ.

6. Ἀνανεύσας γοῦν πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα ὁ Ἑβραῖος ἐλέγχεται ὑπὸ τῆς
τῶν πραγμάτων ἀκολουθίας. Οὐχ εὐρίσκομεν γὰρ ἕτερον βασιλέα
485 χρισθέντα ἐν τῷ Γεὼν εἰ μὴ μόνον τὸν Σολομῶντα, υἱὸν Δαυὶδ, εἰς τύπον
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐχ ὁ
Δαυὶδ οἰκοδομεῖ, ὅπερ καὶ ἔπρεπε, δικαιοτάτος γάρ, ἀλλ' ὁ υἱὸς Δαυὶδ
δηλαδὴ οἰκονομήσας τὸν λογικὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καταλυθέντα καὶ
οἰκοδομήσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εἰρήνευσαν τῷ
490 Σολομῶντι πάντα τὰ κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ ἔθνη. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ βασιλίσσα
νότου, τουτέστι τῶν ὀπισθεν τοῦ αἰῶνος χρόνων, ἡ ἐκκλησία τῶν πρὶν
Αἰθιόπων ἀνέστη ἐκ τῶν περάτων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ ἐνὸς τόπου τινός, καὶ
ἦλθεν ἵνα ἴδῃ τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ, Ἰησοῦ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ
Σολομῶντος.

a cloth and fastened it around his waist.¹

4. And now it remains for us to show to both the Church and the Jew that a spiritual Geon exists on Zion. My goal is to teach both the Jew and the Church not to read Scripture only as a literal document. For the letter kills.²

Look. This passage from Scripture, our current object of contemplation, says: *And I will place the boundaries of Israel from the river of Egypt all the way to the great river, the Euphrates.*³ If we consider it physically, we find that God lied. And so, it seemed to the foul Manicheans that the God who had spoken the Old Testament was a liar. We must not fall into this same snare. Let us rather be persuaded by Christ, who said: *Not one iota or dot will pass away from the Law, until all is accomplished*⁴—for him,⁵ because everything in the Old Testament was written about him.⁶

5. We find, therefore, in the beginning of the third book of Kings that David is about to die.⁷ He had ruled in Zion for thirty-three years: a type of the physical age of Christ. And David said: *"Call to me Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada." And they came before the King. And the King said: "Take the servants of our Lord with you, put my son Solomon on my mule, and bring him to the Geon. And anoint him as King over Jerusalem."*⁸

They did as the King had ordered them. And Solomon returned from the Geon to his father David, having taken kingly power.⁹ Nothing then kept David from saying, after his son had returned to him from the Geon: *"I called my son from Egypt."*¹⁰ For the Geon signified the land of Egypt, and yet it was also a river in Jerusalem, the one called Siloam.¹¹

6. The Hebrew that denies these statements will be confuted by the sequence of events. We do not find another king that was anointed at the Geon: only Solomon, son of David,¹² as a type of Jesus Christ, son of David.¹³ On account of this, David did not construct the temple of God,¹⁴ although this would have been fitting, because he was the most just.¹⁵ But the son of David did: obviously because Christ put in order the rational temple of man, which had been destroyed, and built his own Church.¹⁶ Also on account of this, all the nations around Solomon made peace with him.¹⁷ And on account of this, there arose from the ends of the earth the queen of the south¹⁸—that is, the queen of the years after this age: the Church of those that formerly were Ethiopians.¹⁹ (The Church, however, did not come from a single place.) She came so that she might see the wisdom of the son of David, Jesus, the spiritual Solomon.²⁰

¹ Cf Jn 13:2-4. ² Cf 2 Cor 3:6. ³ Gen 15:18; Ex 23:31. ⁴ Mt 5:18. ⁵ Cf Eph 5:32; Col 1:16. ⁶ Cf Lk 24:27, 44; Jn 5:46. ⁷ Cf 1 Kg 2:11; 1 Chr 29:26-27. ⁸ 1 Kg 1:32-34.

⁹ Cf 1 Kg 1:38-40. ¹⁰ Hos 11:1; Mt 2:15. ¹¹ Cf 2 Esd 13:15; Is 8:6; Lk 13:4; Jn 9:7, 11.

¹² Cf 2 Chr 1:1. ¹³ Cf Mt 1:1. ¹⁴ Cf 2 Sam 7:4-7; 12-13; 1 Kg 5:17; 1 Chr 22:8.

¹⁵ Cf 1 Kg 3:6. ¹⁶ Cf Mt 16:18; 26:61; Mk 14:58; Jn 2:19-21. ¹⁷ Cf 1 Kg 5:18.

¹⁸ Cf Mt 12:42; Lk 11:31. ¹⁹ Cf Acts 8:27. ²⁰ Cf 2 Chr 9:3; Mt 12:42; Lk 11:31.

495 7. Ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ Σολομῶντος τοῦ χρισθέντος ἐν τῷ Γεῶν ἕως
τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου Εὐφράτου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκράτησαν τὰ ὅρια
τῆς νομικῆς λατρείας τοῦ ναοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ λύσαντος |
καὶ θυσίας λογικῆς τὴν ἀλόγων θυσίαν συσβεσάσης διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ 983A
ἀκοιμήτου καὶ ἀσβέστου ἀνθρακος. Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ἰσαΐαν ἐνέπρησε καὶ
500 πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐξεπύρωσε τῇ νομικῇ θυσίᾳ προκείμενον συμβολικῶς καὶ
τότε τούτῳ φανείς. Οὕτως φάγετε τὰς σάρκας τοῦ σώματος τῆς
γραφῆς, ἀδελφοί, πεινῶντες αὐτάς, καὶ τὸ κεκρυμμένον ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ τοῦ
γράμματος πνευματικὸν μυστηρίων αἶμα οὕτως πίετε. Ὁ γὰρ οὕτως
μεταλαμβάνων αὐτῆς ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

505 VII 1. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὴν ἐκπορευτικὴν ιδιότητα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος
ἐξ εὐαγγελικῆς ἐμάθομεν παραδόσεως εἶναι τοῦ Κυρίου λέγοντος· Τὸ
Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὃ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, τάχα τὸ Πνεῦμα δηλοῖ ὁ
συγγραφεὺς λέγων ὅτι Ποταμὸς ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἐδέμ ποτίζειν τὸν
παράδεισον τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Τὸ γὰρ ἐκπορεύεται τὸ διηγεῖται καὶ ἀπανστον
510 σημαίνει, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ποτίζειν τὸ ἀένναον καὶ ἀπανστον, ὅπερ πάλιν
ἡμῖν ὁ αὐτὸς Δεσπότης Χριστὸς ὑπέσχετο λέγων ὅτι Ἐὰν ἀπέλθω πρὸς
τὸν Πατέρα, ἐρωτήσω αὐτὸν καὶ ἄλλον παράκλητον πέμψει ὑμῖν, τὸ
Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ἵνα μένη μεθ' ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

2. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰς τέσσαρας ἀρχὰς τῆς ἐλλάμψεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος
515 ζητεῖς, γινώθι τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ λαλήσαν ἐν τοῖς πρὸ νόμου δικαίοις, ἐξ ὧν
ἦν κάκεῖνος ὁ λέγων· Πνεῦμα θεῖον τὸ περίον μοι ἐν ῥισί, πνοὴ δὲ παντο-
κράτορος ἡ διδάσκουσα με, ὡσαύτως καὶ δεύτερον ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, τρίτον δ'
ἐν τοῖς προφήταις, εἶτα κατὰ τετάρτην τάξιν ἐν τοῖς τέσσαρσι ποταμοῖς
520 τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν. Ματθαῖος μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἐρμηνεύεται ἐντολὴ ὑψίστου, 984A
ὅπερ ἀρμόζει λέγεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ κηρύγματος, Μάρκος δ'
εἴρηται δόμα ζωῆς, Λουκᾶς δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸς ἀνιστῶν, Ἰωάννης Κυρίῳ
ὑπήκοος.

3. Καὶ αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ τῶν τεσσάρων ποταμῶν ἀκόλουθος θέσις τὴν τῶν
ἁγίων εὐαγγελιστῶν ἀπαράλλακτον προσημαίνει θέσιν καὶ τάξιν.
525 Πρῶτος ὁ Ματθαῖος ὁ λεγόμενος Φεισῶν, ὅπερ ἐρμηνεύεται στόματος
ἀλλοίωσης, Ἐβραϊδὶ γὰρ διαλέκτῳ τοῦ Ματθαίου τὸ εὐαγγέλιον
ἐκθεμένον ἡλλοιώθη καὶ μεθερμηνεύθη ὁ λόγος τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ
Λουκᾶ καὶ τοῦ Παύλου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνήν. Δεύτερος προσφόρως ὁ
Μάρκος ποταμὸς ὁ λεγόμενος Γεῶν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ὁ Μάρκος
530 εὐαγγελισάμενος ἐκεῖ διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας
αὐτοῦ ἐξέβλυσεν ὕδατος ζῶντος τοῦ κηρύγματος. Τρίτος ὁ Λουκᾶς ὁ
καλούμενος Τίγρις, ὃς πλατὺς ἐρμηνεύεται. Τί γὰρ ἐν εὐαγγελίοις πλατύ-
τερον ἢ πλουσιώτερον τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγελίου; Παύλῳ γὰρ τῇ

7. The boundaries of worship according to the Law were in force from
the temple of Solomon, who was christened in the Geon, until the great
river, the Euphrates of the Church.¹ Then the temple of God dissolved
the temple of Israel. And the offering of those who were without the
Logos was extinguished by the offering of the Logos: through Christ,
who is the charcoal that never sleeps and is never quenched. He inflicted
a burn on Isaiah and set him on fire for himself, when Isaiah was
standing before the offering of the Law. This was symbolic. And then
God appeared to him.²

So eat, brothers, the flesh of the body of Scripture and hunger for it.
And drink that which is hidden in the flesh of the letter: the spiritual
blood of the mysteries. For he who in this way partakes in Scripture has
eternal life.³

VII 1. We know from the gospel tradition that the personal trait of
"going out" pertains to the Holy Spirit. The Lord said: *"The Holy Spirit,
which goes out from the Father."*⁴ Since this is so, perhaps the writer was
revealing the Spirit when he said: *A river goes out from Eden to water
the garden of the Church.*⁵ For *goes out* indicates a thing that does not
rest and is continuous. Likewise, *to water* indicates that which does not
rest and is always flowing. This was supported for us again by the same
Lord, Christ, when he said: *"If I go away to my Father,"*⁶ *I will ask him*
and he will send *to you another helper, the Spirit of truth*, to remain with
you forever."⁷

2. If you seek the four branches of the Holy Spirit's illumination,⁸
then know that the Spirit was the one speaking through the righteous
before the time of the Law. Among these was the one who said: *"That
which abides in my nostrils is the divine Spirit, that which teaches me is
the all-powerful breath."*⁹ The second Spirit was in the Law; and the
third was among the prophets. Then in the fourth rank was the Spirit
among the four rivers of the Evangelists. *Matthew* means "the command
of the Highest", which is harmonious with the evangelical proclamation.
Mark is said to mean "the gift of life". *Luke* is "he who rises up". And
John is "obedient to the Lord".

3. Even the sequence of the four rivers foreshadows exactly the order
of the holy Evangelists. First is Matthew, the one called Phison,¹⁰ which
means "a change of mouth", for the gospel of Matthew was published in
the Hebrew language. But the account from his mouth was translated
and changed by Luke and Paul into the Greek language. Fittingly, Mark
is the second river, the one called Geon.¹¹ Mark preached there in Egypt,
and through the Spirit, there gushed forth from inside him the river of
the gospel's living water.¹² The third is Luke, the one called the Tigris,¹³
which means "wide". For which of the gospels is broader or richer than
the gospel according to Luke? Having been a student of Paul, the font of

¹ Cf Gen 15:18; Ex 23:31; 1 Kg 1:38-39. ² Cf Is 6:5-7. ³ Cf Jn 6:54; 1 Cor 2:7; Rev 2:17.

⁴ Jn 15:26; cf Jn 14:26. ⁵ Gen 2:10. ⁶ Jn 14:12; 16:7; 18:10. ⁷ Jn 14:16-17.

⁸ Cf Gen 2:10. ⁹ Job 27:3; 33:4. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 2:11. ¹¹ Cf Gen 2:13. ¹² Cf Jn 7:38.

¹³ Cf Gen 2:14.

498 συσβεσάσης] scripsi συναισάσης MNP extinxit Hv. 499 ἀνέπρησε P 500 αὐτὸν P
503 οὕτως] & 2] οὕτω N 505 ἐπεὶ N 513 ὑμῶν MN 516 ῥυσί P 517 ὡσαύτω P
521 λουκᾶς] scripsi λουκάς MNP Ι(ωάνν)ω P 526 ἀλλοιώσεως P ἐβραϊδὶ MNP^{corr}
ἐβραϊδὶ N^{corr} ἐβραῖς P 531 λουκᾶς] scripsi λουκάς MNP τίγρις] scripsi τίγρης MNP

πηγῇ τῶν δογμάτων μαθητεύσας ὑπὲρ τὰ ποτάμια ῥεῖθρα ἐκ τῶν τοῦ
 535 Παύλου κρουγῶν ἀνέβλυσε. Τέταρτος Ἰωάννης ἀγαπητὸς ἐπιστήθιος ὁ
 μέγας τοῦ ἡλίου τῆς δικαιοσύνης Εὐφράτης. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ
 στήθος τοῦ φωτὸς ἀνακληθεὶς, τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν φώτων
 αὐτοῦ ἡμῖν ἀνήγγειλε γέννησιν, φῶς αὐτὸν ἀληθινὸν φωτίζοντα πάντα
 540 ἄνθρωπον καὶ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνοντα καὶ *Φῶς τοῦ κόσμου*, καθὼς
 εἶπεν. Αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. |

538 φωτίζοντα N 539 σκοτεία P 540 αἰῶν N

dogmas, he gushed forth beyond the river channels of Paul's streaming words. And the fourth is John, the beloved,¹ the bosom friend,² the great Euphrates of the sun of righteousness.³ And on account of this, as one that had leaned upon the heart of the light,⁴ John told us about his birth from above,⁵ from the Father of the lights,⁶ he the true light illuminating every person,⁷ the light shining in the darkness,⁸ and (as John said) *the Light of the world*.⁹

The glory and the power are his forever and ever. Amen.

¹ Cf Jn 13:23; 19:26; 21:7, 20. ² Cf Jn 13:25; 21:20. ³ Cf Gen 2:14; Mal 3:20 (4:2).
⁴ Cf Jn 13:25; 21:20. ⁵ Cf Jn 3:3, 7. ⁶ Cf Jas 1:17. ⁷ Cf Jn 1:9. ⁸ Cf Jn 1:5; 8:12.
⁹ Jn 8:12.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀκολουθῶς
λόγος ἕννατος |

I 1. Καὶ ἔλαβε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἐπλασε, καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ.

Σκοπῆσαι δεῖ πρὸ πάσης ἐξετάσεως ἐν τῷ προκειμένῳ χωρίῳ διὰ τί μὴ αὐτόχθονα παραδαιογενῆ καὶ παραδαιοπλαστον ἔνδον ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἐξωθεν αὐτὸν γυμνὸν καὶ ἀσύνθετον εἰσάγει ποθὲν ἄλλοθεν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα ἐντὸς ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δημιουργεῖ, τὰ δὲ θηρία πάλιν ἐξω κατασκευάσας μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν παραδείσῳ εἰσάγει. Ἐχρῆν γὰρ ἢ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα σὺν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐξω διαπλάσαι ἢ καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἔσω, ἐνθα ἢ γυνὴ κατεσκεύασται. Πῶς δὲ καὶ φέρων ὁ Θεὸς τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ ζῷα οὐ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους αὐτὰ ἡγαγεν ὁμοῦ ἀχωρίστους τυγχάνοντας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μόνον τὸν ἄνθρωπον;

2. Ταῦτα ὁ Ἰουδαῖος κατ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀναγινώσκων οὐ γινώσκει, ὅτι τὸ κάλυμμα τῆς ψυχικῆς ἀγνώσεως ἐπικείμενον ἔχει. Κατὰ γὰρ τὸ γράμμα ταῦτα νοούμενα πάσης ἀτοπίας καὶ βλασφημίας γίνονται πρόξενα. Εἰ γὰρ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν πληροῖ ὡς ἀπερίγραπτος καὶ ἀχώρητος καὶ ἀμετάστατος καὶ ἀκίνητος καὶ ἀμετάθετος ὁ Θεός, πῶς οὐκ ἀπ' οὐλλόμεθα ἀκούοντες ὅτι ἔλαβε τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον ὁ Θεὸς μετήγαγε καὶ ἔθετο αὐτόν; Εἰ δὲ λέγεις ὅτι ἐκτὸς τοῦ παραδείσου γέγονε καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς, πῶς συνεισφέρει αὐτὴν σὺν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ; Ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἀπορίᾳ τὴν ἀπορίαν συγκαλύψωμεν, ὅσοι σαφῶς τε καὶ ἀπλανῶς βουλόμεθα μαθεῖν πῶς ἔλαβε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἐπλασεν, ἀκούσωμεν Παύλου περὶ Χριστοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων μορφὴν δούλου ἔλαβε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὃν ἐπλασεν, καὶ ἔθετο αὐτόν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτόν, τουτέστι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ φυλάσσειν.

3. Ὁ δὲ θορυβούμενος ἐπὶ τῷ ῥήματι εἰπάτω μοι μεγέθους τοιοῦτου ἀκαταλήπτου ὄντος τοῦ πλάτους τοῦ παραδείσου, ὥστε τὸ περισσεῦον τοῦ ποτισμοῦ αὐτοῦ τέσσαρας τοιούτους ἀποτελεῖν ποτισμοὺς σχεδὸν πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀρδεύοντας, πῶς μόνος ὢν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ φυλάσσειν τοῦτον δύναται; Ποῦ δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἐργασίαν γῆς δίκελλα καὶ σκαπάνη καὶ ἄροτρα ἐπιτήδεια; Τίνος δὲ χάριν καὶ ἐφύλαττεν οὔτε κλεπτῶν οὔτε ἀνδρῶν ὑπαρχόντων, καὶ πάντων δὲ τῶν θηρίων καὶ πετεινῶν ἐσθίειν σὺν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς φυομένων καρπῶν προστεταγμένων ὥσανεὶ συμμεριστῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ συγκληρονόμων εἰς τοὺς καρποὺς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γεγεννημένων, | καθὼς ἤδη ὑμῖν καὶ ἐν

983B-
984B
titulus
983C

984C

985A

This is the ninth book in the series by the same author.

I 1. And God took the man, whom he had made, and placed him in Paradise.¹

Before we explore the passage that lies before us, it is necessary to consider the reason why God does not create man inside the garden:² indigenous, having his genesis in the garden, and made from the garden. Instead, he leads him naked and simple from outside, from some other place, into Paradise. Yet he fashions the woman from man in Paradise.³ And yet again he prepares the wild animals outside, and after-wards leads them to man in Paradise.⁴

Should he not have created the woman outside with the man, or the man inside, where the woman was prepared? And why did God, when he brought in the wild beasts and animals, not lead them to both the woman and the man, since they were together in the same place? Why did he lead them only to the man?

2. The Jew, even if he reads these things daily, does not know, because he puts on and wears a hood of spiritual ignorance.⁵ And these things, when considered literally, promote all kinds of absurdity and blasphemy. God fills heaven and earth; he cannot be circumscribed, contained, removed, moved, or changed. How then are we not confounded, when we hear that God took the man and led him from one location to another and placed him there?⁶ And if you say that the woman also came into being outside of Paradise from his rib, how does God lead her together with the man into Paradise?

Let us not conceal one puzzle with another puzzle. We who want to know both clearly and straightforward how the Lord God "took the man, whom he had made,"⁷ let us listen to Paul. He says of Christ: *Existing in the shape of God, he took the shape of a slave*⁸ of the man whom he had made and placed him in the Paradise of the Church, so that he, that is the man, could work and guard it.⁹

3. If anyone is disturbed by my statement, let him answer for me the following question. The expanse of Paradise was of such an incomprehensible magnitude, that the abundance of its river produced four rivers so great that they irrigated nearly all the inhabited world.¹⁰ How could one man alone have worked it and guarded it?¹¹ And where were the tools necessary for working the land: the pitchfork, the spade, the plough? And against whom was he guarding it? There were neither thieves nor men; and all the beasts and birds had been ordered to eat with him from all the fruits growing upon the earth,¹² as if God had made them equal sharers and inheritors with man to the fruits. I have

¹ Gen 2:15. ² Cf Gen 1:27. ³ Cf Gen 2:21-22. ⁴ Cf Gen 2:19. ⁵ Cf 2 Cor 3:14-15.
⁶ Cf Gen 2:15. ⁷ Cf Gen 2:15. ⁸ Phil 2:6-7. ⁹ Cf Gen 2:15. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 2:10-14.
¹¹ Cf Gen 2:15. ¹² Cf Gen 1:29-30.

4 αὐτόχθον ἀπαραδαιογενῆ M 4/5 ἔνδον ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ] om. P 7/8 ἐξω πάλιν P 14 γὰρ] om. P 15 ἀτοπίας M 18 ἀκούοντες] om. N 19 ἐκτὸς] ἐκ M^{accor} 22 ἀπλανῶς] ἀπλῶς P 25 τῷ] om. P 34 πάντων] add. δὲ τῶν θηρίων καὶ πετ M^{accor}

τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν διὰ βραχέων εἴρηται· Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὑπετάσσοντο τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντα τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ πετεινά.

4. Οὐκοῦν, ὅταν ἀκούσης ὅτι ἐξ ἀγνώστου τινὸς καὶ ἀνερμηνεύτου καὶ ἀκαταλήπτου τόπου εἰσφέρει ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ μόνον γυμνὸν καὶ ἀσύνθετον ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ ἐνδύει αὐτὸν ἔσω δερμάτινον χιτῶνα σαρκικὸν καὶ τὰ θηρία προσάγει αὐτῷ ἔσω τὰ πρὸ τῆς εἰσόδου αὐτοῦ ἔξω τυγχάνοντα, μὴδὲν ἕτερον διὰ πάντων τούτων νοήσεις προφητευόμενον ἀλλ' ἢ ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ὁ πρὶν γυμνὸς καὶ ἀσύνθετος βουλήσει καὶ 45 συνεργίᾳ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐξ ἀγνώστου καὶ ἀνερμηνεύτου τόπου τοῦ Χερουβικοῦ θρόνου εἰσῆλθε πρὸς τὸν παράδεισον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ φυλάσσειν αὐτόν, καὶ σαρκωθείς τὸν τῆς ἡμετέρας οὐσίας χιτῶνα ἔλαβε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἔπλασεν, ἐνωθεὶς αὐτῷ καθ' ὑπόστασιν. Οὐ γὰρ δήπου ἀγγέλων ἐπελάβετο, ἀλλὰ σπέρματος Ἀβρα- 50 ἄμ ἐπελάβετο, ἥνίκα τὸ λευτίον τῆς σαρκὸς λαβὼν διέζωσεν ἑαυτὸν οὐχ ὑφ' ἑτέρου τοῦτο περιτεθέν, ἑαυτὸν γὰρ ἐσάρκωσε χωρὶς ἀνθρωπίνης σποράς.

5. Περὶ ἧς εἰσόδου τῆς ἐν τῷ βίῳ ὁ παραδαισοδρόμος Παῦλος μαρτυρεῖ περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ διὰ Πατρὸς 55 εἰσενεχθέντος λέγων· Ὅταν δὲ τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰσαγάγῃ εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην καὶ θήσῃ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὃν ἔθηκε κληρονόμον πάντων, λέγει· Καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ. Καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτῷ πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν θηρίων, καὶ πάντες οἱ λέοντες βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς μακαριοῦσιν αὐτόν ὡς λαβόντα ἐκ τοῦ 60 Πατρὸς τὰ θηρία τῶν λαῶν κληρονομίαν καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσιν αὐτοῦ τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς. Οὕτω νοεῖτω ἡ ἐκκλησία τὸ· Ἐλαβε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἔπλασε, καὶ ἔθετο αὐτόν ὡς ἴδιον σῶμα εἰς μίαν ὑπόστασιν ἁγίαν, ὥστε τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ πιστοῦ λαοῦ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ φυλάττειν τὸν παράδεισον τῶν λογικῶν ἐθνῶν δένδρων.

6. Ὅθεν ὡς εἰς τοῦτο αὐτὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς τεθείς ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ὁ Πατήρ μου ἔως ἄρτι ἐργάζεται, καὶ ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι. Καὶ φυλάττοντι τὴν πατρικὴν ἐντολὴν ἔδωκέ μοι ἀγρόν καὶ κῆπον, εἰς ὃν ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἰσῆλθον εὐθύς ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείραι. Καὶ εὐθέως ἅμα πρῶτ' ἐμισθωσάμην δώδεκα ἐργάτας ἀροτῆρας μαθητάς ἐντειλάμενος αὐτοῖς 70 ὅτι Οὐδεὶς ἐξ ὑμῶν βαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα ἐπ' ἄροτρον καὶ στραφεὶς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω εὐθετὸς ἐστὶν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. Λοιπὸν προθύμως ἄρατε τὸν ζυγόν μου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, ὁ γὰρ ζυγός μου χρηστός, ἐπίτοι σταυρός. Καὶ ὁ σπείρων μισθὸν λαμβάνει καὶ συνάγει καρπὸν, ἵνα χαίρῃ ὁ σπείρων ὁμοῦ καὶ ὁ θερίζων. Τούτους τοὺς δώδεκα ἐμισθωσάμην ἅμα 75 πρῶτ'. Ἀλλ' ὡς εἶδον τὸν παράδεισον μέγαν καὶ τὰς χώρας πολλὰς καὶ

already mentioned this to you in previous sections; yet, without doubt, all the beasts and birds were subjugated under Adam.¹

4. God brought Adam, alone, naked, and simple, into the garden from some place,² unknown, indescribable, and incomprehensible. And inside, he dressed him in a leather tunic made from skin.³ And inside, he led to him the beasts,⁴ which before his entrance had been outside. When you hear all these things, do not think that they prophesied anything else but this: God the Word was at first naked and simple, by the wish and cooperation of the Father; then, from an unknown and indescribable place, the Cherubic throne, he entered into the garden of the Church to work and protect it;⁵ and having become incarnate, he took the tunic of our nature, the humanity which he had made, and became one with it as a person.⁶ He surely did not take on the nature of the angels; rather, he took on that of the seed of Abraham.⁷ And having taken the cloth of our flesh, he girded himself;⁸ it was not placed around him by another. He made himself incarnate, without human seed.

5. Paul, who journeyed into Paradise,⁹ bears witness about this entrance into life. He says this about God the Father, and about the Son, who through the Father was brought in: *When he brings his firstborn into the world*¹⁰ and places him in the Church, *whom he has made the heir of all*,¹¹ he says: *"Let all the angels of God prostrate themselves to him."*¹² And all the tribes of the nations of beasts will bow before him.¹³ And all the lions, kings of the earth, will congratulate him,¹⁴ because he received from the Father the beasts of the peoples as his inheritance and the ends of the earth as his possession.¹⁵

So let the Church think this: *The Lord God took the man, whom he had made, and placed him, as his own body, as one holy person, to work out the fulfillment of the faithful people and to guard the garden of the spiritual nations, the trees.*¹⁶

6. Therefore, having been placed into this by the Father, he said: *"My Father till now has been working, and I am working."*¹⁷ He gave to me, who keeps his paternal command,¹⁸ the field and the garden. Having gone out from the Father,¹⁹ I arrived immediately, *the sower to sow.*²⁰ And directly *with the dawn*, I hired twelve workers,²¹ ploughmen, disciples, to whom I gave this command: *'Not one of you that places his hand upon the plough and then turns around is suited for the kingdom of the heavens.'*²² Therefore with eagerness, *take my yoke upon you, for my yoke is kind,*²³ since it is the cross. *And the one who sows receives his pay and gathers fruit, so that the sower rejoices with the reaper.'*²⁴

"These twelve I hired *at dawn.*"²⁵ But then I saw the garden was large and the fields were numerous, white, clean of heart, and ready with

39 ἀοερμηνεύτου Ν 51 περιτιθέν Ν 55 εἰσενεχθέντος Μ 65 εἰς] εἰ Ρ 68 σπείρων Μ 71 ἐθετός Ν ἐστὶν] οἴμ. Ρ 72 ἐπίτοι] ἐπέει σοι Ν^{9-com.} 73 χαίρει ΜΝ

¹ Cf Gen 1:28; 2:20. ² Cf Gen 2:15. ³ Cf Gen 3:21. ⁴ Cf Gen 2:19. ⁵ Cf Gen 2:15. ⁶ Cf Gen 3:21. ⁷ Cf Is 41:8-9; Heb 2:16. ⁸ Cf Jn 13:4. ⁹ Cf 2 Cor 12:4. ¹⁰ Heb 1:6. ¹¹ Heb 1:2. ¹² Heb 1:6. ¹³ Cf Ps 21(22):28. ¹⁴ Cf Ps 71(72):11 (codex Sinaiticus), 17. ¹⁵ Cf Ps 2:7-8. ¹⁶ Gen 2:15. ¹⁷ Jn 5:17. ¹⁸ Cf Jn 15:10. ¹⁹ Cf Jn 16:28. ²⁰ Cf Mt 13:3; Mk 4:3; Lk 8:5. ²¹ Cf Mt 20:1. ²² Lk 9:62. ²³ Mt 11:29-30. ²⁴ Jn 4:36. ²⁵ Mt 20:1.

λευκάς καὶ καθαρὰς τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐτοίμους τῇ προθέσει πρὸς θερισμὸν
πίστεως καὶ μετεγκεντρισμὸν ἐξ ἀπιστίας εἰς θεογνωσίαν, οὐ μόνον δὲ
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ δένδρα ὠραίους εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ καλοὺς εἰς βρωσιν καὶ
πεπείρους τοὺς καρπούς ἔχοντα, εἶπον· Ὁ μὲν θερισμὸς πολὺς καὶ ὁ
80 τρυγητὸς ἔφθασεν, οἱ δὲ ἐργάται ὀλίγοι. Διὸ καὶ ἀναδείξας καὶ λαὸν
ἐμισθωσάμην | ἄλλους ἐβδομήκοντα ἐργάτας εἰς τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ
φυλάττειν τὸν παράδεισον τοῦτον, εἰς τὸ καλλιεργεῖν καὶ σπείρειν καὶ
φυτεύειν καὶ καθαίρειν καὶ ποτίζειν, ἐντειλάμενος αὐτοῖς ὅτι Πᾶσα φυτεία,
ἣν οὐκ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ Πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος, ἐκριζώσατε αὐτήν, καὶ τὸν
85 ἡμέτερον λόγον καὶ δόγμα καταφυτεύσατε.

7. Οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἐστὶν ιδέσθαι τοῦτον τὸν δεύτερον
Ἀδὰμ Χριστὸν τὰ λογικὰ δένδρα σαφῶς ἐργαζόμενον καὶ τὰ μὲν
ἀκάθαρτα καθαίροντα, πρὸς ἃ καὶ ἔλεγε· Θέλω, καθαρίσθητι, τὰ δὲ ξηρὰ
ἀνανεοῦντα, ἐξ ὧν ἦν κάκεῖνο τὸ δένδρον τὸ ξηρὰν ἔχον ὥσπερ κλάδον
90 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρα, πρὸς ὃ ὁ καλὸς κηπουρὸς ἔκραξε· Ἐκτεῖνον τὴν χεῖρα
σου πρὸς ἐργασίαν Θεοῦ. Οὕτω καὶ νεκρωθέντας ὡς ζωὴ ἐξωποιοίησεν
ἄνδρας, ἐξ ὧν ἦν ξηρὸν καὶ νεκρὸν ξύλον Λάζαρος ὕδατι δακρύου
ποτισθὲν καὶ εὐθέως ἐκ γῆς ἀναβλαστῆσαν. Ὑπερφυῶς δὲ οὗτος ὁ γεωρ-
γὸς Ἰησοῦς καὶ τὸ ὀφθαλμίζειν ἐπίσταται. Πηλῶ γάρ καὶ ὕδατι τὸν ἐκ
95 γενετῆς τυφλὸν κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῶν κηπουρῶν ὀφθαλμίσας, ὡς φῶς ἐκ
φωτὸς ὦν, τὸν τυφλὸν ὠμμάτωσεν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ποτιστὴν αὐτὸν ιδέσθαι
θέλεις, ἄκουσον αὐτοῦ λέγοντος· Εἴ τις διψᾷ, ἐρχέσθω πρὸς με καὶ πινέτω.
Οὕτω γάρ πρὸς τὸ φρέαρ καθήμενος τὴν καλὴν ἐκείνην ἄμπελον
Σαμαρεῖτιν ποτίσας καρποφόρον ἀνέδειξεν. Ὅθεν ὡς φιλόκαρπος
100 γεωργὸς καὶ Θεὸς ἐγκαλεῖ τῷ τὴν συκὴν ἐκείνην τριετῶς ἀρδεύσαντι
ἐκκόπτειν ταύτην λοιπὸν ἐπιτρέπων, καθὰ καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν φυλλο-
φόρον ἄσुकον συκὴν ἐπιτιμῆσας ἐξήρανε.

8. Ἀλλὰ τοσαῦτα μὲν εἰς τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι τὸν παράδεισον Χριστὸν
εἰρήσθω, περὶ δὲ τοῦ φυλάττειν αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν λογικὸν κήπον
105 ἄκουσον αὐτοῦ λέγοντος· Οὐκ ἀφήσω ὑμᾶς ὀρφανούς, καὶ πύλαι ἄδου οὐ
κατισχύουσιν τούτου τοῦ παραδείσου. Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ θύρα τῆς ἀνλῆς τῶν
προβάτων, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν μου τίθημι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐδεὶς δύναται
λαβεῖν αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς μου, ὅτι οὐς δέδωκέ μοι ὁ Πατήρ ἐφύλαξα, καὶ
οὐδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο, εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας. Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ
110 θέλημα τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦ πέμψαντός με, ἵνα πᾶν, ὃ δέδωκέ μοι, μὴ
ἀπολέσω ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Εἰς τοῦτο γάρ ἔταξέ με εἰς τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ
φυλάσσειν τὸν θεοφύτευτον αὐτοῦ παράδεισον.

their offering for the harvest of faith¹ and for engrafting from faith-
lessness to knowledge of God. Not only this, but I also beheld trees with
fruit beautiful to see and good to eat and ripe.² So I said: *'The harvest is
large and the gathering of fruit is at hand, but the workers are few.'*³

"On account of this, once I had designated also a people, I hired
seventy other workers⁴ to work and keep⁵ this Paradise: to cultivate,⁶
sow,⁷ plant, clean,⁸ and water it.⁹ I commanded them: *'All the vegetation
that my Father in heaven did not plant:*¹⁰ eradicate it and plant our word
and teachings instead'."

7. It is also possible to see the second Adam, Christ, tending for
himself the spiritual trees and cleansing those that are not pure. He said
to them: *"I want it: be clean."*¹¹ And he refreshed those that were dry,
among which was the tree whose hand was withered like a branch.¹²
The good gardener¹³ cried out to him: *"Stretch out your hand¹⁴ for the
work of God."* So also, he that is life¹⁵ brought to life those men who had
died. Among them was Lazarus, a tree dead and dry. He was moistened
by the water of a tear,¹⁶ and straightaway he bloomed from the earth.¹⁷

And this farmer, Jesus, knew how to care for the eyes in a
supernatural way. Using the method of gardeners,¹⁸ with mud and
water he cared for the eyes of the man that had been blind from birth.¹⁹
And as light from light, he gave eyes to the blind man.

And if you want to see him irrigate, then listen to him say: *"If
someone is thirsty, let him come to me and drink."*²⁰ Thus, having sat
down at the well, he gave water to that beautiful vine, the Samaritan
woman, and appointed her to be a bearer of fruit.²¹

And thus, as both God and a farmer that loves fruit, he reprimanded
the one who had been watering that fig tree for three years, and he
ordered him at last to cut it down.²² So too, after personally rebuking the
fig tree that had leaves but no fruit, he dried it out.²³

8. Let such things be said of Christ "working the Paradise." About
him "guarding" his spiritual garden, listen to him say:

*"I will not leave you orphans,²⁴ and the gates of Hell will not prevail
against this garden.²⁵ I am the door of the sheepfold,²⁶ and I place down
my life for them.²⁷ And no one is able to take them from my hand,²⁸
because I guard those whom the Father gave to me. And not one of them
was destroyed, except the son of destruction.²⁹ For this is the wish of my
Father, who sent me: that I will not lose anything from that which he
gave to me.³⁰ He appointed me for this end: to work and guard his
divinely planted garden."*³¹

¹ Jn 4:35; Mt 5:8. ² Gen 2:9. ³ Mt 9:37; Lk 10:2. ⁴ Mt 20:1. ⁵ Gen 2:15. ⁶ Mt 13:3, 4;
Mk 4:3, 4; Lk 8:5. ⁷ Cf Gen 2:8. ⁸ Cf Jn 15:2. ⁹ Cf Gen 2:10. ¹⁰ Mt 15:13.
¹¹ Mt 8:3; Mk 1:41; Lk 5:13. ¹² Cf Mt 12:10. ¹³ Cf Jn 20:15. ¹⁴ Mt 12:13; Mk 3:5;
Lk 6:10. ¹⁵ Cf Jn 14:6. ¹⁶ Cf Jn 11:35. ¹⁷ Cf Jn 11:44. ¹⁸ Cf Jn 20:15. ¹⁹ Cf Jn 9:1,
6-7. ²⁰ Jn 7:37. ²¹ Cf Jn 4:6-42. ²² Cf Lk 13:6-7. ²³ Cf Mt 21:18-19; Mk 11:12-14, 20.
²⁴ Jn 14:18. ²⁵ Mt 16:18. ²⁶ Jn 10:7. ²⁷ Jn 10:15. ²⁸ Jn 10:28-29. ²⁹ Jn 17:12; 18:9.
³⁰ Jn 6:39. ³¹ Cf Gen 2:15.

79 πεπεῖρους P ὁ? ὡ N 82 φυλάτει M τοῦτον] om. P καλλιεργεῖν M 86 ἐστὶν] sc̃ip̃si ἐστὶν M ἐστὶν NP εὐεύτερον N^{sc̃ip̃si}. 90 ὁ] om. P κηπουρὸς P^{sc̃ip̃si}. 91 οὕτω καὶ] οὕτως M^{sc̃ip̃si}. 94 πηλῶ] πολλῶ N 96 ὠμμάτωσεν] sc̃ip̃si ὠμμάτωσεν MNP [ιδέσθαι] εἰδέναι N^{sc̃ip̃si}. εἰδέναι N^{sc̃ip̃si}. 99 σαμαρεῖτιν N φιλόκαρπον M^{sc̃ip̃si}. 100 συκὴν] sc̃ip̃si συκὴν MNP 101 ἐκπέειν M^{sc̃ip̃si}. τὴν] om. P 102 ἄσुकον συκὴν] sc̃ip̃si ἄσुकον συκὴν MP ἄσुकον συκὴν N 104 κήπων P 105 ἀφίσω MP 110 ὁ M 111 ἀπώλεσω N

Π 1. Καὶ ἐνετείλατο Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Ἀδὰμ λέγων· Ἀπὸ παντὸς
ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ βρώσει φάγη, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσ-
κειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν, οὐ φάγεσθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· ἢ δ' ἂν ἡμέρα φάγητε ἀπ'
αὐτοῦ, θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε.

Οὐχ ἡ τυχοῦσα οὔτε μὴν εὐσύνοπτος, ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔτε εὐεξάνυστος
γέγονεν ἡ ἔννοια τοῖς εἰς ταύτην ἑαυτοὺς κεκαθικόσι τὴν πραγματείαν
ὑποφῆταις, διὸ καὶ πάντῃ ἀσύμφωνος καὶ ἐν τοῖς προκειμένοις ῥητοῖς
κατέστη. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐδώδιμον τότε τὸ φυτὸν ἐφαντάσθησαν, οὐ, φασί,
τὸ ὁμόφυλον τὴν συκὴν ἐξήρα· ἵεν ὁ Χριστός. Ἄλλοι δὲ νοητὸν εἶναι,
φυτὸν δ' οὖν ὁμῶς ἀπεφάνησαν γνῶσεως. Καὶ ἕτεροι θεωρίαν τοῦτο
ἀνείδον ἐφασαν εἶναι, καὶ ἄλλοι πάλιν ἀνυπόστατον τυπικὴν διήγησιν.
Ὁ δὲ ἀρρητοποιὸς ὥς αἰσχροουργὸς Ὠριγένης τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦτο
ἐνόμισε. Ἀλλὰ περὶ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου ἐσύτερον λέξωμεν.

2. Τὰς δὲ κἀν τοῖς προκειμένοις ἡμῖν ἀνακυπτούσας διασκεπτέον
ζητήσεις, ὧν ἐν καὶ πρῶτον· πῶς οὐ τῷ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ δίδωσι τὴν
τοιαύτην ἐντολὴν ὁ Θεός, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ Ἀδὰμ, εἴτα ὁ Ἀδὰμ μετα-
δίδωσι τῇ γυναικὶ; Δεύτερον· διὰ τί μὴ μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς ὥς
τιμιωτέρου ἐπιτρέψαι μὴ φαγεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐλάττονος; Τοῦ γὰρ γινώσ-
κειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν κρείττον· τι ἐστὶ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἢ βρώσις ἐκείνη
ὥς ἀθανατίζουσα τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ αἰώνιον αὐτὸν καὶ ἀφθαρτον καὶ
ἀνώλεθρον καὶ ἰσαγγελον ποιοῦσα. Καὶ δείκνυσι τὴν ἀφατον διαφορὰν ὁ
Θεὸς τοῦ ξύλου τῆς γνῶσεως κωλύσας ἐν ὑστέρω τὸν Ἀδὰμ τῆς τούτου
μεταλήψεως διὰ τῆς ξυλακῆς τῶν Χερουβὶμ. Τρίτον· διὰ τί τοῦ Θεοῦ
μηδὲν ἐντεταμένου τῷ Ἀδὰμ περὶ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς μὴ μᾶλλον ἐξ
αὐτοῦ συνεβούλευσεν ὁ ὄφης μεταλαβεῖν; Τέταρτον· πῶς οὐχὶ τῷ ἄν-
θρώπῳ, ἀλλὰ τῇ γυναικὶ προσέβαλε; Ποῦ δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ ἰδιάζουσιν εὑρε;
Πέμπτον· πόθεν ἐγνω ἄγνωσιν τὴν ἐντολὴν τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς; Ἐκτον·
πάλιν τί δήποτε τὴν μετάληψιν ὅλων τῶν ξύλων μόνῳ τῷ ἄνθρώπῳ
ἐκέλευσε φαγεῖν, τὴν δὲ ἀποχὴν τοῦ γνωστικοῦ ξύλου καὶ τὸν θάνατον
ἀμφοτέροις λέγει; Ἑβδομον· εἰ ὅλος ἀφθαρτος ἐπλάσθη, πῶς ἦσθι ξυλό-
καρπον βρώσιν εἰς φθίσιν προσχωροῦσαν; Ὁγδοον· διὰ τί μὴ κοινῇ τοῖς
ἄνθρώποις ἔθετο καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις καὶ ταύτην τὴν τῶν ὠραίων ξύλων
βρώσιν καθὰ καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἔσω ἐν παραδείσῳ εἰσενέγκας αὐτὰ πρὸς
τὸν Ἀδὰμ; Ἐννατον· πῶς οὐκ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπέθανεν, ἡνίκα ἔφαγε,
κατὰ τὴν ἀπόφασιν, ἣν εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Θεός; Δέκατον· τίνος χάριν νῦν
αὐτὸν ὠνόμασεν Ἀδὰμ;

3. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἅπαντα οἱ βουλόμενοι, ὥς βούλονται καὶ δύνανται,
ἐρευνάτωσαν καὶ καλλιπερίαις καὶ γλυκυμυθίαις ῥητορικαῖς καὶ στροφαῖς

114 ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ] *om.* M^a ^{corr.} βρώσει] *om.* M^a ^{corr.} N φάγη, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ] *om.* M^a ^{corr.} 114/5 γινώσκει M 116 ἢ N 116 ἀποθανεῖσθε] *scripsi* ἀποθανῆσθε MNP 118 κεκαθικόσι] *scripsi* κεκαθεικόσι MNP 119 ὑποφῆτας P 121 συκῇ] *scripsi* συκὴν MNP 124 ὠριγένος M ὠριγένους P ἐνόμισε P 129 διὰ τί P 130/1 γινώσκει M 131 τί] *om.* MN 132 ἀθανατίζουσα P 138 προσέβαλε N^a ^{corr.} προσέλαβε P

Π 1. And the Lord God commanded Adam, saying: "Eat from every tree in the garden as food. But from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil—do not eat from this. For on whatever day you eat from this, you will surely die."¹

Since the sense is not commonplace nor quickly comprehended, it was not easily vanquished by the interpreters who sat themselves down to the task. Disagreement about the meaning in these sentences became complete. Some imagined that the tree was edible; and they say that its descendent, the fig tree, was dried up by Christ.² Others declared that it was noetic, but that the fruit was that of knowledge. Yet others said that the tree was formless contemplation. And still others said that it was without existence: the narration was symbolic. Origen, that perpetrator of shameful and unmentionable things, thought the tree was woman. But we will talk later about the tree.

2. We need to consider whatever problems crop up for us in the passage under contemplation. The first one is this: why does God not give such a command to Adam and the woman, but to Adam alone, who then shares it with his wife?³ Second: why does God not forbid him to eat from the tree of life, since it is more precious, but keeps him from the less precious one? The former meal is better by far than the knowledge of good and evil. It renders man deathless and makes him eternal, incorruptible, indestructible, and equal to the angels. Even God points out the indescribable difference between this tree and the tree of knowledge: a little later, he keeps Adam from partaking in it by stationing a guard of Cherubim.⁴ Third: since there was no command by God to Adam about the tree of life, why did the snake not advise him instead to take from this?⁵ Fourth: why did the snake not tempt the man, but instead the woman?⁶ Indeed, where did he find her by herself? Fifth: how did the snake know? He was ignorant of the command that had been given to them. Sixth: why indeed did God order only the man to eat a share from all the trees, but then to both he speaks of abstaining from the tree of knowledge and of death?⁷ Seventh: if man was made entirely incorruptible, how did he eat the fruit of the tree, a meal that would imply decay?⁸ Eighth: why did God not give to men and beasts in common the food of the beautiful trees, since earlier he'd brought them to Adam inside the garden? Ninth: why did the man not die the very day he ate from it?⁹ This was the decision God had given to him. And tenth: why did he now call him Adam?¹⁰

3. Let all these things be analyzed by those who want—as they want and are able. Let them be unraveled and considered with wonderful words, sweetly spoken rhetoric, and strophes. I, however, see and hear

¹ Gen 2:16-17. ² Cf Mt 21:18-19; Mk 11:12-14, 20. ³ Cf Gen 3:2-3. ⁴ Cf Gen 3:24.

⁵ Cf Gen 3:1-5. ⁶ Cf Gen 3:1. ⁷ Cf Gen 2:16-17; 3:2-3. ⁸ Cf Gen 1:29-30; 2:9, 16-17, 19-20.

⁹ Cf Gen 2:17. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 2:16.

λυέτωσαν καὶ νοείτωσαν. Ἐγὼ δέ, ἡνίκα ἴδω καὶ ἀκούσω τὸν Θεὸν
 μυστικῶς καὶ ἰδίως τῷ Ἀδὰμ μόνῳ τὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ τὰ προστάγματα
 διδόντα μηδενὸς παρόντος ἢ μεσιτεύοντος, εἴτα μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Ἀδὰμ
 τῇ γυναικὶ μεταδιδόντα, ἐκείνου εὐθέως τοῦ Ἀδὰμ τὴν ἐντολὴν ἐννοῶ
 155 τοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἀφθορον αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐκκλησίαν λαλοῦντος καὶ λέγον-
 τος· *Τὰ ῥήματα, ἃ ἐγὼ λαλῶ, οὐκ ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ λαλῶ, ἀλλ' ἐντολὴν*
ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς μου, τί εἶπω καὶ τί λαλήσω. Κατὰ τοῦτο γὰρ
 καὶ λέγεται μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος ὁ Χριστός, ὅτι βουλὴν ἀρχαίαν
 ἀληθινὴν σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ προεβουλεύσατο, τὸ μυστήριον, ὃ προώρισεν ὁ
 160 Θεὸς πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων εἰς δόξαν ἡμῶν, ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῇ ἰδίᾳ
 ποιμνῇ ὡς γυναικὶ καὶ τὸν σπόνρον τοῦ λόγου παρ' αὐτοῦ δεχομένη καὶ
 τεκνογονοῦσα. "Οθεν οὐδ' ἐπιτρέπει ταύτῃ μὴ με|ταλαβεῖν τοῦ ξύλου τῆς
 ζωῆς, αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστι. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ ὄφης οὐδαμῶς συμβουλεύει τῇ
 ἐκκλησίᾳ τὴν τούτου ποιήσασθαι μετάληψιν, ἤκουσε γὰρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος
 165 ὅτι *Ὁ τρώγων τοῦτον τὸν ἄρτον ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.*

4. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοῦ ὄφεως (καὶ τὰ) εἰς τὸν ὄφιν ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς λεκτέον,
 ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν θείαν ἐντολὴν ἐπανελέσθωμεν, ἵνα καὶ τὴν ἐντολὴν πληροῦντες
 τοῦ ἐντειλαμένου ἡμῖν τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐξαήμερου κτίσεως κατασκέψασθαι
 πέρας δώμεν τῷ πόνῳ. Πάνυ γὰρ εὐαρμόστως, ἡνίκα τὸν πρωτότοκον
 170 ἄνθρωπον εἰσήγαγεν ἐν τῷ λογικῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ βασιλέα τοῦτον
 πεποίηκεν καὶ πάντα ὑπέταξεν ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ, δίδωσιν
 αὐτῷ νόμον ἐντολῆς ὁ Θεὸς ὥσανεὶ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ διερχό-
 μενος καὶ λέγων· Ἀκουσον δὴ, ὦ πρωτουργὸν καὶ πρωτόπλαστον
 δημιουργημα τῶν ἐμῶν ἀχράντων χειρῶν καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀκηράτου εἰκόνης
 175 ὁμοίωμα, τὸ μονογενὲς τε καὶ κάλλιστον, καὶ ἔσο γινώσκον ὅτι κατ'
 εἰκόνα τὴν ἐμὴν σὲ μόνον ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς ὁρατῆς καὶ ἀοράτου διεμόρφω-
 σα φύσεως. Δεσπόζω τῶν οὐρανίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ σὲ δεσπότην κατέστησα
 τῶν ἐπιγείων. Ἐδημιούργησά σε ἀπὸ γῆς ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺ
 δημιουργήσόν με ἀπὸ μήτρας ἄνθρωπον. Ἐχω θρόνον τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸν
 180 ἐπάνω τῶν ὑδάτων, ἀλλὰ δέδωκα σοὶ θρόνον τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐπάνω τῶν
 ὑδάτων. Κελεύω ἀγγέλοις, ἀλλὰ κελεύεις ἀνθρώποις. Παρίστανταί μοι
 πάντα τὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ ζῶα· παρίστανταί σοι πάντα τὰ τοῦ ἀγροῦ
 ζῶα. Ὑποτάττω τὰ ἐξαπτέρυγα· ὑποτάξεις πετεινὰ πολυπτέρυγα. Ἀρ-
 χῶ τῶν πολυομμάτων· ἄρξεις τῶν πολλὰ ὀρώντων δαιμόνων, εἰ βούλει.
 185 Κυριεύω τῶν καταχθονίων· κυριεύσον καὶ σὺ τῶν ἐν τοῖς καταχθονίοις
 τῆς θαλάσσης ἰχθύων. *Καὶ ὁ φόβος ὑμῶν καὶ ὁ τρόμος ἔστω ἐπὶ πάντα*
τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἰχθύας τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ
ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ κτήνη καὶ ἕρπετὰ καὶ θηρία τῆς γῆς. Πάντα σοι ὡς ἐμῷ

God mystically and personally giving to Adam alone the command and instructions. No one else is present or mediating. Then afterwards, Adam shares them with his wife.¹ And I immediately think of the command of that other Adam, when he speaks to his incorruptible wife, the Church. He says: *"The words that I speak to you, I speak not from myself."*² But I received the command from my Father, what I have said and what I will say."³ Accordingly, Christ is called the Messenger of Great Counsel,⁴ because he planned out the ancient and true counsel beforehand with his Father: to come and announce to his own flock, as to a woman, the mystery that God before the ages had predestined for our glory;⁵ and she would receive the seed of the Word from him and give birth. Therefore, he does not command her not to share in the tree of life, for he is it. And on account of this, the snake in no way counsels the Church to partake in it. For the snake heard him saying: *"The one who eats this bread will live forever."*⁶

4. The things of the snake and what concerns the snake are discussed later. For now, let us return to the divine command, so that we might fulfill the injunction of the one that commanded us to examine the things of the six-day creation, and so we might make an end to our labor.

It was quite fitting that, when God led the first-born man into the rational garden and made him emperor and placed all things beneath his feet, God also gave to him a binding command. It was as if he said to Adam the following:

"Listen. I worked and formed you as the first creation of my immaculate hands⁷ and the likeness of my pure image.⁸ You are my only born and most noble. Understand this: from every nature that is visible or invisible, I shaped you alone in my image.⁹ I rule over the heavens, but I established you as ruler of the things on earth.¹⁰ I crafted you as a man from the earth.¹¹ But you: craft me as a man from the womb. I have as my throne the heaven above the waters;¹² but I gave to you as a throne the earth upon the waters. I give orders to my angels,¹³ but you will give orders to men. All the Cherubic beings are at my disposal;¹⁴ and all the animals of the field are at your disposal.¹⁵ The six-winged angels are my subjects;¹⁶ the birds with all their feathers will be your subjects. I rule the angels with many eyes;¹⁷ you will rule—if you want—the demons, who see many things.¹⁸ I am lord over those below the earth;¹⁹ you be lord over the fish in the depths of the sea.²⁰ And let there be *fear of you and trembling among all the birds of heaven and all the fish of the sea and all the cattle and reptiles and beasts of the earth.*²¹

¹ Cf Gen 2:16-17; 3:3. ² Jn 14:10. ³ Jn 10:18; 12:49. ⁴ Cf Is 9:5. ⁵ Cf 1 Cor 2:7.

⁶ Jn 6:58. ⁷ Cf Gen 2:7; Ps 118(119):73. ⁸ Cf Gen 1:26-27; 5:1. ⁹ Cf Gen 1:26-27; 5:1.

¹⁰ Cf Ps 113:24. ¹¹ Cf Gen 2:7. ¹² Cf Ps 10(11):4; Is 66:1. ¹³ Cf Ps 90(91):11; Dan 7:10;

Heb 1:14. ¹⁴ Cf Ezek 1:4-28; ¹⁵ Cf Gen 2:19-20. ¹⁶ Cf Is 6:1-2. ¹⁷ Cf Ezek 1:18.

¹⁸ Cf Mt 10:1; Mk 6:7; Lk 9:1. ¹⁹ Cf Phil 2:10. ²⁰ Cf Gen 1:28. ²¹ Gen 9:2.

163 ταῦτα] om. P 166 καὶ τὰ εἰς τὸν ὄφιν] scripsi εἰς τὸν ὄφιν MNP et quae ad serpentem
 Hn. 168 ἡμῶν M 172 Ἀδὰμ] add. ὁ Θεὸς P 173 πρωτουργὸν] scripsi προτοουργὸν
 MNP 179 τὸν²] τῶν P 181 κελεύσεις] κελεύσει M 182 καὶ] om. P 183/4 ἄρχω νῶν
 M^a corr. ἄρχων τῶν P

190 εἰκονίσματι ὑπέταξα. Πάντα σοι ὑπὸ χεῖρας δέδωκα· τὰ ἔμψυχα, τὰ ἄψυ-
χα, τὰ δένδρα, τὰ βλαστά, τὰ νηκτά, τὰ πτηνά, τὰ τικτικά, τὰ σπαρτά.
Πάντων δέσποσον πάντων ἀπόλαυσον· καὶ μάλιστα ἐμοῦ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς
ζωῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ σου ὁλοφύχως καὶ προθύμως κατατρύψῃς. Καὶ οὐ
μόνον τούτου, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀπὸ παντός ξύλου καὶ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ
195 παραδείσῳ, δηλονότι παντός ἐντρυφήματος ἐξ ἀγγελικῆς δυνάμεως ὑμῖν
προτιθεμένου διὰ τὸ συγγενὲς τῆς καθάρσεως, βρώσει φάγη. Μόνον δὲ
ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου ἐκείνου τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν καὶ ἐγγὺς παρα-
πεφυτευμένου (παραπετήγασαι γὰρ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς αἱ κακίαι), τούτου μὴ
ἄψη, μὴ θίξης, μὴ προσπελάσης, μὴ ἐπιχειρήσης, μὴ γεύσῃ· ἢ δ' ἂν ἡμέρα
φάγητε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε. Εἰ δοκιμάσετε γενέσθαι ὅμοιοί
200 μοι γινώσκοντες τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ πονηρόν, καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ καὶ τὰ φανε-
ρά, εὐθέως θανάτῳ αἰωνίῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε.

5. Τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὃ παρήγγειλεν ὁ Θεὸς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ μὴ φαγεῖν ἤγουν
μηδὲ εἰς νοῦν ὅλως λαβεῖν. Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ λεγόμενον ξύλον γνωστὸν
καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ. Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ θανατηφόρος καρπὸς τὸ ὑπερφανευ-
θῆναι καὶ νομίσαι ἑαυτὸν θεὸν γινώσκοντα τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ πονηρόν, ἐπεὶ
205 ποῖον δένδρον ἐπίσταται τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ πονηρόν; "Ὅπου γε οὐδὲ ἄγ-
γελος οὐδὲ δαίμων, εἰ μὴ ὁ μόνος ὁ Θεὸς ἐπίσταται μονώτατος τὸν νοῦν
τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς φησιν 'Ιωβ. Αὐτὸς γὰρ γινώσκει τὰ κρύφια τῆς καρ-
δίας ὁ ἐτάζων καρδίας καὶ νεφροὺς ὡς Θεός.

210 6. Οὐκοῦν τοῦτο προασφαλίζεται τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὥσανεὶ λέγων
αὐτῷ· Πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ, μὴ ἡ ἐξουσία καὶ ἡ πολλὴ ἀυθεντία, ἣν δέδωκά
σοι καταστήσας σε βασιλέα καὶ κύριον παντός τοῦ ὀρωμένου κόσμου, εἰς
ὑπερφανίαν σε ἐπάρη καὶ δοκιμάσης ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσασθαι τὸ εἶναι ἴσος
ἐμοὶ τῷ Θεῷ γινώσκων καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν. Πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ, ὅτι καὶ
215 ἕτερόν τινα πρὸ σοῦ ἐποίησα καὶ κατέστησα ἄρχοντα φυτῶν λογικῶν
καὶ παραδείσου νοεροῦ ἀγγελικοῦ, ὃς μὴ βαστάσας τὸν τοιοῦτον ὄγκον
τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπεχείρησε φαγεῖν κάκεϊνος. Καὶ ἔφαγε τὸ ξύλον τοῦ
θανατηφόρου θελήματος θελήσας γενέσθαι θεὸς καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ
γινώσκων γνωστὸν καὶ λέγων· Ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν θήσω τὸν θρόνον
220 μου, καὶ ἔσομαι ὅμοιος τῷ ὑψίστῳ γινώσκων τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ πονηρόν,
ὡς αὐτός, ἡγουν προειδὼς τίς ὁ τοῦτο ποιήσων ἢ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ
καὶ τὰ φανερά τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιστάμενος. Καὶ ἀπέθανε τὸν αἰώνιον
καὶ ἀνεξέγερτον θάνατον, καὶ ἀπερρίφη τῆς οἰκείας ἐξουσίας ἔξω, καὶ
οὐδὲ κατὰ χοίρων ἐπαυθεντεῖ. Καὶ ἐστὶ νῦν πονηρὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ φθονερός,
225 καὶ μέλλει φθονῆσαι σου τῇ δόξῃ, ὥ 'Αδάμ, καὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ σου καὶ τῷ

"I have placed all beneath you, who are my image.¹ I have given into
your hands all things:² the animate, the inanimate, the trees, plants,
swimmers, fliers, those born from the womb, and those grown from
seeds. Rule over all³ and enjoy all. But most of all, with enthusiasm and
all your soul, take delight in me, the tree of life, your God.

"And also eat from every tree and fruit in Paradise as food.⁴ That is to
say: eat of every delight placed before you by angelic power because of
your kinship with purity. Only do not hold, do not touch, do not
approach, handle, or taste from the tree of the knowledge of good and
evil,⁵ planted nearby. For vices have been affixed to the virtues. On
whatever day you eat from this, you will surely die.⁶

"If you think to become like me by knowing good and evil,⁷ the hidden
and the revealed, straightaway you will die an eternal death."⁸

5. This is what God had ordered man not to eat—indeed, not even to
take into the mind. This is the so-called tree that knows good and evil.⁹
This is its deadly fruit:¹⁰ in arrogance to deem oneself, by knowing good
and evil, God.¹¹ Literally, what kind of tree knows good and evil? Indeed,
no angel nor demon, but God alone, the utterly unique, knows the mind
of men—as Job says.¹² He who as God examines the hearts and
kidneys;¹³ he knows the hidden things of the heart.¹⁴

6. Did this not, therefore, provide a safeguard for man beforehand? It
is as if God had said to him: "I have given you authority and absolute
sway. I made you king and lord of all the visible world. But be careful, so
that it does not snatch you up to arrogance. Do not even try to think that
being equal to me, God, is something you can achieve by knowing good
and evil.¹⁵

"Be careful, because I made another one before you¹⁶ and established
him as ruler of my spiritual creatures: the angelic, noetic garden.¹⁷ That
one could not carry such a burden of authority and did try to eat. Yes,
even that one. He ate the tree of deadly desire. He wanted to become
God by knowing the knowledge of good and evil.¹⁸ He said: 'Above the
clouds I will place my throne. And I will be like the highest¹⁹ by knowing
the good and the evil,²⁰ as he does, indeed knowing beforehand who will
do this or that, certain of the hidden as well as the visible things of men.'

"He died the death which is eternal and from which no one rises. He
was ripped out of his authority²¹ and no longer holds sway, not even over
swine.²²

"Now he is both evil and envious. And he is about to become envious
of your glory,²³ O Adam, and your authority, and your beauty in the

¹ Cf Gen 1:26-28. ² Cf Gen 9:2. ³ Cf Wis 9:2. ⁴ Gen 2:16. ⁵ Gen 2:17. ⁶ Gen 2:17.

⁷ Cf Gen 3:5, 22. ⁸ Cf Gen 2:17. ⁹ Cf Gen 2:9. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 2:17; 3:3. ¹¹ Cf Gen 3:5.

¹² Job 7:20. ¹³ Ps 7:10. ¹⁴ Ps 43(44):22. ¹⁵ Cf Phil 2:6. ¹⁶ Cf Is 14:12-21; Ez 28:1-19.

¹⁷ Cf Ezek 28:12-13. ¹⁸ Cf Gen 2:9; 3:5; Ezek 28:2. ¹⁹ Is 14:13-14. ²⁰ Gen 3:5.

²¹ Cf Ezek 28:17-19. ²² Cf Mt 8:31-32; Mk 5:12-13; Lk 8:32-33. ²³ Cf Wis 2:24.

189 δέδοκα P 190 νηκτά M τικτικά] scripsi τηκτά MNP 195 φάγει N 196 ἐκύνου M
γινώσκει M 198 προσπελάσεις M ἐπιχειρήσης] N ἐπιχειρήσεις M ἐπιχειρήσης P
ἡμέραν P 199 ἀποθανεῖσθε] scripsi ἀποθανήσθε MNP δοκιμάσητε P ὅμοιοί P^{corr}
200 μοι M 201 ἀποθανεῖσθε] scripsi ἀποθανήσθε MNP 202 ὃ] ὁ M 206 τὸ] om. P
206/7 ἄγγελος P 207 μονώτατος P τῶν M 214 σεαυτῷ] αὐτῷ M 222 αἰώνιον N^{corr}
223 ἀπερρίφη M^{corr} ἀπερρίφει P 225 ὦ] add. ὦ M τῷ] τὸ MP

κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ κάλλει σου. Μέλλει ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Μέλλει προσβαλεῖν
 ὑμῖν, εἴτα ἀπατήσαι, ἵνα διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἧς ἐκεῖνος ἔπεσε, πλανήσῃ καὶ
 ἀποστερήσῃ τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας, ἧς ἐχαρισάμην
 230 ὑμῖν, ὅπως μὴ ἔλθῃτε εἰς τὸν τόπον, ἐξ οὗ ἐκεῖνος ἐξέπεσε. Καὶ συντόμως
 εἶπω, πᾶσα ἐντολὴ καὶ νόμος, ὃν δέδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς πρωτοπλάστοις,
 οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἦν, εἰ μὴ προδιαμαρτυρία τοῦ φυλάξαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν
 εὐσέβειαν καὶ μὴ θεοποιῆσαι ἑαυτοὺς μήτε νομίσαι ἑαυτοὺς δυναμένους
 γενέσθαι ὁμοίους τῷ Θεῷ γινώσκοντας τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν, καὶ τὸ
 235 κρυπτὸν καὶ τὸ φανερόν. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς σαφέστερον παραστή-
 σωμεν καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄλλιν πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ ῥημάτων.

7. Καὶ μὴ φανήτω σοι ἀπίθανον ἢ βεβιασμένον τὸ εἰπεῖν τὴν γραφὴν
 ξύλον τῆς ἁμαρτίας τὴν εἰδωλολατρίαν καὶ ἀποστασίαν, ἐξ ἧς εὐθέως ἐξ
 ἀρχῆς ἐγεύσατο καὶ ἔφαγε καὶ ἐγυμνώθη καὶ ἐξωρίσθη Θεοῦ ἡ γυνή,
 λέγω δὴ ἡ ἐκκλησία, διότι τὴν πρώτην καὶ μεγίστην ἁμαρτίαν εἰς Θεὸν
 240 ταύτην ἡμάρτηκε τὸ διαγλύψαι ἀνθρωπόμορφα ξύλα εἰς εἰδωλα καὶ
 προσκυνῆσαι αὐτοῖς. Ἐν πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ διαφόροις τόποις τῆς γραφῆς
 εὐρήσεις τὴν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀποστασίαν καρπὸν ξύλου προσαγορευομένην. Διὸ
 καὶ ἐν τῇ παραβολῇ τοῦ ἀσώτου, ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ ἐξ ἐθνῶν λαὸς ὁ μακρύ-
 νας ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ξυλοκέρατα προσωνόμασε τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ὁ
 245 Κύριος, ἥτις βρώσις χοίρων τῶν ἀκαθάρτων δαιμόνων ἐστίν, ἥντινα
 τροφὴν ἐσθίων ποτὲ ὁ ἄσωτος λαὸς ἐπεθύμει χορτασθῆναι, τουτέστι
 παύσασθαι. Ὁ γὰρ κορεννύμενος ἀφίσταται λοιπὸν τοῦ ἐσθίειν. Καὶ
 οὐδεὶς ἐδίδου μοι, ἕως ἤλθεν ὁ οὐράνιος ἄρτος καὶ ἀπέστησε με τοῦ ξύλου
 τῶν κερατίων. Καὶ Μωσῆς δὲ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ᾠδῇ τὴν εἰδωλολατρίαν
 250 Ἰουδαίων στηλιτεύων φυτὸν αὐτὴν προσαγορεύει λέγων· Ἐκ γὰρ ἀμπέ-
 λου Σοδόμων ἡ ἄμπελος | αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ κληματὶς αὐτῶν ἐκ Γομόρρας·
 καὶ ἡ σταφυλὴ αὐτῶν σταφυλὴ χολῆς, βότρυνς πικρίας αὐτῶν. Ὁμοίως
 καὶ ὁ Θεὸς περὶ αὐτῶν φησὶ διὰ Ἡσαΐου ὅτι Ἐμείνα τὸν ἀμπελῶνά μου
 ποιῆσαι σταφυλὴν, ἐποίησε δὲ ἀκάνθας. Ὅθεν καὶ ἐν ταῖς Βασιλείαις,
 255 φησί, τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ὁ Θεὸς ξύλα τοῦ δρυμοῦ ὀνομάζει καταστήσαντα ἐφ'
 ἑαυτὰ βασιλέα τὴν ἀκανθηφόρον ῥάμνον, τουτέστι τὸν διάβολον τὸν
 νομίσαντα γενέσθαι Θεὸν γινώσκοντα τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν. Καὶ τὴν
 συκὴν δέ, ἣν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐξήρανε, ἵνα μηκέτι καρποφορῇ, τὴν εἰδωλολα-
 τρίαν λέγων τις εἶναι οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτη, ἧς ὑπῆρχε τύπος καὶ ἡ ῥύσις τῶν
 260 αἱμάτων τῆς αἱμορροοῦσης γυναικὸς Εὐας, ἣν ὁ Κύριος ἔσθησε ξηράνας
 τὸ αἷμα τῶν θυσιῶν.

8. Εἰ τοίνυν διὰ πλάτους ἐμάθομεν ξύλον προσαγορευόμενον τὴν
 ἀσέβειαν, τί θαυμάζεις λοιπὸν, εἰ περὶ ταύτης λέγει ὁ Θεὸς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ
 ὅτι Ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ βρώσει φάγη, τουτέστι

227 διὰ] *om.* M^acorr. 229 ἐλθῃτε N 232 νομῆσαι P 234 σαφίστερον P 238 καὶ] *om.* P
 241 τῆς] τοῖς M^acorr. 247 αἰσθίειν P^acorr. 248 οὐ(ρα)νὸς N^acorr. 251 κληματὶς P
 258 συκῇ] *correxī* συκὴν MNP^acorr. συκὴ ἦν P^acorr. μὴ κέτι P 259 ἄνὸν ἁμάρτημα M
 263 τῷ ἀν(θρώπῳ)φ] M^acorr NP τῶν ν(θρώπῳ)ω M^acorr.

image of God.¹ He is about to come to you. He is about to attack you, and
 so deceive you, so that you might wander along the path by which he
 fell. So that you might be deprived of the glory and honor and power
 with which I graced you. So that you might not arrive at that place from
 which he fell."

Let me put the matter briefly. Every order and law that God gave to
 the first-formed humans was nothing other than an early plea: to keep
 their reverence for him, not to make themselves divine, and not to think
 that they were capable of becoming like God through knowledge of good
 and evil, the visible and invisible.² Indeed, we will present this theme
 more clearly later, and again from the words of God to Adam.

7. It should not seem to you incredible or forced to say that Scripture
 is calling idolatry and apostasy a tree of sin. Immediately at the begin-
 ning, the woman tasted and ate from it,³ and she was stripped naked⁴
 and was separated from God.⁵ I am speaking here of the Church. She
 committed this the first and greatest sin against God: she carved wood
 into the shape of humans for idols and worshipped them.

In many and diverse places of Scripture, you will find that a rebellion
 from God is called the fruit of a tree. In the parable of the prodigal son,⁶
 for example, he is the people of the nations who separated themselves
 from God.⁷ And the Lord called his sin "the pods from a tree",⁸ which
 was food for pigs, the unclean demons. The prodigal people, having once
 eaten such food, desired to eat their fill⁹—that is, to cease. For having
 become filled, one finally shrinks from eating any more. "But no one
 gave to me, until the heavenly bread came and separated me from the
 tree of pods."¹⁰

And when Moses criticizes in his second ode the idolatry of the Jews,
 he calls it a plant. He says: *Their vine is from the vine of Sodom, and
 their branch is from Gomorra. And their grapes are the grapes of gall;
 their bunch is of bitterness.*¹¹

Similarly God, through Isaiah, says of them: *I waited for my vine to
 make grapes, but it made thorns.*¹² For this reason, it also says in the
 Books of Kings that God refers to Israel as trees of the forest, who
 established for themselves a prickly bush as king.¹³ This was the devil,
 who thought that he was God because he knew good and evil.¹⁴

And the fig tree, which God dried up so that it would no longer bear
 fruit:¹⁵ if one were to say that this was idolatry, one would not be wrong.
 A type of this was the flowing blood of the woman with the hemor-
 rhage,¹⁶ namely Eve. The Lord stopped the flow by drying up the blood
 of sacrifices.

8. If we have learned extensively that impiety is called a tree, why
 are you amazed if God is talking about this when he says to man: *"Eat
 from every tree in Paradise as food."*¹⁷ That is: from every contemplation,

¹ Cf Gen 1:26-27. ² Cf Gen 3:5. ³ Cf Gen 3:6. ⁴ Cf Gen 3:7. ⁵ Cf Gen 3:23-24.
⁶ Cf Lk 15:11-32. ⁷ Cf Ps 72(73):27. ⁸ Cf Lk 15:16. ⁹ Cf Lk 15:16. ¹⁰ Cf Lk 15:16;
 Jn 6:32-33, 41, 50-51. ¹¹ Dt 32:32. ¹² Is 5:2, 4, 6. ¹³ Cf Jg 9:14-15. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 3:5.
¹⁵ Cf Mt 21:18-19; Mk 11:12-14, 20. ¹⁶ Cf Mt 9:20-22; Mk 5:25-34; Lk 8:43-48.
¹⁷ Gen 2:16.

265 πάσης θεωρίας, πάσης γνώσεως, πάσης τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐλ-
λάμψεως, πάσης σοφίας τῶν θείων γραφῶν, παντὸς ξύλου ὡραίου εἰς
ὄρασιν καὶ καλοῦ εἰς βρώσιν, ἀγγελικοῦ τε καὶ γραφικοῦ, προφητικοῦ,
270 εὐαγγελικοῦ καὶ διδασκαλικοῦ λόγου. Ἀπόλαυσον καὶ ἐμπλήσθητι ἀπὸ
παντὸς ξύλου καρποφόρου ἁγίου. Τρύγησον καὶ μετάλαβε ἀγάπης,
χαρᾶς, εἰρήνης, ἀγνείας, πραότητος, πίστεως, ἐλπίδος, καρτερίας, ὅτι
μακάριοι οἱ ταύτας τὰς βρώσεις πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες κατὰ τὸν
λέγοντα ὅτι Ἐμὸν βρῶμά ἐστιν, ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με.
Ὅθεν πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὅτι Βρῶσιν ἔχω φαγεῖν, ἣν ὑμεῖς οὐκ οἴδατε. Ἀλλὰ δὴ
γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅτι χρηστός ὁ Κύριος ὁ δούς ἡμῖν τῶν ἀγα-
275 θῶν αὐτοῦ καρπῶν τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ λέγων ὅτι Ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν
θείων νοημάτων καὶ χαρισμάτων φάγετε, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ
πονηροῦ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν μὴ φάγητε ἀπ'
αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ θανάτῳ ψυχῆς ἀποθάνητε. Οὕτως ἀναγνωστέον καὶ
νοητέον τὰ περὶ τούτων τῶν δύο ξύλων.

280 9. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἐναντιούμενοι ταῖς θεολογικαῖς τῶν
Γρηγορίων φωναῖς καὶ αἰσθητὰ καὶ βρωτὰ ταῦτα λέγοντες ἐξ ἀνάγκης
πάσης, πάλιν λέγω, κοινωνικὰ ποιοῦσι τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῆς
γνώσεως πάντα τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ ἐρπετὰ καὶ τοὺς μύας καὶ τοὺς κύνας
καὶ πάντα τὰ πετεινά, ὡς κοινωβρωτεῖν ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ βρώσει σὺν τῷ
285 ἀνθρώπῳ κελευσθέντα ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου καὶ καρποῦ ὑπάρχοντος
ἐπάνω τῆς γῆς. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστιν. Ὅρα γὰρ ὅτι περ καὶ ἐν
τούτοις τοῖς δυσί, λέγω τῷ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῇ Εὐᾶ, διαφορὰν τινὰ αἰνιγμα-
τωδῶς τέθεικε βρώσεως τὴν μὲν μετάληψιν πάντων, τουτέστι τὴν
γνώσιν τῶν οὐρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων, μόνῳ τῷ ἀνθρώ-
290 πῳ δούς, ὅς ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐστιν ὁ γινώσκων τὰ πάντα καὶ
τὰ βάθη τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν δὲ ἀποχὴν τῆς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ πονηροῦ
τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ μόνῳ καὶ τῇ Εὐᾶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπέτρεψεν.

10. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἀδὰμ ὁ ἀληθὴς οὐκ ἠπατήθη, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ Παῦλος, ἡ
δὲ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἠπατήθη. Κάντεῦθεν δὲ δῆλον ὅτι οὐ περὶ
295 βρωσίμου ξύλου φησὶν ἡ γραφὴ ἐμποιούντος τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὴν γνώσιν
τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ, καὶ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς βρώσεως ἐγίνωσκεν ἡ γυνὴ τὸ
καλὸν καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν. Καὶ γὰρ ἄκουσον αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν ὄφιν
διαλέξει ἀντιδογματιζούσης καὶ λεγούσης πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ προβαλλο-
μένης τὴν θείαν ἐντολὴν καὶ τὸν ἐπιλημκόμενον ἐπὶ τῇ μεταλήψει τοῦ
300 ξύλου θάνατον. | Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τυφλοὶ πρὸ τῆς γνώσεως ἐτύγχανον, φησὶ
γὰρ ὅτι Καὶ εἶδεν ἡ γυνὴ ὅτι καλὸν τὸ ξύλον εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ ὡραῖον τοῦ
κατανοῆσαι. Ταῦτα δὲ πρὸ τῆς βρώσεως. Εἰ δὲ αἰσθητὴ ἦν καὶ σαρκικὴ
βρώσις, ἄρα ἂν πάντως σαρκικῶς καὶ ἀπέθνησκον, ἥνικα ἔφαγον. Ἀλλὰ

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every understanding, every illumination of the Holy Spirit, from all the
wisdom of Divine Scripture, from every tree beautiful to see and good to
eat,¹ from every angelic and written word, and from every word of the
prophets, evangelists, and teachers. Enjoy and be filled from every holy
tree that bears fruit! Partake and take delight in love, joy, peace,
holiness, gentleness, faith, hope, and endurance.² Blessed are they who
hunger and thirst for these foods. As he said: "My food is that I do the
wish of the one who sent me."³ And again he said: "I have food to eat that
you do not know."⁴

Indeed, taste and see, also you, that the Lord is kind.⁵ He gives to us
enjoyment of all his good fruits and says: "Eat from all the divine laws
and favors. But from the evil tree of the sin of knowing good and evil, do
not eat from this, so that you do not die the death of the soul."⁶

In this way one must read and consider the things of these two trees.

9. But there are those that oppose in every way the theological
statements of the Gregorians by insisting that these were tangible foods.
And again I say that these opponents make, by necessity, all the beasts,
reptiles, mice, dogs, and all the birds sharers of the tree of life and that
of knowledge. They were ordered to share with man of the previous food,
from every tree and fruit that existed upon the earth.⁷

But that is not so, certainly not! Consider that even in the case of
these two, I mean Adam and Eve, he established, in enigmatic fashion, a
difference in their eating. He gave to the man alone, who is Christ, a
participation in all things:⁸ that is, the understanding of things in
heaven, on earth, and below the earth. He is the one who knows all
things,⁹ even the depths of God.¹⁰ Yet, God gave the order to abstain
from the sin of the grievous evil¹¹ to the man only along with Eve, who is
the Church.

10. The true Adam was not deceived, as Paul bears witness. But his
wife the Church was deceived.¹² And from this it is obvious that
Scripture is not saying that food from a tree imparted to man the know-
ledge of good and evil.¹³ Even before this food, the woman recognized
good and evil. Listen to her dialogue with the snake. When she speaks to
him, she argues against his doctrine; and she presents the divine
command and the death penalty threatened for partaking from the
tree.¹⁴ They were not blind before the knowledge. It says: *And the
woman saw that the tree was good to*¹⁵ *behold*¹⁶ *and beautiful to*
*contemplate.*¹⁷ These things are said before her eating.

If the food had been tangible and physical, after they had eaten they
surely would have physically died. But having sinned spiritually, they

¹ Cf Gen 2:9. ² Cf Gal 5:22; 1 Cor 13:13. ³ Jn 4:34. ⁴ Jn 4:32. ⁵ Cf Ps 33(34):9.
⁶ Cf Gen 2:16-17. ⁷ Cf Gen 1:29-30; 2:16-17. ⁸ Cf Gen 2:16. ⁹ Cf Ps 32(33): Pr 15:11;
13-15; Sus 42; Heb 4:13. ¹⁰ Cf 1 Cor 2:10. ¹¹ Cf Gen 2:17; 3:3. ¹² 1 Tim 2:14.
¹³ Cf Gen 2:9. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 3:2-3. ¹⁵ Gen 3:6. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 2:9. ¹⁷ Gen 3:6.

270 ἀγνείας N 274 ἴδετε] N^{corr}. οἴδατε M οἴδετε N^{corr}. P χρηστός] χ(ριστός) P
277 φάγετε M 279 τούτων] om. N 281 γρηγορίν N 283 τὰ] om. P 288 τέθηκε P
τὴν] om. P 299 ἐπιλημμένον] correxi ἡπειλημένον MN^{corr}. ἐπειλημένον P^{corr}

νοερῶς ἡμαρτηκότες τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς νοερὸν ὑπέμειναν θάνατον. Ἐνταῦθα
305 δὲ ὀνομάζει τὸν ἄνθρωπον Ἀδάμ, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον ἐν τῇ σαρκί
κώσει γηγενῇ. Ἀδάμ γὰρ γῆ καὶ πῦρ ἐρμηνεύεται, ὥσπερ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ
εἶπον.

III 1. Καὶ εἶπε Κύριος ὁ Θεός· Οὐ καλὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον ἐπὶ
τῆς γῆς· ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθὸν κατ' αὐτόν.

310 Ἐνταῦθα παραγενόμενος Μάνης ὁ μιὰς Μανιχαίων καθηγητῆς
σωματικῶς τὸ ῥητὸν νοήσας ὑπὸ τοῦ γράμματος ἀπεκτάνθη κατὰ τὴν
τοῦ Παύλου φωνὴν ψεύστην προσαγορεύσας τὸν Θεόν. Ὁμοίως καὶ
Ἀκύλας ὁ δυσσεβὴς Ἑλληνόφρων καθάψασθαι τοῦ Θεοῦ βουλόμενος
ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν· Ποιήσωμεν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ βοηθὸν κατ' αὐτόν, ποιήσωμεν
315 αὐτῷ βοηθὸν κατέναντι αὐτοῦ εἶπε, τουτέστιν ἀντίδικον καὶ πολέμιον. Τί
οὖν, εἶπέ μοι ὦ Ἰουδαίε, ἔστι Θεὸς ἀληθὴς ψευδόμενος; Θεῖον στόμα
Κυρίου παντοκράτορος Σαβαώθ ἐν μέσῳ γνώφου καὶ ζόφου καὶ πυρὸς
καὶ θυέλλης καὶ σαλπίγγων καὶ ἀγγέλων ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα πρὸς
Μωσέα ἐφθέξατο, καὶ θεὸς δάκτυλος ἐν πλαξὶ ταῦτα ἔγραψε λέγων·
320 Οὐ καλὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι μόνον· ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθὸν κατ'
αὐτόν. Καὶ ἔστι πάλιν γλῶσσα Θεοῦ καὶ στόμα καὶ χεὶρ ψευδῆ λαλοῦσα
καὶ γράφουσα· Ἀπαγε τῆς ἀτοπίας. Ὁ γὰρ λόγος Κυρίου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα
καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος ἀληθὴς διαμένει.

2. Καὶ πῶς οὐ γέγονεν ἐκείνη ἡ γυνὴ ἡ βοηθὸς τῷ Ἀδάμ βοηθός, ἀλλὰ
325 μᾶλλον ἐχθρά, ἀλλὰ καὶ βόθρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπίβουλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ
φονεύτρια καὶ ἐξορίζουσα καὶ μυρίων κακῶν καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὅλῳ τῷ
κόσμῳ πρόξενος· Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο γέγονεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τὸ
εἶναι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ βοηθός. Καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἡδύνατο γυνὴ γίνεσθαι τῷ
ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐχθρά, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα γυνὴ κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ὅρον βοηθός καὶ
330 ἀντιλήπτωρ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ εὐρίσκεται, ἐπειδὴ ἕν ἕκαστον, εἰς ὃ γέγονεν
ὑπὸ Θεοῦ, εἰς αὐτὸ ἔστηκε. Τὸ φῶς φωτίζει καὶ οὐ παύεται· ὁ ἄρτος
τρέφει· ὁ ἥλιος τρέχει καὶ ἡ γῆ σὺν αὐτῷ ἀναβλαστάνει· τὰ ζῶα τίκτει· οἱ
ἰχθύες νήχονται· τὰ πτηνὰ ἵπτανται· καὶ συντόμως εἰπεῖν μέχρι τῆς
συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος ἕκαστον κτίσμα, εἰς ὃ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γέγονεν, εἰς αὐτὸ
335 ἔστηκεν, ἐν τῇ ἀψύχῳ λέγω καὶ ἐμψύχῳ φύσει. Πῶς οὖν ἡ γυνὴ εἰς
βοήθειαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γενομένη οὐ γέγονε βοηθός; Πῶς δὲ καὶ ἀσθενεσ-
τέρα οὖσα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δύναται τούτου εἶναι βοηθός;

3. Εἰς βοήθειαν, λέγω πάλιν, τοῦ σαρκικοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὥρισεν ὁ Θεὸς ἀπ'
ἀρχῆς εἶναι τὴν κατὰ σάρκα γυναῖκα, καὶ οὐκ ἂν πώποτε μελετήσῃ γυνὴ
340 ἢ μισῆσαι ἢ παροργίσει ἢ καταλείπει τὸν ἴδιον ἄνδρα. Οὐκ ἂν ὅλως
γυνὴ μοιχαλὶς ἐγένετο. Οὐκ ἂν ποτε γυνὴ ἐπιβαρὴς καὶ πονηρὰ ὦφθη.
Οὐκ ἂν γυνὴ ἐπίβουλος καὶ φονεύτρια τοῦ οἰκείου ἀνδρὸς ἐφαίνετο. Καὶ

308/9 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς] om. MP 313 δυσσεβὴς M 317 γνώφου P κατ'] om. N 318 θυέλλης]
correxī θυέλλης MNP 319 ἔγραψα P 325 μᾶλλον P 327 αὐτὸν M τοῦ] om. N
329 κατὰ]· τὰ M 330 ἐν] om. MN 331 ὑπὸ] add. τοῦ N 332 γῆ] γυνῆ M 333 ἰχθύαις
MP 334 αὐτὸ] add. καὶ M 340 καταλεί P 341 μοιχαλὶς MN

underwent the spiritual death of their soul. Thereupon, God named the
man *Adam*,¹ just as he also named him God the Word, when earthborn
in the Incarnation. For *Adam* means "earth" and "fire", as I have already
said.

III 1. And the Lord God said: "It is not good that man is alone on the
earth. Let us make for him a helper like him."²

When he arrived at this passage, Mani, the accursed leader of the
Manicheans, took these words literally. And he died by the letter—
according to Paul's statement³—because he called God a liar. Similarly
Aquila, the impious pagan, wanted to accost God. In place of the
statement "Let us make for man a helper like him,"⁴ he said: "Let us make
for him a helper opposed to him." That is: an opponent and enemy.

What now, O Jew? Tell me: is the true God lying? The divine mouth
of the Lord, the all-powerful Sabaoth,⁵ in the midst of the darkness,
gloom, fire, storm, trumpeting, and angels, spoke these words to Moses.
And the divine finger wrote them on tablets.⁶ God said: "It is not good
that man is alone. Let us make for him a helper like him."⁷ Are the hand,
mouth, and tongue of God speaking and writing lies? Come away from
this absurdity. The word of the Lord is forever⁸ and it remains true
forever and ever.⁹

2. And so how did that woman, the aide to Adam, not become a
helper, but rather an enemy,¹⁰ an ambushade, a plotter, a murderer,¹¹ a
banisher,¹² and the hostess to a thousand evils for him and all the
world?¹³ Woman came into being under the hand of God for this very
thing: to be a helper for man. A wife would never be able to become an
enemy to her own husband, but every wife, according to the divine rule,
is found to be a helper and protector for her own husband.

Every single thing fulfills that purpose for which God made it. The
light shines and does not rest. Bread nourishes. The sun races and the
earth blooms because of it. Mammals give birth. Fish swim. Birds fly. In
brief: until the end of time,¹⁴ each creature fulfills that purpose for
which God created it—and I am speaking of both animate and inani-
mate natures. How, therefore, did woman, after she came into being to
help man, not become a helper? And how can she be his helper, since she
is weaker than man?

3. I repeat: in the beginning, God determined that the physical
woman was to help the physical man, and a woman would never con-
sciously hate or be angry or desert her own man. Certainly a woman
would not become an adulteress. Never would a woman be seen as evil
or oppressive. Never would a woman come to light as plotting against or
murdering her own husband.

¹ Cf Gen 2:16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25. ² Gen 2:18. ³ Cf 2 Cor 3:6. ⁴ Gen 2:18.

⁵ Cf 1 Esd 9:46. ⁶ Cf Dt 4:11-13; 5:22; Heb 12:18-19. ⁷ Gen 2:18. ⁸ Cf Ps 118(119):89.

⁹ Cf Ps 9:6, 37; 20(21):5; 44(45):18; 47(48):15; 51(52):10; 71(72):19; 118(119):44; 144(145):2.

¹⁰ Cf Gen 3:6, 12, 17-19. ¹¹ Cf Gen 2:17; 5:5. ¹² Cf Gen 3:23-24. ¹³ Cf Gen 3:17-18.

¹⁴ Cf Mt 28:20.

345 πῶς ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ὁρῶμεν τὴν γυναῖκα τῷ ἀνδρὶ γινομένην οὐ βοηθόν,
ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον πειρασμόν· Τίς γάρ, εἰπέ μοι, ἀνάπτει καὶ ἐμπύλησι τὴν
φλόγα τῆς γενέσεως, εἰ μὴ αἱ τῶν σωμάτων πορνεῖαι καὶ μοιχεῖαι; Τίς
350 δὲ τὸν παγκόσμιον ὄλεθρον τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἐποίησεν, εἰ μὴ τὸ κάλλος
τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐκείνων τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἃς ἔλαβον οἱ
υἱοὶ τοῦ Σὴθ εἰς γυναῖκας; Εἰ δὲ βοηθὸς ἐγεγόνει ἡ γυνὴ τῷ Ἀδάμ, πῶς
πάντες αἱ καταστενάζομεν αὐτῆς ὡς προξένου γενομένης θανάτου καὶ
φθορᾶς καὶ πανωλεθρίας κοινῆς;

4. Καὶ ταῦτα μᾶλλον σὺ ὁ Ἰουδαῖος, ὁ κατέχων τὰς γραφάς, διδάσκεις
ἡμᾶς. Μία γὰρ γυνή, λέγω ἡ ἀδελφή σου, ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ Ἰακώβ τοῦ
πατρὸς σου, ἡ λεγομένη Δίνα, ἐπορννευσεν εἰς Συχέμ. Εἴτα διὰ τῆς
πορνείας ἀπέκτειναν πόλιν πᾶσαν ἀδίκως οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῆς τὸν δίκαιον
355 καὶ τὸν ἄδικον ὁμοῦ ἀποκτείναντες, δι' ἧς πορνείας καὶ κόρης καὶ φόνου
ἐπὶ τετρακοσίους χρόνους ὥρισεν ὁ Θεὸς δουλωθῆναι καὶ κακωθῆναι τὰς
τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. Καὶ ποία αὕτη γυνὴ βοηθός; Ἐμοίχευ-
σεν ἡ Βηρσαβέε, εἰς ὃν νομίζεις εἶναι χριστόν σου, τὸν Δαυὶδ λέγω, καὶ
φόνον κατήρτησε τῷ συζύγῳ Οὐρίᾳ. Καὶ κἂν εἴτα μάλιστα συνεχωρήθη
360 Δαυὶδ, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀντεμοιχεύθησαν αὐτοῦ αἱ δέκα γυναῖκες ὑπὸ
Ἀβεσαλώμ τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ. Καὶ ὥρισεν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ Νάθαν τοῦ προφήτου
ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἐκλείψει μάχαιρα ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου Δαυὶδ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Τοῦτο δὲ
ἔργον τῶν καλῶν γυναικῶν. Τίς δὲ πάλιν κατὰ τὸν Σολομῶντα ἐσοφίσ-
θη ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἐν ἀνθρώποις; Καὶ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν πᾶσα ἡ σοφία αὐτοῦ
365 κατεπόθη. Τίς ὁμοίως Ἰουδᾶ τῷ υἱῷ Ἰακώβ ἐδοξάσθη, ὥστε καὶ βασιλεύ-
ειν ἐτάγη ὑπὸ Θεοῦ Ἰουδαίων; Καὶ γυνὴ Θαμάρ ἀπατήσασα αὐτὸν
μοιχογενῆ τὴν αὐτοῦ πεποίηκε φυλὴν.

5. Καὶ ποῖαι αὗται βοηθοὶ; Μακρὸς ἂν εἴη ὁ λόγος, καὶ ἐπιλείπει ἡμῖν
καὶ ὁ χρόνος καὶ χάρις καὶ τρόπος τοῦ διηγήσασθαι ὅσα καὶ οἷά τινα
370 διὰ τοῦ γυναικείου ἔθνους ἐν κόσμῳ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ἕως τῆς συντελείας
τοῦ αἰῶνος γίνονται ἐν τε πατριάρχαις ἐν τε προφήταις ἐν τε Ἰουδαίοις
ἐν τε βασιλεῦσιν ἐν τε πιστοῖς ὁμοίως τε καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ Χαλδαϊκοῖς
καὶ Αἰγυπτιακοῖς καὶ Τρωϊκοῖς καὶ ἡρωϊκοῖς καὶ Ῥωμαϊκοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ
πολεμίοις. Εἰ δὲ βοηθὸς γέγονεν ἡ γυνή, πῶς φησιν ἡ γραφή ὅτι *Οἶνος καὶ*
375 *γυναῖκες χωρίζουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ*; Πόσοι γάρ, εἰπέ μοι, διὰ γυναῖκα τὸν
Θεὸν ἠρνήσαντο; Ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Σολομῶν ὡς ἐν πείρᾳ γεγονώς τῶν γυναι-
κείων κακῶν εἶπεν ὅτι ἀπὸ μυρίων ἀνδρῶν εὐρήσεις ἓνα πιστόν, ἀπὸ δὲ
γυναικῶν οὐχ εὐρήσεις.

6. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγομεν οὐ τῆς φύσεως οὐδὲ τοῦ κτίσματος τοῦ Θεοῦ
380 κατηγοροῦντες, πάντα γὰρ τὰ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γεγόμενα καλὰ, ἀλλὰ τὴν

Then how is it, on the other hand, that we see the woman not becoming a helper to her man, but rather a temptress? For what ignites, tell me, and fuels the flame of propagation, if not the prostitution of bodies and adultery? What created the universal destruction by flood if not the beauty of women,¹ those daughters of men, whom the sons of Seth took as their wives?² If the woman became a helper to Adam, why is it that all of us always sigh about her, because she became the patroness of death, corruption, and general destruction?

4. These things are taught to us by you, the Jew, who have a firm grasp of Scripture. And one woman—I am speaking of your sister, the daughter of Jacob your father, the one called Dinah—had sex with Shechem.³ Because of her fornication, her brothers unjustly put an entire city to the sword, killing the just and unjust together. Then on account of the fornication of the girl and the slaughter, God ordained that thousands would be enslaved and suffer in Egypt for four hundred years.⁴ Indeed, what sort of helper was this woman?

And Bathsheba committed adultery with the one that you think is your Anointed. I am speaking of David. She then arranged a murderous death for her husband, Uriah.⁵ And even if David was completely forgiven for this,⁶ his ten wives in turn were debauched by his own son Absalom.⁷ And God ordained, through the prophet Nathan, that the sword would never leave the home of David.⁸ This was the work of beautiful women.

And who among men was made by God so wise as Solomon?⁹ Yet women swallowed all his wisdom.¹⁰ And who was glorified like Judah, the son of Jacob, who was placed by God to rule the Jews?¹¹ Yet a woman, Tamar, deceived him and made his tribe the offspring of adultery.¹²

5. How many such helpers were there? The account would be long, and the time would run out for us, and the papyrus, and the ways to describe how many and what sort of things happen through the female race in the world, from the beginning until the end of time: among the patriarchs, among the prophets, the Judeans, the kings, and the faithful, and similarly among the Greeks, Chaldeans, Egyptians, Trojans, heroes, Romans, and their enemies.

If woman became a helper, why does Scripture say: *Wine and women separate from God*?¹³ And how many, tell me, have renounced God because of a woman? For this reason even Solomon, after he had experienced female wickedness,¹⁴ said that from a thousand men you will find one that is faithful, but from women you will not find one.¹⁵

6. We do not say these things to accuse nature or God's creation. All things that were made by God are good.¹⁶ But we do wonder about that

343 γινομένην M 344 ἐμπύλησι M 353 Σιχέμ MP 356 κακοθῆναι P 358 ὁμίζεις M
χρηστόν N 363 σολομῶν τὰ M 364 πᾶσαν M ἢ) om. M 365 κατεπόθη] *correxī*
κατεπόθη MNP 366 ἐτάχθη N καὶ] *adā*. ἡ M Θαμάρ] *scripsi* θάμαρ MNP
367 φυλὴν M 372 χαλδαϊκῆς M 376 ἠρνήσατο M^{corr} 376/7 γυναικῶν M^{corr} N
377 πιστῶν M^{corr}

¹ Cf Gen 6:9-7:24. ² Cf Gen 6:2. ³ Cf Gen 34:1-31. ⁴ Cf Gen 15:13; Ex 12:40-41.

⁵ Cf 2 Sam 11:1-27. ⁶ Cf 2 Sam 12:13. ⁷ Cf 2 Sam 12:11-12; 15:16; 16:21-22.

⁸ Cf 2 Sam 12:10. ⁹ Cf 1 Kg 4:29-31; 5:12; (= LXX Regn III 5:9-11, 26). ¹⁰ Cf 1 Kg 11:1-10;
(= LXX Regn III 11:1-10). ¹¹ Cf Gen 49:10. ¹² Cf Gen 38:6-30. ¹³ Ec 19:2; Wis 1:3.

¹⁴ Cf 1 Kg 11:1-10; (= LXX Regn III 11:1-10). ¹⁵ Cf Pr 20:6; Ec 7:28. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 1:4, 8,
10, 12, 18, 21, 31.

βοήθειαν ἐκείνην ἐπιζητοῦντες, περὶ ἧς εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· *Οὐ καλὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι μόνον· ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθὸν κατ' αὐτόν.* Εἰ οὖν οὐ καλὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι μόνον, πῶς Θεὸς ὦν ἐποίησέ τι ἔργον οὐ καλόν; Πῶς δὲ καὶ πρὸ βραχείας λέλεκται ὅτι *Καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ πάντα, ὅσα ἐποίησε, καὶ ἰδοὺ καλὰ λίαν.* Πῶς οὖν μόνος ἄνθρωπος οὐ καλός;

385 7. Πῶς δὲ νῦν λέγει μονώτατον εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον; Ἡνίκα γὰρ ἐδημιουργήθη, ἠκούσαμεν τοῦ συγγραφέως λέγοντος ὅτι *Καὶ ἐποίησε ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, ἄρσεν καὶ | θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς.* Καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς λέγων· *Αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε καὶ πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν.* Εἰ τοίνυν ἦδη ἐν τῷ ἅμα ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς, καὶ εὐλόγησεν ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦτα ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐντολήν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τὸ ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου ἐσθίειν, *Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου, φησί, τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν, οὐ φάγησθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ,* 390 *ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνητε,* πῶς μετὰ ταῦτα πάντα λέγει· *Οὐ καλὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον· ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθὸν κατ' αὐτόν;* Λέγεις μοι πάντως ὅτι ἐπανάληψίς ἐστιν ἡτοι τῶν προτέρων ἀνακεφαλαίωσις καὶ τῶν ἡδη γενομένων κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ Ἀδὰμ καὶ Εὕας λεπτοτέρα διήγησις. Φοβερὸς μὲν ὁ λόγος, ὑπὲρ γὰρ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρεσβεύω καὶ ἐνίσταμαι. 400 Ἐπισημῆνασθαι γὰρ ἔχρην μετὰ πολλῆς τιнос καὶ βαθείας τῆς ἐπιστάσις ὅτι οὐ περὶ ἐνός τινος προσώπου λέγει ὁ Θεός· *Οὐ καλὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον, ἀλλ' ἐνωτικῶς καὶ περιεκτικῶς περὶ πάσης τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεως.* Οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ὑποστατικὸν ἢ προσωπικὸν ἐνικὸν ὄνομα, ἀλλ' ὅλον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος σημαίνει λέγων· *Οὐ καλὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον· ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθὸν κατ' αὐτόν,* 405 *τουτέστιν ὅλον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὅλον τῷ γένει, ὅλη τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει.* Καὶ τοῦτο δῆλον ἐκείθεν, ἡνίκα γὰρ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἠβούλετο ποιῆσαι, ἀκούομεν τῆς γραφῆς λεγούσης ὅτι *Καὶ μετεμελήθη ὁ Θεὸς ποιήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, τουτέστιν ὅλον τὸ γένος, καὶ πάλιν· Ἀπαλείψω τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἐποίησα,* 410 *καὶ πάλιν ὅτι Ἐγκεῖται ἡ διανοία τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπιμελῶς ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρά.* Ὡς περὶ οὖν αὗται αἱ φωναὶ περὶ ὅλου τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους εἰσὶν, οὕτω καὶ ἐκεῖνη ἡ λέγουσα· *Οὐ καλὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον* περὶ παντὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἴρηται.

8. *Ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθὸν κατ' αὐτόν.* 415 *Λοιπὸν παρακαλῶ τὸν Ἰουδαῖον καὶ Ἑλληνα ζητῆσαι καὶ κτήσασθαι τὴν βοηθὸν ἐκείνην, ἣν ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὸ βοηθῆσαι ὅλον τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, βοηθὸν οὐ σαρκὸς καὶ ἡδονῆς, οὐ σπορᾶς καὶ αἵματος, βοηθὸν καὶ σύζυγον καὶ οὐδαμῶς γενομένην ἐπίβουλον, ἀλλὰ σωτήριον, ἀλλὰ φυλακτήριον, ἀλλὰ φωτίζουσαν, ἀλλὰ εὐνοοῦσαν, ἀμαρτίας καθαίρουσαν, οὐ ποιοῦσαν, καὶ εἰς βασιλείαν Θεοῦ εἰσάγουσαν, οὐ μᾶλλον* 420

assistance, of which God said: *"It is not good that man is alone. Let us make for him a helper like him."*¹

If it was not good for man to be alone, why did he—being God—create a thing that was not good? Why was it said a short time ago: *And God saw all the things that he had made; and behold, they were very good?*² Why was man alone not good?

7. And why does it now say that man was completely alone? When he had been fashioned, we heard the narrator say: *And God made man. In the image of God he made him. Male and female he made them. And he blessed them saying: "Increase and multiply and fill the earth."*³ Already he had made them male and female together, and he had blessed them both and established them as leaders of all upon the earth.⁴ And again after all this, he gave them the command in Paradise to eat from every tree.⁵ *"But from the tree,"* he said, *"of the knowledge of good and evil, do not eat (plural) from this, so that you (plural) might not die."*⁶ How is it then that after all these things he said: *"It is not good that man is alone. Let us make for him a helper like him?"*⁷

You will most certainly tell me that this was a summary or a synopsis of earlier events, and then came a more detailed description of Adam and Eve, who had already come into being in the image of God. The truth of the matter is even more awesome. I maintain and stand firm that it is about Christ and the Church.⁸ It is necessary to note with careful and deep attention, that God is not speaking of one individual when he says: *"It is not good that man is alone."*⁹ He is speaking about the nature of all human beings, singularly and summarily. He does not state the name of a single individual or person, because he is indicating all human kind when he says: *"It is not good that man is alone. Let us make for him a helper like him."*¹⁰ That is: for all men, for the whole race, for all human nature.

This fact becomes obvious from the following. When God wanted to make the flood, we hear Scripture saying: *And God repented having made man.*¹¹ That is: the whole race. And again: *"I will erase man, whom I made."*¹² And again: *"The thinking of man leans keenly toward evil."*¹³ Just as those statements are about the whole human race, so also the statement *"it is not good that man is alone"*¹⁴ was said about every human being.

8. *"Let us make for him a helper like him."*¹⁵

I invite the Jew and the pagan to seek out and procure that helper, whom God made to assist the whole human race. An assistant not for carnal pleasure, nor for sowing children of one's blood, but a helper and wife that never becomes a traitor;¹⁶ a savior, a guardian; illuminating, kind; washing away and not committing sin; a guide to the kingdom of

¹ Gen 2:18. ² Gen 1:31. ³ Gen 1:27-28. ⁴ Cf Gen 1:28. ⁵ Cf Gen 2:16. ⁶ Gen 2:17.

⁷ Gen 2:18. ⁸ Cf 2 Cor 5:20. ⁹ Gen 2:18. ¹⁰ Gen 2:18. ¹¹ Gen 6:6. ¹² Gen 6:7.

¹³ Gen 8:21. ¹⁴ Gen 2:18. ¹⁵ Gen 2:18. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 3:6.

387 ἠκούσαμεν M 394 γινώσκει M 397 ἡτοι M 399 γὰρ | om. M 402 περιεκτικῶς M 404 σημῆνει M 406 τοῦτο | τοῦτω M^{corr.} 407 ἡνί P 410 διανοία τοῦ | διάνοιαν M^{corr.} 411 περὶ | om. N

ἐξωθοῦσαν, βοηθὸν τέκνα ζωῆς καὶ κληρονόμους αἰωνίου ζωῆς ἀνα-
 τίκτους, βοηθὸν μάγους ἀποστόλους ἐργαζομένην, τελῶνας
 εὐαγγελιστὰς γεννώσαν, βοηθὸν τοὺς κοπιῶντας ἀναπαύουσαν, ληστὰς
 θεολόγους ποιοῦσαν, πόρνας παρθένων σεμνοτέρας καθιστῶσαν, βοηθὸν
 425 νεκροὺς ζωοποιοῦσαν, τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκ νεκρώσεως τῆς εἰδωλολατρίας
 ἐγείρουσαν, βοηθὸν ἀήττητον, βοηθὸν ἀνίκητον, βοηθὸν ἀκαταγώνισ-
 τον, ἄθραυστον. Πᾶσαι αἱ βασιλεῖαι, πᾶσαι αἱ πατρίαι, πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαί,
 καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ γλῶσσαι τῶν ἐθνῶν ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐσώθησαν. "Ὁλωρ τῷ γένει
 τοῦ ἀνθρώπου αὕτη ἐβοήθησεν. Αὕτη τοὺς κειμένους ἀνέστησεν. Αὕτη
 430 τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς ἰάτρευσεν. Αὕτη τὴν κτίσιν ἀνέκτισε. Διὸ καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς
 εἶπε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς, λέγων δὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τό· *Οὐ καλὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον
 εἶναι μόνον.* Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἠνώθη αὐτῇ ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος, ἵνα μηκέτι εἴη ὁ
 ἄνθρωπος μόνος, ἀλλὰ σὺν Θεῷ ὅλος ἐν μιᾷ μὲν καὶ ὑποστάσει, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ὅταν αὐτῷ δι' ἀρετῆς προσενοῦται.

435 **IV 1. Ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθὸν κατ' αὐτόν.** | Πῶς δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ βοηθὸς
 γίνεται, ἄκουσον. Εὐθέως γὰρ ἐπήγαγε λέγων ὅτι *Καὶ ἐπλασεν ἐτι ἐκ τῆς
 γῆς Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς πάντα τὰ θηρία τοῦ ἀγροῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ
 οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἰδεῖν, τί καλέσει αὐτά, καὶ
 πᾶν, ὃ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὰ Ἀδὰμ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῷ. Καὶ
 440 ἐκάλεσεν Ἀδὰμ ὀνόματα πᾶσι τοῖς κτήνεσι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ
 οὐρανοῦ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς θηρίοις τοῦ ἀγροῦ.*

Οὐ φιλή τις οὐδὲ ἡ τυχοῦσα καὶ ἐν τοῖς προκειμένοις γέγονεν
 ἀντίρρησης τοῖς ἐξηγηταῖς. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὰ λέγουσιν εἶναι ταῦτα τὰ
 πρῶτα ζῶα καὶ θηρία καὶ πετεινὰ, οἱ δὲ πάλιν, κατὰ τὸν λέγοντα· *Εἰ τις
 445 ἐν Χριστῷ, καινῇ, δεύτερα καὶ ἕτερα διὰ τοῦτο λέγουσι
 προφητεύεσθαι, τουτέστι τὰ διάφορα ἔθνη τὰ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρὸς
 Θεὸν συναχθέντα.*

2. Ταύτης δὲ τῆς δόξης ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ πολὺς ἐν θεολογίᾳ Εὐστάθιος ὁ θεῖος
 καὶ προσομιλητὴς καὶ μάρτυς καὶ κορυφαῖος τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου διδάσ-
 450 καλος, ὃ καὶ πειθαρχοῦμαι ὡς θεολήπτη κηδεμόνι. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκ πολλῶν
 τρόπων ἔστι διαγινῶναι, φησὶν ὁ πατήρ, τούτων τῶν ζώων καὶ πετει-
 νῶν τὸ διάφορόν τε καὶ ἀνόμοιον. Πρῶτον διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν· *Καὶ ἐπλασε
 Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἔτι, οὐ γὰρ εὐρίσκομεν πλάσμα Θεοῦ εἶναι, εἰ μὴ
 τὸν ἄνθρωπον.* Πάλιν καὶ διὰ τοῦ λέγειν τό· *Ἐτι δείκνυσιν ἡ γραφὴ ἕτερα*
 455 *τινα ἐνταῦθα ζῶα προφητεύεσθαι καὶ πετεινὰ παρὰ τὰ πρότερα, οὔτε
 γὰρ γέγραπται τὰ πρῶτα πετεινὰ ἐκ γῆς γενόμενα, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὑδάτων,
 ταῦτα δὲ ἐκ γῆς ἐγένοντο, μᾶλλον δ' ἐπλάσθησαν ἰδιοχείρως παρὰ Θεοῦ,
 καὶ οὐ κατὰ πρόσταξιν. Ὡσαύτως καὶ διὰ τοῦ λέγειν πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ
 καὶ πάντα τὰ θηρία νῦν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ πλασθῆναι οὐ δίδωσιν ἡμῖν χώραν τοῦ*

421 αἰωνίους M 422 μάγους] add. καὶ P 426 βοηθὸν ἀνίκητον· βοηθὸν ἀήττητον M^a corr.
 427 πᾶσαι αἱ βασιλεῖαι, πᾶσαι αἱ πατρίαι, πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαί] om. P 429 ἐβοήθησεν M
 ἐβοήθησε N 432 ὁ] om. MP 433 μὲν καὶ] om. N 448 θεολόγοις M^a corr. 451 ἐστι] correcti
 ἐστὶ MNP 454 καὶ] om. P 457 δὲ πλάσθησαν N^a corr. 459 ἡμῶν N

God,¹ rather than one who expels; a helper that gives birth to children of
 life and inheritors of eternal life; a helper that forms magicians into
 apostles,² that turns tax-collectors into evangelists;³ a helper that gives
 rest to those who labor,⁴ that makes theologians out of robbers,⁵ that
 renders prostitutes more holy than virgins;⁶ a helper that gives life to
 the dead,⁷ that wakes the inhabited world from the death of idolatry; an
 undiminished helper, an unconquered helper, a blameless, indestruc-
 tible helper.⁸

She has saved all the kingdoms, all the fatherlands, all the tribes,
 and all the tongues of the nations.⁹ She has assisted the whole human
 race. She has raised up those that have fallen. She has healed those that
 were ill. She has recreated creation. On account of this, the Lord God
 said of her—and I am speaking of the Church—*"It is not good that man
 is alone."*¹⁰ And on account of this, God the Word became one with the
 Church, so that man might never be alone, but wholly with God in one
 hypostasis, provided that the Church through virtue becomes one with
 him: *"Let us make for him a helper like him."*¹¹

IV 1. How did this helper come into being? Listen. The text
 immediately adds: *And the Lord God yet fashioned from the earth all the
 beasts of the field and all the birds of heaven. And he brought them to
 Adam to see what he would call them. And what Adam called every
 living animal, this was its name. And Adam gave names to all the cattle
 and all the birds of heaven and all the beasts of the field.*¹²

The controversy that has arisen among commentators on this
 passage is neither simple nor trivial. Some say that these are the first
 animals and beasts and birds.¹³ But some argue that the other creation,
 the second creation, is being prophesied. This is according to the
 statement: *If someone is in Christ, he is a new creation.*¹⁴ The animals
 here represent the different nations that were brought together in the
 Church for God.

2. Of this opinion was Eustathius, who was a great theologian,
 inspired lecturer, martyr, and the chief teacher at the Council of Nicaea.
 I trust and follow him as a guardian chosen by God. This Father said:

In many places it is possible to discern the difference and
 uniqueness of these animals and birds. First, through this
 statement: *And the Lord God moreover fashioned from the
 earth.*¹⁵ We do not find in the first creation anything fashioned by
 God, except man. And also through the word *moreover*. Scripture
 indicates that some animals and birds different from the earlier
 ones are being prophesied here. For it was not written that the
 first birds arose from the earth, but from the waters. These here,
 however, arise from the earth. Or rather, they are fashioned by
 God with his own hands, and are not ordered into existence.

¹ Cf Gen 3:23-26. ² Cf Mt 2:1-12; Acts 8:9-24. ³ Cf Mt 9:9; Mk 2:14; Lk 5:27-28.
⁴ Cf Mt 11:28-30. ⁵ Cf Lk 23:39-43. ⁶ Cf Mk 16:9; Lk 7:36-50; Jn 7:53-8:11.
⁷ Cf Mt 9:18-26; Mk 5:21-43; Lk 7:11-17; 8:40-56; Jn 11:1-44. ⁸ Cf Mt 7:24-25; 16:18;
 Lk 6:47-48. ⁹ Cf Gen 12:3; 18:18. ¹⁰ Gen 2:18. ¹¹ Gen 2:18. ¹² Gen 2:19-20.
¹³ Cf Gen 1:20-25. ¹⁴ 2 Cor 5:17. ¹⁵ Gen 2:19.

460 ὅλως εἰπεῖν ὅτι μέρος μὲν ἐγένοντο πρότερον, μέρος δὲ νῦν. "Οθεν οὔτε
περὶ σπερμοφάγου βρώσεως ἐν τούτοις τί διακελεύεται ὁ Θεός, τὰ γὰρ
εἰς παράδεισον εἰσερχόμενα οὐ χόρτον ἐσθίει, ἀλλὰ *πάν ξύλον ὡραῖον εἰς*
ὄρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρωσιν, καὶ πρό γε πάντων ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς
Χριστοῦ τοῦ ζωοποιούντος καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ζῶα. Ἔστι δ' εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἔθνη
465 εἰσὶ ταῦτα τὰ θηρία τὰ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ εἰσενεχθέντα ἢ ὅτι
ἱππῶν καὶ συβότιον καὶ καμηλοστάσιον καὶ οἰνοτροφεῖον σήμερον ὁ
παράδεισος ὑπάρχει.

3. Καὶ μὴ φιλονεικήσης. Οὐ γὰρ δείξεις, κἄν φιλονεικήσεις, ὅτι τὰ
θηρία ταῦτα ἐξεληλύθεν ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας εἰσήγαγεν
470 αὐτὰ καὶ συνήθροισεν ὁ Θεός. Καὶ εἰ εἶχες ὀφθαλμούς καὶ μὴ περιέκειτο τὸ
κάλυμμα τῆς ἀγνοίας ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου σου, διέβλεψας ἂν (καὶ γὰρ
ἠθέλησας) συνηθροισμένα ταῦτα τὰ θηρία τοῦ ἀγροῦ ὁμοθυμαδὸν πρὸς
τὸν πνευματικὸν Ἀδὰμ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ εἰσενεχθέντα, τὴν πάλαι λέαιναν τὴν
Χαλδαίαν διενάγοντος, τὴν ἄρκτον τῆς Περσίδος, τὴν πάρδαλιν τῶν
475 Μακεδόνων (τοιαῦτα γὰρ σοι θηρία τούτους ὁ Δανιὴλ προσηγόρευσε),
καὶ οὐ μόνον ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας Αἰθιοπας καὶ τοὺς δρά-
κοντας Θηβαΐδος καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τῆς Αἰγυπτίας καὶ τοὺς λέοντας τῆς
Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τοὺς λύκους τῆς Ἀραβίας καὶ τοὺς στρουθοὺς καὶ
ὀνάγρους τοὺς Κυρηναίους. Μία ταῦτα πάντα ἀγέλη θηρίων ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ
480 ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ βοηθῷ τρεφόμενα.

4. Λοιπὸν διάβλεψον, ὦ Ἰουδαῖε, καὶ ἴδε καὶ μὴ ἰ εἰς τέλος τύφλωττε. 995A
Εἰσελθόντα τὰ θηρία ὑπὸ σκέπην, ὥς φησιν Ἰώβ, εἰσῆλθον καὶ οὐκ
ἐξῆλθον, *θηρὲς γὰρ ἄγριοι* εἰρήνευσαν Θεῷ τῷ λέγοντι· *Εὐλογήσῃ με*
πάντα τὰ θηρία τοῦ ἀγροῦ, σειρήνες καὶ θυγατέρες στρουθίων, ὅτι ἐμά
485 *ἐστὶ τὰ θηρία τοῦ ἀγροῦ πάντα, καὶ ἐγνώκα πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ*
οὐρανοῦ. Διάνοιξόν σου τὰ ὦτα καὶ μὴ κωφεύης ὥς ἡ ἀσπίς, ἥτις οὐκ
εἰσακούσει φωνῆς μου ἐπάδοντός σοι. Θηρίον, σοὶ ταῦτα λαλῶ. Θηρίον,
σοὶ ἐπάδω. Θηρίον, σὲ τὸ πρόβατον βούλομαι πραῦναι καὶ Θεῷ καθη-
μερῶσαι. Ἀρ' οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ, εἰπέ μοι, ὅτι τὸν λέοντα καὶ λέαιναν καὶ τὴν
490 *ἄρκτον καὶ τὴν πάρδαλιν καὶ τὸν δράκοντα καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸν*
λύκον καὶ τὸν ὀναγρον εἰσήγαγεν ὁ Θεός ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῆς
ἐκκλησίας τρέφεσθαι καὶ ἀπολαύειν καὶ κατατρυφᾶν ἀπὸ παντός ὡραίου
καρποῦ καὶ εὐφραίνεισθαι καὶ ἐμπιπλάσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς καὶ
495 *σὺ ἔστηκας ἔξω πρόβατον τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων καὶ υἱὸς ὁ ποτε γνήσιος*
πρωτότοκος; Τὰ θηρία ὑπετάγησαν καὶ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν αὐλήν, καὶ σὺ ὁ

Just so, it says that *all* the birds and *all* the beasts are now fashioned by God. This does not give us any opportunity to say that a part arose earlier and a part now.¹

For this reason, in this passage God does not give any orders about eating seeds. They who now enter into the garden do not eat grass,² but rather from *every tree beautiful to behold and good to eat*,³ especially from the tree of life, Christ, who gives life to these lives.⁴

Thus, it is necessary to say either that these beasts are the nations that were brought into the Church by God, or that Paradise exists today as a corral for horses, a camel station, and a vineyard.

3. Do not be argumentative. For even if you are obstinate, you will not show that these wild beasts left the garden—not since that day when God gathered them together and led them in.⁵ If you had eyes and the veil of ignorance was not wrapped around your face, you would see: provided you wanted to.⁶ The beasts of the field, having been gathered together, were brought in by God⁷ to the spiritual Adam.⁸ God led in the Chaldean lioness, the Persian bear, and the Macedonian leopard. (Even Daniel addressed the nations as such wild beasts, for you.)⁹ And not only these, but also the elephants of Ethiopia, the dragons of Thebes, the asps of Egypt, the lions of Babylon, the wolves of Arabia, and the ostriches and wild asses of Cyrene.¹⁰ And all these beasts are now being reared as one herd in the Church, which is the helper.

4. Look, O Jew, and finally see! Do not stay blind to the end! The *beasts*, entering *beneath the shelter* (as Job says),¹¹ came in and did not leave. For *the wild beasts* live peaceably with God,¹² who says: "All *the wild beasts of the field will bless me, the ostriches and the daughters of the ostriches*,¹³ *because all the beasts of the field are mine, and I know all the birds of heaven*."¹⁴

Open up your ears! Do not be deaf as an asp, which will not hear my voice as I sing for you.¹⁵ Wild beast, I say these things for you. Wild beast, I sing hymns for you. Wild beast, I want to tame you for God and make you gentle as a sheep. Are you not ashamed, tell me, that God led into the garden of the Church the lion and lioness, the bear, leopard, dragon, asp, wolf, and the wild ass?¹⁶ There they are being nourished and delight in the enjoyment of every beautiful fruit. They are happy and fill themselves from the tree of life,¹⁷ while you stand outside, you who are one of God's sheep, you who were once a legitimate son, the first-born. The wild beasts were tamed and entered into his courtyard; but you, who ought to have been their shepherd, have become wilder than a beast.

460 μέρος N 461 τι] scripsi τί MNP 462 ἐσθίειν M 464 δ' om. P^a corr. 465 εἰσὶ] om. P^a corr. 466 καμηλοστάσιον N 468 φιλονεικήσης] scripsi φειλονεικήσης MNP φιλονεικήσεις] N φιλονεικήσας M φειλονεικήσεις P 470 συνοίθρησεν P 471 ἀγνοίας M 472 ἠθέλησας] scripsi εἰ θέλεις MNP συνοίθρησμένα P 473 πν(εύματ)ι P^a corr. εἰσενεχθέντα M 474 διενάγοντος] scripsi διενάγων MNP 479 Κυρηναίους] scripsi κηρινάους M κήρηνάους NP 483 ἄγριος P 484 θυγατέρας P 489 τὸν] om. P λέαινα P 493 ἐμπιπλάσθε M 494 ὑπάρχων N καὶ] add. ὁ P

¹ M. Spanneut, *Recherches sur les écrits d'Eusèbe d'Antioch* (Lille, 1948), Fragmentum 85.

² Cf Gen 1:30. ³ Gen 2:9. ⁴ Cf 1 Cor 15:22, 45. ⁵ Cf Gen 2:19. ⁶ Cf 2 Cor 3:13, 15.

⁷ Cf Gen 2:19. ⁸ Cf 1 Cor 15:45. ⁹ Cf Dan 7:4-6. ¹⁰ Cf Hab 1:8; Zeph 3:3. ¹¹ Job 37:8.

¹² Job 5:23. ¹³ Is 43:20. ¹⁴ Ps 49(50):10-11. ¹⁵ Cf Ps 57(58):5-6. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 2:19.

¹⁷ Cf Gen 2:9, 16.

ὁφείλων ποιμὴν εἶναι τῶν θηρίων ἀγριώτερος θηρίου γέγονας. "Ὁρα γὰρ ὅτι σημαίνων ὁ Θεὸς τὰ ἔθνη εἶναι ταῦτα τὰ κατὰ δευτέραν τάξιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενα καὶ εἰς τὸν παράδεισον πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ εἰσαχθέντα θηρία αὐτὰ ὀνομάζει λέγων διὰ τοῦ συγγραφέως ὅτι *Καὶ ἔπλασε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἔτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα τὰ θηρία τοῦ ἀγροῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ.* Ἄρ' οὐ φρικτὸν καὶ τὸ ὅλως ἐννοεῖν, εἴ γε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τοῖς Χερουβὶν καὶ τοῖς Σεραφίμ ἀθεώρητος καὶ ἀκατάληπτος καὶ ἀπροσπέλαστος, ᾧ μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου πᾶσαι αἱ νοεραὶ δυνάμεις τὴν λατρείαν προσάγουσιν, ὃν εἶδεν οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ ἰδεῖν δύναται τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ ζῆσαι, οὗτος δὲ ὁ ἐπάνω τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας πῦρ καταναλίσκων ὢν, δουλικὴν ἵπποκόμου τάξιν ἀναλαβών, τοὺς ἵππους, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τὰς ἄρκτους καὶ τοὺς λύκους καὶ τὰς καμήλους ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἔλκων τῷ Ἀδὰμ ὑπουργικῶς προσέφερεν, ὅπως ἴδῃ, τί καλέσει αὐτά, ὁ πάντα γινώσκων ὡς Θεὸς πρὶν γενέσεως αὐτῶν καὶ ἀριθμῶν πλήθη ἀστρῶν καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα καλῶν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κτίσμασι τὰ οἰκεία ὀνόματα δούς κατὰ τὸ βούλημα αὐτοῦ;

5. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι νοσοῦσιν οἱ τῷ γράμματι μόνῳ τῆς γραφῆς προσέχοντες καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀποκτείνονται. Σὺ δὲ, ὦ θεϊότατε τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ θεοφύτευτε τῆς ἐκκλησίας παράδεισε, τὴν καλὴν καὶ ἀπλανῆ ὁδὸν μετὰ Παύλου τοῦ παραδεισοσκόπου καὶ παραδεισοπολίτου ὅδε νε ἀκούων αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι *Πάντα τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς κτίσματα τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διαγράφουσιν.* Οὐκοῦν διὰ τοῦτο οὐ τὰ πρῶτα κτήνη ζῶα τὰ κατὰ πρόσταξιν γενόμενα εἰσήγαγε πρὸς τὸν πνευματικὸν Ἀδὰμ τὸν Χριστὸν ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὸν παράδεισον (τύπος γὰρ ὑπῆρχον τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων), ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς τὸν δεύτερον λαὸν οὐ μεμονωμένον, ἀλλὰ ἐνωθέντα τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τουτέστι τοῖς ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος γεννηθεῖσι πιστοῖς.

6. Ἔστι δὲ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀκοῦσαι καὶ θαυμάσαι τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος σοφίαν, ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ οὕτω καὶ τούτων τῶν θηρίων τὴν δημιουργίαν λέγει. Ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ | γέγραπται· *Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν*, τουτέστιν ἐκ κοινῆς συμφωνίας τὸ τῆς Τριάδος πλήρωμα λέγει τὸ *Ποιήσωμεν*, ὡσαύτως ἐνταῦθα φησὶν· *Οὐ καλὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι μόνον ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθὸν κατ' αὐτόν*, τουτέστι θεόπλαστον. Τίς δὲ οὗτος ὁ θεόπλαστος βοηθός, ἀκουσον· *Καὶ ἔπλασε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἔτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα τὰ θηρία τοῦ ἀγροῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.* Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ βοηθός. Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ποίμνη· αὕτη ἡ ἀγέλη. Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἡμῶν τῶν θηρίων καὶ ζώων ἐκκλησία ἡ βοηθός,

495/6 ὁ ὁφείλων ποιμὴν εἶναι τῶν θηρίων] *om.* N 499 καὶ] *om.* P 500 πετεινὰ N^{corr.} 504 νοαίραι M 508 λίκους M καμήλους M 509 προσέφερεν] N προσέφερε M προσέφερον P τῇ P ὡς] *om.* P 510 ἀριθμῶν πλήθη ἀστρῶν] *om.* P 513 νοοῦσιν MP 514 προσέχοντα M 515 θεόφυτε MP 516 τοῦ] καὶ P 517 λέγοντον P 522 ἐνωθέντα M 532 αὕτη] αὐτο M 533 ἡ] *om.* P καὶ] *om.* MN

Look! God gave a sign that they, who were made by him in the second order and were led into the garden to Adam, were the Gentile nations: he called them *beasts*. God said, through the narrator: *And the Lord God yet fashioned from the earth all the beasts of the field and all the birds of heaven. And he brought them to Adam.*¹

Is it not awesome to think about all this? God cannot be seen, comprehended, nor approached by the Cherubim and Seraphim.² All the noetic powers, with fear and trembling, give worship to him.³ No man saw him.⁴ No one is able to see his face and live.⁵ He is above the heavens, and he is beyond every rule and authority⁶ because he is a consuming fire.⁷ Yet he took the rank of servant, the groom of horses. He led by hand not only the horses, but also the bears, wolves, and camels; and like a servant, brought them to Adam.⁸ He wanted to see what Adam would call them. He who, as God, knows all things before their genesis.⁹ He who counts the multitude of the stars and calls them all by name.¹⁰ He who had given to all his creations their own names according to his wishes.

5. The Jews that pay attention only to the literal meaning of Scripture are ill in this way, and are killed by the letter.¹¹ But you, O most divine Paradise, the Church of God, planted by God, travel the good and straight road with Paul. He looked upon Paradise and is a citizen of Paradise.¹² Listen to him when he says: *All the creations in heaven and on earth*¹³ describe Christ and the Church.¹⁴

Therefore on account of this, God did not lead the first living herds, which came into being by command,¹⁵ into Paradise to the spiritual Adam, Christ.¹⁶ For they were a type of the Jewish people. But rather, he led us, the second people. And we were not alone: we were joined by the birds of heaven,¹⁷ the faithful that were born from water and Spirit.¹⁸

6. It is possible really to hear and to marvel at the wisdom of the Holy Spirit. In the same way that it speaks about the creation of Adam, it also speaks about the creation of the wild beasts. There it is written: *Let us make a man in our image.*¹⁹ It is the complete Trinity that is saying unanimously: *Let us make.* So also here it says: *It is not good for man to be alone. Let us make for him a helper like him.*²⁰ That is: fashioned by God. Who is this helper fashioned by God? Listen: *And the Lord God yet fashioned from the earth all the beasts of the field and all the birds of heaven.*²¹ This is the helper. This is the flock,²² this the herd.²³ The Church of us beasts and animals is this helper. When God

¹ Gen 2:19. ² Cf Is 6:2; Ez 10:1, 18-20. ³ Cf Dan (Theod.) 7:10; Heb 1:14. ⁴ Cf 1 Tim 6:16. ⁵ Cf Ex 33:20. ⁶ Cf Ps 107(108):5; Eph 1:21. ⁷ Cf Dt 4:24; 9:3; Heb 12:29. ⁸ Cf Gen 2:19. ⁹ Cf Sus 35a. ¹⁰ Ps 146(147): 4. ¹¹ Cf 2 Cor 3:6. ¹² Cf 2 Cor 12:2-4. ¹³ Cf Col 1:16. ¹⁴ Cf Eph 5:32. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 1:24-25. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 2:19; 1 Cor 15:45. ¹⁷ Cf Gen 2:19. ¹⁸ Cf Gen 1:20-21; Jn 3:5. ¹⁹ Gen 1:26. ²⁰ Gen 2:18. ²¹ Gen 2:19. ²² Cf Zech 13:7; Mt 26:31; Jn 10:16; 1 Cor 9:7. ²³ Cf Is 60:5-6.

ὥσπερ γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· *Ποιήσωμεν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ βοηθόν*, παραυτὰ καὶ
 535 τὸν τοιοῦτον βοηθόν θεόπλαστον ὑπέστησε. Καὶ ὅτε μὲν γηγενῇ τὸν
 Ἀδὰμ ποιῇ γηγενῆς, καὶ ὁμοούσιον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παράδεισον καὶ
 ξύλων λέγει φύτευσιν· ὅτε δὲ πάλιν τὴν λεγομένην ζωὴν δημιουργεῖ,
 συνώνυμα καὶ σύζωσα αὐτῆς ζῶα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν πλάττει, ὁ γὰρ γηγενῆς
 540 ὁμογενῆς τοῖς ἐκ γῆς καὶ ἡ ζωὴ οἰκεία καὶ ἰδία τῶν ζώων. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν
 ἄνθρωπος Ἀδὰμ πρὸ τῆς γυναικὸς γέγονε, προαιώνιος γὰρ καὶ ἀναρχος
 καὶ ἄκτιστος καὶ ἄχρονος πρὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προϋπάρχει ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος,
 ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὰ ζῶα πλάττει πρὸ τῆς Εὐας τῆς λεγομένης ζωῆς,
 προϋπῆρξε γὰρ τὰ θηριώδη ἔθνη, καὶ οὕτως ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων
 545 συνέστη ἡ ἐκκλησία αὐτῶν, ἐν ἣ ἡγάγεν αὐτὰ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ πρὸς
 τὸν δεύτερον Ἀδὰμ Χριστὸν ἰδεῖν, τί καλέσει αὐτά.

7. Καὶ ἀκουσον τούτου σαφῶς λέγοντος τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὅτι *Οὐδεὶς δύναται
 ἐλθεῖν πρὸς με, ἐὰν μὴ ὁ Πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος ἐλκύσῃ αὐτόν*. Ἰδοὺ ἤκου-
 σας δεσποτικῆς φωνῆς διδασκούσης σε, πῶς ἡγάγε τὰ θηρία τῶν ἐθνῶν
 πρὸς τὸν ὁμοούσιον Υἱὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Διὸ καὶ πάλιν
 550 λέγει· *Οὓς δέδωκάς μοι, Πάτερ, σοὶ ἦσαν καὶ ἐμοὶ αὐτοὺς δέδωκάς. Πᾶς
 γὰρ ὁ ἀκούσας παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἔρχεται πρὸς με, καὶ πᾶν, ὃ δέδωκέ μοι
 ὁ Πατήρ, πρὸς ἐμὲ ἵξει, καὶ τὸν ἐρχόμενον πρὸς με οὐ μὴ ἐκβάλω ἔξω*.
 Οὐκοῦν θαρρεῖτωσαν τὰ θηρία τῶν ἐθνῶν τὰ διὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἰσελ-
 θόντα πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν ἀκούοντα αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι *Τὸν ἐρχόμενον πρὸς
 555 με οὐ μὴ ἐκβάλω ἔξω*, καὶ ὅτι *Πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς μου*,
 ὁ γὰρ Πατήρ φιλεῖ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ δέδωκεν αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν πάσης σαρκὸς
 λέγων· *Αἵτησαι παρ' ἐμοῦ ὡς Υἱός, καὶ δώσω σοι κληρὸν πατρῶων ἔθνη
 θηρία τὴν κληρονομίαν σου καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς*.
 Θαρρεῖτωσαν, πάλιν λέγω, ταῦτα τὰ παρόντα ἔσω καὶ ἀκούοντα τοῦ
 560 λόγου τοῦ ἁγίου θηρία τῶν ἐθνῶν, οὐ μὴ γὰρ ἐκβληθῶσιν ἔξω. Εἰ δὲ θέλει
 ἀκοῦσαι ὁ Ἰουδαῖος, τίνες ἐξεβλήθησαν, ἵνα τὰ θηρία εἰσελθῶσιν, ἀκούσῃ
 τοῦ κηπουροῦ τοῦ παραδείσου τούτου λέγοντος ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς Ἀπὸ
 ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν θῆρας εἰσελθεῖν καὶ ἀνακλιθῆναι μετὰ Ἀβραάμ καὶ
 565 Ἰσαάκ καὶ Ἰακώβ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοὺς δὲ υἱοὺς τοῦ
 νυμφῶνος Ἰουδαίους ἐκβληθῆναι ἔξω εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, καλέσω
 γὰρ τὸν οὐ λαόν μου λαόν μου καὶ τὴν ἡλεημένην συναγωγὴν οὐκ
 ἡλεημένην. |

8. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ περὶ ξένων καὶ παραδόξων πραγμάτων διεξιὼν ὁ λόγος 997A
 οὐ μόνον τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ, ἀλλ' ἴσως καὶ τισι τῶν πιστῶν δύσπιστος
 570 ὑπάρχει, ἀνάγκη ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἐτέρων θηρίων βεβαιῶσαι τὸν λόγον.

534 εἶπεν] *scripsi* εἰπὼν MNP 535 μὲν] *scripsi* μὴ MNP 536 ποιῇ P γηγενῆς] *scripsi*
 γηγενῆ MNP 537 ξύλων M^{a corr.} 538 αὐτῆς ζῶα] *om.* N 539 τοῖς] τῆς M οἰκεία] *scripsi*
 οἰκεία MNP 542 ἐνταῦδε N^{a corr.} 556 αὐτῷ] *om.* N ἐξουσία N 558 θηρίαν P
 561 ἀκούσῃ] ἀκούσει MIN 562 κηπουροῦ NP τούτου] τοῦ P 563 ἀνακλιθῆναι M^{a corr.} P
 ἀβραάμ M^{p corr.} N ἀβραάμ M^{a corr.} 565 ἐκβληθῆναι P 566 οὐ] *om.* M 568 καὶ] *om.* P

said *Let us make a helper for man*,¹ immediately he established such a God-fashioned helper.

When on the one hand he who was earthborn makes Adam earthborn and similar to himself in nature,² the text speaks of his Church as a garden and an orchard of trees.³ When on the other hand he makes the one that is called "Life" (ζωή),⁴ he simultaneously fashions the living creatures (ζῶα) as the Church, which share her name and life. He who is born from the earth shares his race with those that came from the earth; and Life belongs and is proper to living creatures.

Adam came into being before the woman,⁵ because God the Word existed before the Church, before the ages, without a beginning, uncreated, and outside of time. And then he fashioned the animals before Eve, who is called "Life",⁶ because the nations, which resembled wild beasts, existed before [the Church]. And so, in the last age the Church was assembled from them;⁷ and in its midst, God the Father⁸ led them to the second Adam, Christ,⁹ to see what he would call them.¹⁰

7. Listen to his Son, when he says clearly: "*No one is able to come to me, unless my Father in heaven led him.*"¹¹ Look: you heard the Lord's voice teaching you how God led the beasts of the nations to his Son, of like nature, in the Paradise of the Church.¹² And again he says: "*They that you have given me, Father, were yours and you gave them to me.*"¹³ *Every one who has heard the Father comes to me.*"¹⁴ And *every one that the Father gave to me will come to me. And I will not reject the one coming to me.*"¹⁵

Therefore let the beasts of the nations be confident; and approaching the Son through the Father, let them hear him say:¹⁶ "*I will not reject the one coming to me.*"¹⁷ And: "*All things were given to me by my Father,*"¹⁸ for the Father loves the Son and¹⁹ has given to him authority over all flesh.²⁰ The Father said: "*Seek from me, as a son, and I will give to you as your paternal allotment the nations of wild beasts as your inheritance and the ends of the earth as your possession.*"²¹

Again I say, let the beasts of the nations that are present inside and hear the holy word be confident: they will not be cast out. If the Jew wants to hear who was cast out, so that the beasts might enter, let him listen to the keeper of this Paradise, who says:²² "*From the East and West beasts enter and recline with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of God.*"²³ But the sons of the bridegroom,²⁴ the Jews, were cast into the darkness outside.²⁵ For, those who were not my people, I will call my people; and I will call the synagogue, which had received my forgiveness, not forgiven."²⁶

8. This argument, because it explores unusual and surprising things, is hard to believe—not only for the Jew, but also for some of the faithful. Thus, we feel pressed to strengthen our case with other wild animals. Listen therefore to Noah in the ark, when Scripture is speaking about material and corporal beasts. Listen how God gave him the order to

¹ Gen 2:18. ² Cf Gen 2:7. ³ Cf Gen 2:8-9. ⁴ Cf Gen 2:21-22; 3:20. ⁵ Cf Gen 2:7, 21-22.

⁶ Cf Gen 2:19, 21-22; 3:20. ⁷ Cf 1 Pet 1:20. ⁸ Cf Eph 1:3; Col 1:3. ⁹ Cf 1 Cor 15:45.

¹⁰ Cf Gen 2:19. ¹¹ Jn 6:44. ¹² Cf Gen 2:19. ¹³ Jn 17:6. ¹⁴ Jn 6:45. ¹⁵ Jn 6:37.

¹⁶ Cf Jn 6:44, 65. ¹⁷ Jn 6:37. ¹⁸ Mt 11:27. ¹⁹ Jn 5:20. ²⁰ Jn 17:2. ²¹ Ps 2:8.

²² Cf Jn 20:15. ²³ Mt 8:11; Lk 13:29. ²⁴ Lk 5:34. ²⁵ Mt 8:12. ²⁶ Rom 9:25.

Ἀκουσον γοῦν τοῦ ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ Νῶε, ὅτε περὶ σωματικῶν θηρίων καὶ
 ὑλικῶν λαλεῖ ἡ γραφή, πῶς ἐπιτρέπει ἐκεῖ ὁ Θεὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν εἰσοδὸν
 τῶν θηρίων καὶ κτηνῶν καὶ πετεινῶν ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ. Ὁμοίως πάλιν μετὰ
 τὸν κατακλυσμὸν λέγει καὶ τὴν ἐξοδὸν αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς κιβωτοῦ μετὰ τοῦ
 575 Νῶε γεγεννημένην. Καὶ πῶς λοιπὸν καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ
 ποιήσας ὁ Θεὸς δι' αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰσοδὸν τούτων τῶν θηρίων καὶ οἰονεῖ
 βουκόλος αὐτῶν καὶ ὁδηγὸς γενόμενος οὐκ ἔτι ἐξήγαγεν αὐτά, ἀλλ'
 ἔνδον κατέλιπεν; Εἰ δὲ θρυλλεῖ τε καὶ ἀγανακτεῖ ὁ Ἰουδαῖος τούτων
 ἀκούων, βαστάσει μικρὸν καὶ ἀκούσει τοῦ λόγου παριστῶντος ὅτι οὔτε ἡ
 580 γυνὴ οὔτε ἡ λεγομένη ζωὴ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου, ἀλλὰ μονώτατος
 ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἐξῶθεν εἰσελθὼν. Ἡ δὲ ζωὴ ὡς παραδεισόπλαστος
 αὐτόχθων οὔσα καὶ οὐκ ἐξῶθεν εἰσελθοῦσα ἔσω εἰς τὸ οἰκεῖον χωρίον
 ἔμεινεν ὡς ζωὴ ζωοποιοῦσα τὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰσενεχθέντα ζῷα. Τί οὖν;
 φησὶν, Οὐ γέγραπται μετὰ τὴν ἐξοδὸν τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου ὅτι
 585 Ἔγνω Ἀδὰμ Εὐάν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ; Ἐπίσχε, ἄνθρωπε, καὶ μὴ
 σπουδάσης, ἀλλ' ἐπέχε, καὶ ὅτε κατὰ τοὺς τόπους γενώμεθα τῆς ἐξαπο-
 στολῆς τοῦ Ἀδὰμ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου, ἐάν μοι δείξης ὁ Ἰουδαῖος ὅτι
 ὀνομάζει ἡ γραφὴ ἐξοδὸν θηρίων ἢ ἐξοδὸν γυναικὸς (οὐπω ἦλθεν ἡ
 παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ). Ἀλλ' οὐ δείξεις, κἄν μυρία φιλονεικήσης, ἀλλ' ὁ
 590 μὲν ἐξῶθεν εἰσελθὼν καὶ γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖ, ὅθεν ἦλθεν, ἡ
 δὲ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ ζωὴ ἔμεινεν ἔσω μετὰ τῶν ζώων ζωοποιεῖν αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ
 ζύλῳ τῆς ζωῆς τὰ ποτε λεγόμενα θηρία καὶ πετεινά.

9. Οὐκοῦν μανθανέτω ὁ πιστὸς ὅτι κατὰ δευτέραν τάξιν ἐξανα-
 τέιλαντα ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ὠραῖα καὶ καλὰ καὶ καρποφόρα ξύλα καὶ τὰ δεύτερα
 595 θηρία καὶ πετεινά, ἅπερ ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐπλασε, κάκειν πάλιν ἡ σινδὼν, ἣν
 ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ ὀπτασίᾳ ἐθεάσατο, ἔχουσα πάντα τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ
 τετράποδα καὶ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ αὕτη ἡ γυνή, ἣν ζώην κα-
 λοῦμεν, ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου βοηθὸς οὐδὲν ἕτερον σημαίνουν, εἰ μὴ τὸν
 παράδεισον τῆς ἐκκλησίας, εἰς ὃν εἰσῆγαγεν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ θηριώδη ἔθνη καὶ
 600 ἡγάγεν αὐτὰ πρὸς Χριστὸν τὸν δεύτερον Ἀδὰμ ἰδεῖν, τί καλέσει αὐτά,
 ἕκαστον κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀξίαν καὶ πολιτείαν. Διὸ καὶ ἐκάλεσε τὰ μὲν
 πρόβατα ὡς ἐκ δεξιῶν στησόμενα, τοὺς δὲ ἐρίφια ὡς ἐξ ἀριστερῶν, τοὺς
 δὲ ἄρνας ὡς ἐπομένους Χριστῷ, τοὺς δὲ βόας ὡς ἔλκοντας τὸ σταυρικὸν
 ἄροτρον, τοὺς δὲ ἵππους ὡς ταράσσοντας ὕδωρ ἀλμυρὸν ἀπιστίας, καὶ
 605 ἄλλους ἀετοὺς ὡς εἰς θεολογίαν ὑψουμένους, καὶ ἐτέρους περιστερὰς διὰ
 τὸ σημαντικὸν τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῦ Πνεύματος χάριτος. Εἰ δὲ καὶ θήρας
 ἀγρίους ἐν τούτῳ τῷ παραδείσῳ βούλει ἰδεῖν, ἀκουσον αὐτοῦ λέγοντος·
 Ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφρων καὶ σκορπίων. |

571 ὅτι N 572 ἡλικῶν P 574 ἐξοδὸν P 575 λοιπῶν M^{corr.} 577 καὶ] om. P 578 εἰ δὲ]
 add. εἰ δὲ P per dittographiam 580 μονώτατος P 581 ὁ] om. M 582 οὔσα] add. οὔσα P per
 dittographiam 583 ἔσωθεν M 585 ἐπίσχε M 586 γενώμεθα P 589 φιλονεική(ας) N
 597 καὶ] add. τὰ P 597/8 καλοῦμεν, ἢ] καλουμένη M 601 κατὰ τὴν] κατὰ M^{corr.}
 603 στ(αυ)ρι P 605 ὑψουμένους P 608 τὴν] om. MP

bring the beasts and cattle and birds into the ark.¹ Similarly, after the
 flood, it says their exit from the ark occurred along with Noah.² Then
 why indeed, there in Paradise, did God himself bring in those beasts, as
 if he had become their herdsman and guide, but no longer led them out?
 He left them within.

Now if the Jew, upon hearing these things, is upset and raises
 objections, let him be patient for a moment and he will hear my account
 establishing that neither the woman nor the one called "Life"³ left from
 Paradise—but only the man completely by himself, the one that had
 entered from outside.⁴ Life had been fashioned in Paradise. She was
 indigenous to it. She had not entered from outside. Thus she remained
 in her own place, as Life giving life to the living that had been brought
 to her.

"What is this?" he asks. "Is it not written that, after Adam's exodus
 from the garden, *Adam knew Eve his wife*?"⁵

Hold on, man, and do not hurry. Pay attention, and when we have
 come to the passages of Adam's dismissal from the garden,⁶ perhaps you,
 O Jew, might point out to me where Scripture identifies the exodus of
 the beasts or the exodus of the woman. For the second coming of Christ
 has not yet occurred. But you will not point it out, even if you raise a
 thousand arguments. And so the man, who had come into being and
 entered from outside,⁷ went out there from where he had come. But his
 wife, Life, remained inside with the living,⁸ who once had been called
 beasts and birds—to give them life by means of the tree of life.⁹

9. Therefore let the faithful learn that here in the second order, the
 trees, which God made to spring up beautiful, good, and bearing fruit,¹⁰
 and the second beasts and birds, which God himself fashioned,¹¹ and
 that cloth, which Peter saw in his vision, having all the beasts and cattle
 and birds of heaven,¹² and this woman, whom we call "Life", the helper
 of man¹³—these are symbols of nothing other than the Paradise of the
 Church. God led the Gentiles, like beasts, into this Paradise,¹⁴ where he
 presented them to Christ, the second Adam,¹⁵ to see what he would call
 them: each according to his own merit and daily life.¹⁶ On account of
 this, he called some sheep, because they will stand on his right;¹⁷ but
 others he called goats, because they will stand on his left. Some lambs,
 as following Christ;¹⁸ some oxen, as pulling the plow of the cross;¹⁹ some
 horses, as stirring up the bitter water of faithlessness;²⁰ and others
 eagles, as rising up to theology;²¹ and still others doves, because of signs
 of the Spirit's grace in them.²² But if you want to see fierce beasts in this
 garden, listen to him say: "*Look. I have given to you authority to trample
 upon snakes and scorpions.*"²³ In this manner, the Jews that plot against
 the flock are called *wolves*²⁴ and *the offspring of vipers*,²⁵ and others
foxes.²⁶

¹ Cf Gen 6:19-20. ² Cf Gen 8:15-19. ³ Cf Gen 3:20. ⁴ Cf Gen 3:23-24. ⁵ Gen 4:1.
⁶ Cf Gen 3:23. ⁷ Cf Gen 2:15. ⁸ Cf Gen 3:20. ⁹ Cf Gen 2:19. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 2:9.
¹¹ Cf Gen 2:19. ¹² Cf Acts 10:10-12. ¹³ Cf Gen 2:18; 3:20. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 2:19. ¹⁵ Cf 1 Cor
 15:47. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 2:19-20; 1 Cor 15:23. ¹⁷ Cf Mt 25:33. ¹⁸ Cf Rev 14:4. ¹⁹ Cf 1 Cor
 9:8-10. ²⁰ Cf Hab 3:15. ²¹ Cf 2 Cor 12:3-4. ²² Cf Mt 3:16; Mk 1:10; Lk 3:22; Jn 1:32.
²³ Lk 10:19. ²⁴ Mt 10:16; Lk 10:3. ²⁵ Mt 3:7; 12:34; 23:33; Lk 3:7. ²⁶ Lk 13:32.

610 Ὅθεν καὶ Λύκους ὀνομάζει τοὺς ἐπιβούλους τῆς ποιμένης Ἰουδαίους καὶ 998A
γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν καὶ ἄλλους ἀλώπεκας.

10. Καὶ πᾶν, ὃ ἐκάλεσεν Ἀδὰμ, φησί, τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῷ, τουτέστιν
οὐκ εἰκὴ οὐδὲ μάτην, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστου πολιτείαν καὶ ἀξίαν
ἀρμόζοντα ὀνόματα τίθησιν ὁ Χριστός. Πᾶση τοίνυν τῇ κτίσει καὶ τοῖς
615 κτίσμασι τέθεικεν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ ὀνόματα, τοῖς δὲ θηρίοις τούτοις μόνοις καὶ
τῇ γυναικὶ ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἐκάλεσε τὰ ὀνόματα, τουτέστιν ὁ Χριστὸς τῷ λαῷ
αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Εἰ δὲ πάλιν μαίνεται ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἰπεῖν ἡμῖν, διὰ τί
ὁ Θεὸς πᾶσι δούς τὰ οἰκεῖα ὀνόματα οὐ τέθεικεν οὔτε τῇ γυναικὶ οὔτε μὴν
τοῖς ζώοις ὀνόματα (ἐχρῆν γὰρ αὐτὸν δοῦναι πᾶσι τὰ ὀνόματα τὰ
οἰκεῖα, οὐ μὴν τὸν Ἀδὰμ), ἐγὼ ἐρῶ ὅθεν καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δις μνημονεύσας ὁ
620 Θεὸς ποιῆσαι τὴν γυναῖκα οὐ γυναῖκα αὐτὴν ὠνόμασεν, ἀλλὰ βοηθόν.
Πῶς οὖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὀνόμασας Ἀδὰμ τῇ γυναικὶ οὐ δίδωσιν ὄνομα
αὐτός; Ἀλλὰ δικαίως καὶ ἀξίως ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς Ἰησοῦς αὐτὸς ὀνομάζει καὶ
τὴν ἰδίαν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ ἴδια τέκνα ὡς πατὴρ καὶ οἰκοδεσπότης κατὰ
τὴν τάξιν πάντων τῶν οἰκοδεσποτούντων καὶ δεσποζόντων τῆς ἰδίας
625 γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων. Διὸ καὶ ἔλεγεν ὁ ἀψευδὴς ὀνοματοθέτης ὅτι αὐτός
ἐστὶν Ὁ καλὸς ποιμὴν καὶ τὰ πρόβατα τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούει καὶ
φωνεῖ αὐτὰ κατ' ὄνομα, τουτέστιν ὀνομάζει, ἡνίκα ἤγαγε τότε ὁ Θεὸς
αὐτὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν, τί καλέσει αὐτά. Ἀλλ' ὅτε μὲν οὖν ἠθροίζοντο,
θηρία ἐλέγοντο, ὅτε δὲ εἰς τὸν παράδεισον καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ καλοῦ
630 ποιμένος εἰσηνέχθησαν σύμμορφα γενόμενα τοῦ ἀμνοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, πρό-
βατα εὐθέως ὠνομάσθησαν ἅπαντα.

11. Ὁ δὲ μὴ οὕτω νοῶν τὰ περὶ παραδείσου καὶ τῶν ἐκέῖσε εἰσενεχ-
θέντων θηρίων ἐξ ἀνάγκης πάσης ἐννοηθήσεται τὸν μὲν Ἀδὰμ δίκην
δεσπότης καὶ βασιλέως ἐνδον καθήμενον, τὸν δὲ παντοκράτορα Θεὸν
635 δουλικῶς αὐτῷ ὑπουργοῦντα καὶ τὰ θηρία ὡς δεσπότη προσάγοντα,
ὅπερ δυσσεβὲς καὶ πάσης ἀτοπίας καθέστηκεν ἐμπλεων.

V 1. Τῷ δὲ Ἀδὰμ οὐχ εὐρέθη βοηθὸς ὅμοιος αὐτῷ, ὡς οἶα τοῦ ἀνθρώ-
που ἐν κινδύνῳ ὄντος καὶ περιστάσει καὶ ἀνάγκαις περιπεσόντος καὶ
βοηθὸν ἐπιζητούντος καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν βοῶντος· Δὸς ἡμῖν βοήθειαν ἐκ
640 θλίψεως, ὅτι ἐπταχεύσαμεν σφόδρα. Βοήθησον ἡμῖν, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ σωτὴρ
ἡμῶν. Εἰς τὴν βοήθειάν μου πρόσχες. Κύριε, εἰς τὸ βοηθῆσαί μοι σπεῦσον
καὶ ἐξελοῦ με ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου τῶν ἐναντίων δυνάμεων τῶν εἰς εἰδω-
λοατρίαν καὶ ἀσεβειαν καταποντισάντων με. Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπὶ
πλείονας χρόνους τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πρὸς Θεὸν βοῶντος καὶ βοηθὸν
645 ἐπιζητούντος καὶ πολλῶν αὐτὸν βοηθεῖν νομιζόντων, εἰς μέσον παρελ-
θόντων, λέγω δὴ πατριαρχῶν, παιδευτῶν, σοφιστῶν, νόμων, Μωσέως,
προφητῶν, τούτων καὶ ἄλλων πλειόνων ἐπιδημησάντων τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ

10. And what Adam called each one, it says, this was its name.¹

That is: neither randomly nor without reason. Christ gives names that are in harmony with the daily life and merit of each. God gave names to all creation and all created things;² but Adam called out names only to these beasts and to the woman.³ That is: Christ gives names to his people and to his Church.

But perhaps the Jew is raging to say: "Why did God give to all other things their proper names, but neither to the woman nor the animals did he give names? For he, not Adam, ought to have given their proper names to all."

I will answer this: for the same reason that God, when he mentioned his creation of woman, did not call her "woman" but a helper⁴—and not once but twice.⁵ Having given man the name of Adam,⁶ why did he himself not give a name to the woman? Justly and rightfully, her husband Jesus himself names his own wife and his own children. He is the father and the head of the home, and this is in keeping with the rule of all heads of households, who govern their own wife and children. Therefore he, who christens in truth, said that he himself was the good shepherd,⁷ and the sheep hear his voice, and he calls them by name.⁸ That is: he names them. He said this because God had led them to him to see what he would call them.⁹ When they were massed together, they were called "beasts".¹⁰ But when they, who had become identical to the lamb Christ,¹¹ were brought into Paradise and the courtyard of the good shepherd,¹² they were all immediately named "sheep".¹³

11. He that does not think in this way about the things of Paradise and the beasts that were led in there, will then have to accept the following. On the one hand, there was Adam, sitting within, in the manner of a despot and king; and on the other hand, there was God, the all powerful, assisting him like a servant by bringing the beasts to him as to a master.

But this is impious and full of absurdity.

V 1. For Adam there was not found a helper similar to him.¹⁴

He was like a man that has fallen into critical need and is surrounded by dangers. Seeking a helper, he cries out to God: "Give us help from our distress,¹⁵ because we are very badly off. Help us, O God our Savior.¹⁶ Give thought to helping me.¹⁷ Lord, hurry to help me¹⁸ and rescue me from my enemies,¹⁹ the opposing powers that are drowning me in idolatry and impiety."

When man had shouted these and other such things to God again and again, and sought a helper, then many thought to help him, and they came forward. I am speaking here of the patriarchs, teachers, professors, laws, Moses, and the prophets. These and many others came to visit

¹ Gen 2:19. ² Cf Gen 1:8, 10. ³ Cf Gen 2:19-20, 23; 3:20. ⁴ Cf Gen 1:27; 2:18.

⁵ Cf Gen 2:18, 20. ⁶ Cf Gen 2:16. ⁷ Jn 10:11. ⁸ Jn 10:3. ⁹ Gen 2:19. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 2:19.

¹¹ Cf Jn 10:1. ¹² Cf Rom 8:29; Phil 3:21; Jn 1:29, 36. ¹³ Cf Jn 10:1-16 passim.

¹⁴ Gen 2:20. ¹⁵ Ps 59(60):13; 107(108):13. ¹⁶ Ps 78(79):8-9. ¹⁷ Ps 69(70):2.

¹⁸ Ps 39(40):14 (codex Alexandrinus). ¹⁹ Ps 58(59):2.

613 ὀνόματι M 614 τέθηκεν P 617 τὰ] om. M τέθηκεν P 620 οὐ γυναῖκα] om. P
624 οἰκοδεσποτούντων καὶ δεσποζόντων] οἰκοδεσποζόντων P 625 γυναικῶν N
626 ἀκούει] correxi (cf Io 10:3) ἀκούη MNP 633 τὸν] τὸ M 636 δυσσεβὲς M
637 ὅμοιος M 640 θλίψως P 642 με N μαι P 642/3 δωλοατρίαν M^{com} P

οὐχ εὐρέθη βοηθὸς ὅμοιος αὐτῷ, τουτέστι Θεὸς ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ὅμοιος αὐτῷ ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπου γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος μόνος φιλόανθρωπος
 650 βοηθὸς Θεὸς ἰσχυρὸς, ἐξουσιαστής, ἄρχων εἰρήνης. Δεῖ γὰρ τὸν βοηθὸν ἰσχυρότερον τοῦ βοηθουμένου εἶναι, παντοδύναμον καὶ βοηθείας ἀνενδεῆ.
 | Ὁ γὰρ βοηθὸς ἐν κινδύνοις καὶ περιστάσεσιν ἐστὶ βοηθὸς ὡς τὴν βίαν ὠθῶν. Διὸ καὶ βοηθὸς εἴρηται, ὅπερ ἐπὶ μόνῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ λέγεται.

999A

2. Εἰ δὲ πᾶσαν σαρκικὴν γυναῖκα νομίζεις ὀνομάζεσθαι βοηθὸν τοῦ
 655 ἀνθρώπου, πῶς οὐχ εὐρίσκομεν μετὰ τὴν βοηθὸν ταύτην τὴν ἐν τῷ
 παραδείσῳ γεγενημένην ἑτέραν οἰανδήποτε γυναῖκα ἁγίου ἢ ἁγίαν ἢ
 προφήτιδα ἢ πατριάρχου κοινωὸν προσαγορευθεῖσαν βοηθὸν τοῦ ἀν-
 δρὸς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ: Ἐπιμελῶς γὰρ τοῦτ' ἡρευνήκαμεν, καὶ οὐχ
 εὕρομεν. Εἰ γὰρ κοινὸν ὄνομα καὶ καθολικὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ γυναικείου γένους ἦν
 660 τό Βοηθός, ἀνένδεκτον ἦν μὴ κείσθαι ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ ὅτι Καὶ ἔλαβε Κάιν
 ἑαυτῷ βοηθὸν ἢ Σήθ ἢ Λάμεχ ἢ Νῶε ἢ Ἀβραάμ ἢ τις ἕτερος. Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
 πάντων τῶν συζυγούντων γυναιξὶν οὕτω κείμενον εὐρήσεις ὅτι Καὶ
 ἔλαβεν ὁ δεῖνα ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκα τὴν δεῖνα εἰς γυναῖκα, οὐκ εἰς βοηθόν.

3. Χωρὶς πάσης ἀντιλογίας μᾶλλον πάσης γυναικὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ βο-
 665 θὸς ὡς κεφαλὴ ταύτης καὶ φροντιστὴς καὶ προστάτης. Εἰ δὲ τὸ θῆλυ ἐστὶ
 τοῦ ἄρρενος βοηθός, πῶς οὐχ αἱ γυναῖκες μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις
 παρατάττονται; Ἀλλ' οἱ ἄνδρες τῶν γυναικῶν ὑπερμαχοῦσι καὶ θαλατ-
 τοποροῦσι. Καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες γηπονοῦσι· μεριμνοῦσι παντοίως· τὸ θῆλυ περι-
 670 ἔπουσι πᾶσαν μηχανὴν καὶ τέχνην μετερχόμενοι πρὸς τὸ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν
 γαμεταῖς βοηθεῖν. Εἰ δὲ ὡς παχὺς καὶ φιλόσαρκος τὴν συνουσίαν λέγεις
 βοήθειαν τοῦ ἄρρενος, ἅρα οὖν λοιπὸν οὕτως ἐμελλε προβαίνειν, καὶ μὴ
 μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς ὁμοκοιτίαις ἀνῆρουν μαχαίραις τοὺς συνεύρους αἱ
 σύζυγοι, ἵνα τὴν κοίτην ἄλλοις κατεντρεπίσωσιν;

4. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ κύων καὶ ἄρκτος καὶ ἡ λέαινα καὶ ἡ χελιδὼν καὶ τὰ
 675 θῆλεα πάντα τῶν ζώων βοηθοὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἀρρένων ὠφείλου ὀνομά-
 ζεσθαι. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐστὶ ταῦτα, οὐκ ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ ἅρα ἂν ἐκάστου γένους τὸ
 θῆλυ εἴτε πετεινοῦ εἴτε θηρίου εἴτε ἐρπετοῦ βοηθὸν ἂν προσηγόρευεν ἢ
 γραφὴ τοῦ ἄρρενος, ἀλλ' οὐδαμοῦ τοῦτο λεγόμενον ἠκηκόαμεν ἐπὶ τῶν
 κτηνῶν ἢ θηρίων ἢ νηκτῶν ἢ πτηνῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μόνου τοῦ Ἀδάμ. Εἰ γὰρ
 680 βοηθεῖσθαι δεῖ μᾶλλον τὰ ὑποχείρια καὶ βασιλεύόμενα ζῶα, ὑπὸ τοῦ
 ἀνθρώπου ἐχρηζε βοηθείας. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὸν ἀντίον ἀκούομεν, ὅτι τῷ
 ἄρχοντι καὶ κυριεύοντι καὶ ἐξουσιάζοντι καὶ καταδυναστεύοντι καὶ πάντα
 τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς ὑποταγμένα ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοιοῦ-
 685 τῷ οὐχ εὐρέθη βοηθός, πνευματικὸς βοηθός πρὸς Θεόν, βοηθός ψυχικὸς
 καλῶς ἐπιστρέφων τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐκεῖνον λέγω τὸν τότε περιπεσόντα

man. Yet there was not found a helper like him.¹ That is, there was not found a man God: one who was like him, in the likeness of man,² a human, who was also uniquely kind, helping, and strong God, powerful, a prince of peace.³ For it is necessary that the helper be stronger than the one who needs help: all-powerful and not in need of assistance. The helper in dangers and crises is a helper through repelling the force (βίαν ὠθῶν). This is the etymology of the Greek word for helper (βοηθός). It can be used with respect to the Church alone.

2. Do you think that every corporal woman is being called a helper of man? How is it then, that after this helper arose in Paradise, we do not find in all of Divine Scripture any other woman that is called a helper of her man? No, not the wife of a holy man, not a holy woman, not a prophetess, nor the mate of a patriarch. We have diligently researched this and found nothing.

If "helper" were a common and universal name for the female race, it would be impossible for it not to stand in Divine Scripture that "Cain took a helper for himself" or Seth or Lamech or Noah or Abraham or some other man. But for all who married women, you will find it said: "And someone took for himself some woman as a wife"—not as a helper.⁴

3. Rather, without any shadow of a doubt, it is man who is the helper of woman. He is her head,⁵ her defender, her guardian.⁶ If the female is helper of the male, then why are women not stationed in the frontline of wars? Rather, men battle and travel the seas on behalf of women. Men work the earth, and in all kinds of other ways, they show that they care. Going in quest of any means or device to help their wives, they treat the female well.

If, however, being crass and carnal, you say that her copulation is of assistance to the male, then should it proceed as it does, and not rather that wives, while sleeping together with their husbands, murder them with knives, so that they might arrange for sex with others?

4. And the bitch, the bear, the lioness, and the swallow: all female animals then ought to have been called helpers of their males. But these things are not so; they are impossible. And then Scripture itself would have appointed the female of each race—whether bird, beast, or reptile—as helper of the male; but nowhere have we heard this said concerning the cattle, beasts, fish, or birds. This statement was made concerning Adam alone. In fact, the animals were subjugated and ruled by man. If they had need of help, this help should have come from man.

But here we hear the opposite. The leader,⁷ the lord, the authority, the one that had received control over all things upon the earth, which had been placed beneath his feet⁸—for such a man there was not found a helper:⁹ a spiritual helper toward God, a helper of the soul, who would pay good attention to man. And I am speaking about that man who once

651 παντοδύναμον] *correxī* παντοδύναμος MNP 652 ὁ] ἡ M 657 προφήτιδα P
 659 γυναῖκι P^{2,corr.} 661 τις] *om.* P 662 συζυγούντων] *correxī* συζυγόντων MNP
 664 πάσης] πάσας N 668 ἀνδρες] ἄν M^{2,corr.} 669 αὐτῶν N 672 ἀνῆρου M^{2,corr.}
 674 χελιδῶν P 675 πάντων P 677 προσηγόρευεν M 678 γραφῇ M^{2,corr.} λεγόμεν M
 679 μόνου M

¹ Cf Gen 2:20. ² Cf Phil 2:7. ³ Cf Is 9:5. ⁴ Cf Gen 4:19; 11:29; 12:19; et passim.

⁵ Cf Eph 5:23; Col 3:18. ⁶ Cf Eph 5:25, 29. ⁷ Cf Is 9:5. ⁸ Cf Ps 8:7. ⁹ Cf Gen 2:20.

τοῖς λησταῖς καὶ ἀποφυγόντα ἀπὸ Θεοῦ καὶ τραυματισθέντα καὶ ἄσωτον γενόμενον.

5. Ὁ δὲ ὡς αἰρετικὸς καὶ φθονερός ἀντιλέγων τοῖς εἰρημένους οὐχ ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀντιλέγει καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ διὰ
690 στόματος Παύλου πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ τὴν Εὐάν εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀναφέροντι. Εἰ δὲ λέγει ὁ Ἰουδαῖος καὶ τὴν νομικὴν λατρείαν βοηθὸν εἶναι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ποῖος βοηθὸς αὕτη, εἰπέ μοι, ὁ πάντα ἁμαρτάνοντα ἄνθρωπον εὐθέως καὶ ἀσυγχωρήτως κολάζουσα
695 ἀμετανόητον αὐτὸν τῷ πυρὶ τῷ αἰωνίῳ παρέπεμψεν; Ἡ δὲ ἀγαθὴ καὶ φιλόανθρωπος βοηθὸς ἐκκλησία, αὕτη τοῦ Χριστοῦ χῶραν καὶ καιρὸν μετανοίας παρέχουσα τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν, ἰσχύει καὶ ληστὰς καὶ μάγους καὶ ἀρνησιθεούς καὶ εἰδωλολάτρας οὐρανοπολίτας καὶ κλειδούχους παραδείσου καὶ βασιλείας οὐρανῶν ἀπεργάσασθαι.

VI 1. Πῶς δὲ αὕτη βοηθὸς καὶ σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου γέγονεν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ
700 καὶ κατεσκευάσθη καὶ ᾠκοδομήθη, ἀκουσάτω ἡ κωφὴ συναγωγὴ τοῦ οἰκείου προφήτου Μωϋσέως λέγοντος· Καὶ ἐπέβαλλε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἑκστασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ ὑπνώσας καὶ ἔλαβε μίαν τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνεπλήρωσε σάρκα ἀντ' αὐτῆς. Καὶ ᾠκοδόμησε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὴν πλευράν, ἣν ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ εἰς γυναῖκα καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὴν πρὸς
705 τὸν Ἀδὰμ.

Βαθείαν ἡμῖν καὶ πάντῃ δυσκάτοπτον τὴν παροῦσαν ῥῆσιν ὁρῶ. Πολλῶν γοῦν κἀν τοῖς προκειμένοις ὑπαρχόντων τῶν ἀπόρων ἐκεῖνο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων εἰσπραττέτω ἡ ἐκκλησία τὸν ἀπιστον καὶ σαρκικὸν Ἰουδαῖον εἰπεῖν, πῶς τοῦ Θεοῦ πλησίον τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἱσταμένου καὶ οἷον
710 ἱατρικὴ τέχνη, ὡς σὺ νομίζεις, τέμνοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευράν λέγει ἡ γραφὴ· Ἀνεπλήρωσε σάρκα ἀντ' αὐτῆς καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ μηδαμοῦ ὑποχωρήσαντος τοῦ Θεοῦ μήτε μὴν τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς γενομένης ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ, ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοῦ τυγχανόντων, πόθεν ἤγαγεν αὐτὴν ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ; Ἐχρῆν γὰρ εἰπεῖν ὅτι Καὶ ᾠκοδόμησε Κύριος ὁ
715 Θεὸς τὴν πλευράν εἰς γυναῖκα καὶ ὑπέδειξεν αὐτὴν τῷ Ἀδὰμ. Τὸ γὰρ Ἥγαγεν αὐτὴν σημαίνει ὅτι μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὴν ἀπέδρασε πού καὶ διεχωρίσθη τοῦ οἰκείου ἀνδρὸς μακράν, εἴθ' οὕτως αὐτὴν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπιστρέψας ἤγαγε πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ τὸν πνευματικὸν καὶ σωτῆρα τὴν οὐσσωμον αὐτοῦ καὶ σύζυγον ἐκκλησίαν. Ὡσπερ γὰρ πρὸ βραχέος ἱππαγωγὸν καὶ
720 θηριαγωγὸν καὶ κτηναγωγὸν εἶπεν ἡ γραφὴ τὸν Θεὸν προσάγοντα τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ, οὕτω καὶ νῦν πάλιν νυμφαγωγὸν αὐτὸν ἱστορεῖ ἄγοντα τὴν νύμφην πρὸς τὸν νυμφίον Χριστόν.

2. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐπανέλθωμεν ἐπιζητοῦντες μαθεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ κελεύοντος καὶ λέγοντος· Ζητεῖτε, καὶ εὕρησете, πῶς

encountered robbers,¹ who fled from God, who was wounded, and who became a prodigal son.²

5. The envious heretic that argues against these statements is not arguing against us: rather, he is arguing against the Holy Spirit and Jesus Christ, who through the mouth of Paul refers everything about Adam and Eve to Christ and the Church.

But perhaps the Jew says that worship according to the Law is the helper of man. Now what sort of helper is this, tell me? A helper that immediately and without concession punishes every man that sins? A helper that sends him unrepentant to eternal fire? The good and humane helper is Christ's Church, which offers time and opportunity for sinners to repent. It is strong enough to take thieves,³ magicians,⁴ atheists,⁵ and idolaters, and change them into heavenly citizens,⁶ who hold the keys of the garden and the kingdom of heaven.⁷

VI 1. How was the Church begun, built up, and furnished by God to be the helper and savior of the world?⁸ Let the deaf synagogue listen to its own prophet Moses. He says: *And the Lord God cast an ecstasy upon Adam, and he slept. And he took one of his ribs and put flesh in its place. And the Lord God built up the rib, which he had taken from Adam, into a woman. And he led her to Adam.*⁹

I see the present passage as profound in meaning and very obscure. Even though many, indeed, are helpless before the problems in these words, let the Church request one answer before all others from the Jew, who faithlessly focuses on the physical. God stood near Adam and cut out his rib as with medical skill—according to your thinking. How is it that Scripture then says: *He put flesh in its place, and he led her to Adam?*¹⁰ God had not moved, nor had the woman that was from Adam, and the two of them were together. So, from where did God lead her to Adam? It should have said: *And the Lord God built up the rib into a woman and he showed her to Adam.*¹¹

This *he led her* suggests that after she had come into being, she fled somewhere and was separated far from her own husband. Then God turned the Church around and led her to Adam—the spiritual Adam, her savior.¹² She was from his body,¹³ and she became his wife. A little earlier, Scripture said that God—the horse leader, the beast leader, the cattle leader—led the wild beasts and birds to Adam.¹⁴ Just so, it now describes how the bride-leader led the bride to her groom, Christ.¹⁵

2. But let us return toward the beginning of the book, and let us seek to learn from him that gave the order: *"Seek, and you will find."*¹⁶

¹ Cf Lk 10:30-34. ² Cf Lk 15:13. ³ Cf Lk 23:39-43. ⁴ Cf Mt 2:1-12; Acts 8:9-24.

⁵ Cf Mt 26:69-75; Mk 14:66-72; Lk 22:54-62; Jn 18:16-18, 25-27. ⁶ Cf 2 Cor 12:2-4.

⁷ Cf Mt 16:19. ⁸ Cf Jn 4:42; 1 Jn 4:14. ⁹ Gen 2:21-22. ¹⁰ Gen 2:21-22. ¹¹ Gen 2:22.

¹² Cf 1 Cor 15:45; Eph 5:23. ¹³ Cf Eph 3:6. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 2:19. ¹⁵ Cf Mt 22:1-14; Eph 5:23-32; Rev 19:6-9; 22:17. ¹⁶ Mt 7:7; Lk 11:9.

689 (Ἰησοῦ) χ(ριστοῦ) P 691 ἀναφέρουσι M^c 692 ὁ δ P 696 τοῖς] τῷ N^a 700 ᾠκοδομήθη P 701 μωϋσέως] P μωϋσέως M μωϋσέος N λέγοντον N ἐπέβαλε MN 710 τέμνοντες N^a 714 ᾠκοδόμησε] P ᾠκοδόμησε M ᾠκοδόμησεν N 716 ὅτι] τι N^a.

725 κοινήν καὶ ἀδιαίρετον καὶ ἄφθορον ἡμῖν διηγησαμένη ἡ γραφή τὴν
 ποίησιν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῆς γυναικός, ἡνίκα εἶπεν ὅτι *Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ*
Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυ
ἐποίησεν αὐτούς, μετὰ ταῦτα δύο ἰδικὰς γενέσεις ἰδίᾳ καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἐπ'
 730 *αὐτῶν ἐξηγεῖται* πάντη ἀνομοίους καὶ παρηλλαγμένους καὶ μηδεμίαν
 ὁμοιότητα πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐχούσας οὐδὲ τροπικῶς οὐδὲ τοπικῶς. Τὸν μὲν
 γὰρ Ἀδὰμ ἐκτὸς τοῦ παραδείσου ἐποίησεν ἐν ἀδιηγῆτῳ τινὶ καὶ
 ἀνερμηνεύτῳ καὶ ἀκαταλήπτῳ τόπῳ, ὥς καὶ ἄλλοτε εἶπον, εἴθ' οὕτως
 αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ εἰσήγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξωθεν, τὴν δὲ γυναικὰ ἔσω
 ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ποιῆ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐξωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐξ
 735 ἀγνώστου καὶ ἀνερμηνεύτου τόπου Θεὸς Λόγος ὢν ὡς εἰς παράδεισον
 εἰσελήλυθε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, εἴθ' οὕτως τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν λεγομένην βοηθὸν
 ἐποίησεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας πλευρᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ. Καὶ τούτου χάριν διηρημένας
 καὶ ἀνομοίους τὰς γενέσεις τοῦ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῆς Εὕας ἱστορεῖ ἡμῖν τὸ
 γράμμα τὸ ἱερόν, τὸν μὲν ἐξ ἀψύχου γῆς πρότερον ἄψυχον διαπλάσας,
 740 εἴθ' οὕτως καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Λόγον καὶ Θεὸν ἄψυχον ὄντα (οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστι
 ζῶον ἔμψυχον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ μὴ ζῶον ὄντος ἔμψυχου) προσαγαγὼν, εἴθ'
 οὕτως ψυχῶσας καὶ διαπλάσας τε καὶ ζωῶσας, τὴν δὲ ἐξ ἔμψυχου
 ἔμψυχον καὶ ἐκ τελείου τελείαν καὶ ζῶντος ζῶσαν ζωὴν δημιουργήσας καὶ
 745 προσαγορεύσας, τουτέστιν ἄνθρωπον ἐννοῦν καὶ ἔμψυχον εὐδοκήσας
 γενέσθαι τὸν Λόγον. Ἀνθρώπος γὰρ ἔμψυχον γεγωνὺς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐξ
 ἑαυτοῦ ὠκοδόμησε Πνεύματι ψυχωθεῖσαν ἀγίῳ.

3. Εἰ δὲ παίζει τὰ λεγόμενα ὁ σωματόφρων Ἰουδαῖος, λεγέτω ἡμῖν
 αὐτὸς πῶς ὁ παντοδύναμος Θεὸς πάσας τὰς οὐρανίους δυνάμεις ἐν ἀκα-
 ριαῖα ῥοπῇ ὑφ' ἐν αὐθυπάρκτως ποιήσας μόνον τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὸ
 750 ἄνθρωπον πλῆθος οὐχ ὑφ' ἐν ἐπλάσεν οὐδ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς δύο, λέγω δὴ
 τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ τὴν Εὕαν. Ὅθεν καὶ ποιήσας πάντα τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ ζῶα
 καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ τοὺς ἰχθύας κατὰ γένος ἐπὶ τὸ γεννᾶν ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυ
 διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλα μίξεως καὶ συνουσίας οὐδαμοῦ ἐν πᾶσιν ἐκείνοις
 ὠνόμασεν ἡ γραφή ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυ, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ μόνου τοῦ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῆς
 755 Εὕας εἰποῦσα ὅτι Ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς, ὅπερ μυστήριον ἡμᾶς
 διδάσκει παράδοξον, λέγω δὴ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Φησὶ
 γάρ· *Καὶ ἐπέβαλλε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἑκτασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ. Οὐκ εἶπεν*
Ἐβαλλεν, ἀλλ' Ἐπέβαλλε, τουτέστιν, ἐφ' ὃ οὐκ ἐκέκτητο οὐσιωδῶς,
 τοῦτο ἐπέβαλλεν αὐτῷ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ, ἀλλ' ὅ τι κατὰ προσθήκην
 760 οἰκονομικῶς διὰ σαρκός, ἐξέστη γὰρ γενόμενος ὃ οὐκ ἦν.

4. Μείνας δὲ καὶ ὅπερ ἦν ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ἐξέστη, τουτέστι γυμνὸς καὶ
 ἀσύνθετος γενόμενος σύνθετος Θεὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπος, περὶ ἧς

725 κοινὸν N διηγησαμένη M^{corr.} 727 ἄνθρωπον] add. κατ' εἰκόνα εἶπεν ὅτι Καὶ ἐποίησεν
 ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἀν(θρώπου)ν M^{corr.} 729 ἀνομίους P παρηλλαγμένους N 731 παραδεδούσου P
 736 εἰσελήλυθεν N 738 ἀνομίους M^{corr.} ἀνομίους P 739 μὲν] add. τὸν M 741 αὐτοῦ N
 744 ἐννοῦν P^{corr.} 747 ἡμῶν N^{corr.} 748 Θεός] ὁς P 748/9 ἀκαρσία N 749 ὑφὲν MP
 753 ἐκείνης M 755 ἡμᾶς] add. καὶ M 756 τὸ] om. P 758 ἐκτῆτο M 762 ἀσύνθετος M

Scripture described for us the creation of man and woman as something
 in common, unseparated, and uncorrupt. It said: *And God created man.*
*In the image of God he created him. Male and female he created them.*¹
 Then after that, Scripture describes two distinct origins, separate and
 proper to each. These latter are completely dissimilar and different: they
 have no similarity to one another in place or manner. He made Adam
 outside the garden in a certain indescribable, inexplicable, and
 incomprehensible place—as I have said already.² Then he brought him
 into the garden from outside.³ But he makes woman inside the garden.⁴
 This is because Christ, being God the Word, was from outside, from the
 Father, from an unknowable and inexplicable place; and he came to us
 as into Paradise.⁵ Then God created the Church, the so-called helper,
 from his own rib in there.⁶

And on account of this, Holy Scripture narrates to us the births of
 Adam and Eve as separate and dissimilar. God fashioned Adam from the
 soul-less earth, and at first he was without a soul. Then so, he led him
 forward, his own Word and God, being without soul. He was not of
 himself a living being with a soul, since he was not from a living being
 with a soul. Then so, God gave him a soul, finished him, and gave him
 life.

But he crafted and introduced Eve as one with a soul from him, who
 was now with a soul; as one complete from him, who was now complete;
 and as a living life from him, who was living.⁷ That is, it pleased God
 that the Word became man, with reason and a soul. And he, having
 become a man with a soul, built up from himself the Church, which was
 given a soul by the Holy Spirit.⁸

3. If the Jew that thinks concretely is making fun of these
 statements, let him answer this. God, who can do all things, had made
 in one brief decisive moment all the heavenly powers, who at once
 became self-subsistent. Why then did he not shape at a single stroke
 man and the human multitude, those two, Adam and Eve? He had made
 all the beasts, animals, birds, and fish according to their kind so that the
 male and female might reproduce by intercourse and copulating with
 one another. But nowhere among all of these did Scripture name them
 male and female. Only concerning Adam and Eve it said: *Male and*
*female he made them.*⁹

This teaches us a surprising mystery: I am speaking of the mystery of
 Christ and the Church. For it says: *And the Lord God cast an ecstasy*
*upon Adam.*¹⁰ It does not say simply “cast”, but *cast upon*. That is: God
 cast upon him that which he had not possessed essentially. God the
 Father¹¹ cast it upon him: it was something that he acquired, for a plan,
 through the flesh. And having become that which he was not, he was in
 ecstasy.

4. Yet he also remained that which he was, God the Word, when he
 was in ecstasy. That is: naked and uncompounded, he became
 compounded, God and man. The prophet Habakkuk spoke to him about

¹ Gen 1:27. ² Cf Gen 2:7. ³ Cf Gen 2:15. ⁴ Cf Gen 2:21-22. ⁵ Cf Jn 1:14.
⁶ Cf Jn 19:34. ⁷ Cf Jn 1:14. ⁸ Cf Jn 20:22. ⁹ Gen 1:27. ¹⁰ Gen 2:21. ¹¹ Cf Eph 1:3;
 Col 1:3.

ἐκστάσεως καὶ σαρκώσεώς φησι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ προφήτης Ἀμβακούμ·
 Διέκοψας ἐν ἐκστάσει κεφαλὰς δυναστῶν, τουτέστιν ἐναντίων δυνάμεων.
 765 Ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς ἐκστάσεως ὁ μὲν τῶν ἐρμηνευτῶν καταφορὰν εἶπεν, ἄλλος
 κάρου, ἕτερος ὕπνου. Ἡ καταφορὰ δὲ καὶ ὁ ὕπνος καὶ ὁ κάρος ζωῆς καὶ
 θανάτου μετέχουσιν, ὥς ἵνα εἴπῃ ὅτι ὁ πρὶν ἀθάνατος καὶ αὐπνός Θεὸς
 770 Λόγος ἐν τῇ ἐκστάσει καὶ ἐξόδῳ τῇ ἐξ οὐρανῶν σαρκωθεὶς τῇ σαρκὶ
 ὕπνου τοῦ θανάτου ἐγεύσατο γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος. Πανσόφως δὲ
 εἴρηται ὅτι Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐπέβαλλεν αὐτὸν εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἐκστασιν καὶ
 ὕπνωσεν. Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τοῦ ἰδίου Υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ
 ἡμῶν πάντων παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν εἰς θάνατον, ἐν ᾧ ἐξέστη ἡ ἀχραντος
 αὐτοῦ ψυχὴ χωρισθεῖσα τοῦ παναγίου σώματος, ἐκστάντος καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκ
 775 φθορᾶς εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ ἐκ θανάτου πρὸς τὴν ἀθανασίαν παράδοξον
 ἀληθῶς καὶ πνευματικὴν ἐκστασιν ἔχοντος, περὶ ἧς φησιν ὅτι Καὶ ἐπέβαλ-
 λε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἑκστασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ ὕπνωσε καὶ ἔλαβε μίαν τῶν
 πλευρῶν αὐτοῦ.

5. Καὶ διὰ τί πλευράν; Ὑποκείμενον μέλος ὑπάρχει ἡ μία πλευρὰ τῷ
 καθεύδοντι παρὰ πάντα τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος, ἡ δ' ἄλλη ἐπικείμενον.
 780 Δεικνύς οὖν ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι ἡ ποτε ἀνυπότακτος πλευρὰ, τουτέστιν ἡ ἐκκλη-
 σία, ὑποταγῆσεται τῷ Χριστῷ τῆς ἐτέρας πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ, | λέγω δὴ 1002A
 τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων συναγωγῆς, ἀνυποτάκτου μενούσης. Τούτου χάριν
 φησὶν ὅτι Καὶ ἔλαβε μίαν τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτοῦ, μία γὰρ παραλαμβάν-
 νεται, ἡ δ' ἄλλη ἀφίεται. Δύο γοῦν πλευρὰς εἰρήκαμεν τὰς δύο ἐκκλησίας,
 785 τουτέστι τὴν ἐξ ἐθνῶν καὶ ἐξ Ἰουδαίων, ἐπειδὴ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ληφθεῖσαν
 πλευράν καὶ οἰκοδομηθεῖσαν εἰς γυναικα πρὸς Χριστοῦ εἴρηται ὅτι Κατα-
 λείψει τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ τὸν κατὰ σάρκα τὸν Ἰουδαϊκὸν λαὸν καὶ τὴν
 μητέρα αὐτοῦ τὴν τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν συναγωγὴν καὶ προσκολληθήσεται
 πρὸς τὴν γυναικα αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τεχθεῖσαν πλευράν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν
 790 ἐθνῶν, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν. Χριστὸς γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία μία
 ὁμόνοια καὶ συμφωνία. Ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐσμεν σῶμα Χριστοῦ καὶ μέλη ἐκ
 μέρους καὶ πλευρὰ καὶ σάρκες καὶ ὀστά.

6. Δυνατὸν δὲ καὶ δύο πλευρὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ δευτέρου Ἀδὰμ εἰπεῖν
 τὴν θεότητα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, τὴν μὲν μίαν, εἶπουν σάρκα,
 795 ὑποκειμένην καὶ ἡττωμένην ὕπνῳ τοῦ θανάτου, τὴν δὲ θεότητα οὐχ ὑπο-
 κειμένην καὶ ἡττωμένην ὕπνῳ τοῦ θανάτου, ἀλλ' ὑψηλοτέραν οὖσαν τῆς
 ὑποκειμένης ἐτέρας σαρκὸς πλευρᾶς, ἣν καὶ λαβὼν ὁ Θεὸς ἐκδομήσεν
 αὐτὴν εἰς γυναικα ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἀνεπλήρωσε Χριστὸν σάρκα ἀντ'
 800 αὐτῆς. Μεταδούς γὰρ ἡμῖν θεότητος ἀντιμετέλαβεν ἐξ ἡμῶν σάρκός, περὶ
 ἧς ἀνταλλαγῆς ἔλεγε τῷ Θεῷ ὁ Δαυὶδ καταβοῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ φάσκων·
 Οὐδ' ὥνεϊδισαν τὸ ἀντάλλαγμα τοῦ χριστοῦ σου, τουτέστι τὴν σάρκα
 ὕβρισαν τοῦ Υἱοῦ σου.

this ecstasy, the Incarnation: *In ecstasy you cut off the heads of the powerful*¹—that is, of the opposing powers.

In place of this "ecstasy", one of the translators said "a doze", another "torpor", and yet another "a sleep". This doze and torpor and deep sleep have a share in life and death. So, it is as if Scripture were saying that God the Word, who was deathless and sleepless before, now in an ecstasy and exodus from heaven became incarnate. And having become man, in the flesh he tasted of the sleep of death. And wisely it was said that *the Lord God* cast him into this *ecstasy and he slept*.² God the Father did not spare his own son: on behalf of all of us, he handed him over to death.³ And in death, his pure soul went in ecstasy from his holy body. And also his body was in ecstasy. It had an ecstasy that was spiritual and truly amazing: from decay to incorruptibility, and from death to deathlessness. And concerning this, Scripture says: *And the Lord God cast an ecstasy upon Adam and he slept. And he took one of his ribs*.⁴

5. Why a rib? For him who is sleeping, one rib is a part that lies beneath, in line with all the parts of the body. But the other rib lies above. Thereby, God points out that the rib that was not subjugated, which is the Church, will now be subjugated to Christ. His other rib, however, remains unsubjugated: I am speaking of the synagogue of the Jews. On account of this, it says: *And he took one of his ribs*.⁵ One is received, but the other is rejected.⁶

We have talked about the two ribs as two Churches: the one of the Gentiles, and the other of the Jews. Because of the rib that was taken and built up into the woman, it was said about Christ that for her sake, *he will leave his father* (the biological one, the Judean people) *and his mother* (the synagogue that bore him) *and will cling to his wife*. This was the rib that was from him and was crafted into the Church of the nations. *And the two will be as one flesh*.⁷ Christ and the Church are of one likeness, of one accord. We are the body of Christ and different members, the ribs, the flesh, the bones.⁸

6. It is also possible that the two ribs of Christ, the second Adam, speak about his divinity and his humanity. The one, namely his flesh, was subjugated and conquered by the sleep of death. His divinity, however, was not subjugated nor conquered by the sleep of death. It was higher than the rib of the flesh, which lay beneath, which God took and built into the woman, the Church. And on account of her, he filled up Christ with flesh.⁹

Sharing his divinity with us, he took our flesh in exchange. David, crying out against the Jews, spoke to God about this trade: *They reviled the exchange of your Anointed One*.¹⁰ That is: "They mocked the flesh of your Son."

¹ Hab 3:14. ² Gen 2:21. ³ Cf Rom 8:32. ⁴ Gen 2:21. ⁵ Gen 2:21. ⁶ Cf Mt 24:41.
⁷ Gen 2:24. ⁸ Cf 1 Cor 12:27. ⁹ Cf Gen 2:21-22. ¹⁰ Ps 88(89):52.

766 ἕτερος M 773 καὶ| om. P 774 φθρᾶς N⁴⁰⁰ 775 ὅτι| om. M 775/6 ἐπέβαλε M⁴⁰⁰
 778 διατὶ NP 780 ἀνυπόστακτος P 782 ἀνυποστάκτου P 786/7 καταλήγει N⁴⁰⁰
 790 καὶ| om. MP⁴⁰⁰ 791 μόνον M⁴⁰⁰ 794 ἡττων N

7. Καὶ ἐπέβαλλε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἑκστασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ ὑπνωσε καὶ ἔλαβε μίαν τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτοῦ.

805 Διὰ τοῦτο μανθάνομεν ὅτι ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ Χριστοῦ ἐτέθη καὶ εἰς φῶς προήλθεν ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἥτις ἐστὶ πλευρά. Διὸ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς μετὰ τὸν θάνατον νυχθεῖς τὴν μίαν πλευρὰν ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα ἔβλυνσε, τουτέστι τὸ μυστήριον καὶ τὴν ἀναγέννησιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν διὰ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ οὐ τὴν ἐτέραν πλευρὰν ἐτρώθη. Τί γὰρ ἦν ἐμποδῶν τῇ Ἰουδαίων

810 μανίᾳ μὴ καὶ ἀμφοτέρας τὸν Κύριον παθεῖν; Ἀλλ' ἵνα μάθῃς ὡς ἡ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πλευρὰ τὴν τοιαύτην τοῦ μυστηρίου χάριν οὐκ εἶδε βλύζειν, τούτου χάριν τὴν μίαν ὁ Κύριος πιτρώσκειται. Μίαν δὲ πλευρὰν ἔλαβεν ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ μόνης μητρὸς ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἐσαρκώθη χωρὶς ἀνδρός.

8. Καὶ ἀνεπλήρωσε σάρκα ἀσπορον ἀντ' ἐκείνης τῆς πλευρᾶς τῆς ληφ-

815 θείσης ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ, καὶ ᾠκοδόμησε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὴν πλευρὰν, ἣν ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ εἰς γυναῖκα.

Μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν· Καὶ ᾠκοδόμησε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὴν πλευρὰν στίξας τελείαν στιγμὴν ὁ μέγας Κλήμης, καὶ τότε ἀρχὴν στίχου ποιήσας, ἐπήγαγε τό· Ἦν ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ εἰς γυναῖκα. Καὶ δοκεῖ μοι πάνυ

820 θεοσεβῶς ἐπιστῆσαι τῇ λέξει, καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ Θεοδοτίων οὕτω διέστειλε τὸ αὐτὸ ῥῆμα, ἵνα ἢ τοιοῦτον τὸ λεγόμενον· Καὶ ᾠκοδόμησε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ἐκόσμησε καὶ ἐφαίδρυνε καὶ ἡγάσας τὴν πλευρὰν τῆς σαρκός, ἣν ἔλαβεν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐαυτῷ εἰς γυναῖκα, τουτέστι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, πρὸς ἣν ὁ Παῦλος βοᾷ· Ἥρμοσάμην ὑμῶς ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ παραστήσαι παρθένον ἀγνήν.

825 Ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἐνωθεῖς καὶ νυμφευθεῖς ταύτῃ τῇ πλευρᾷ, φησί, διὰ τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς τὴν μοιχαλίδά συναγωγὴν· Οὐκ ἔτι σοὺ εἰμι | ἀνὴρ, καὶ 1003A σὺ οὐκ ἔτι μου ὑπάρχεις γυνή.

9. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ταύτης τῆς θεοζεύκτου πλευρᾶς τῆς ποτε ἡρημωμένης καὶ καταλελυμένης βούλει μαθεῖν, ἄκουσον τοῦ ἐνωθέντος αὐτῇ ἀκρογωνιαίου λίθου, θεμελίου ἀσαλεύτου, Χριστοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ πύλαι ᾧδου οὐ κατισχύουσιν αὐτῆς. Ἐπωκοδομήθη γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῆς πίστεως προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων, τῶν καλῶν ἐργατῶν τοῦ πανσόφου οἰκοδόμου. Πότε δὲ αὕτη ἡ μία πλευρὰ ἐκκλησία ᾠκοδομήθη; Πρόδηλον ὅτι

830 ὅτε ἡ ἐτέρα πλευρὰ κατελείφθη καὶ κατελύθη ὁ ναὸς ὁ Ἰουδαϊκὸς τὸ δεύτερον, ὅστις ὡς μία πλευρὰ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ Χριστοῦ ὑπάρχων σαφῶς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ προπάτορος Ἀδὰμ προδιέγραφε. Ψηφίζομενον γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ὄνομα τὸν τεσσαρακοστὸν καὶ ἕξ ἀριθμὸν συνάγει, ἐν τέτταρσι γὰρ καὶ ἕξ ἔτεσιν ὁ ναὸς ὁ Ἰουδαϊκὸς ὁ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καθαίρεθαι ἀνυπο-

840 δομήθη.

7. And the Lord God cast an ecstasy upon Adam, and he slept. And he took one of his ribs.¹

Through this we learn that by the death of Christ, the Church (the rib) was made and brought to light. And because of this, when Christ was stabbed in one rib after his death, he gushed forth blood and water.² This is the mystery and the rebirth of the Church, through fire and water.³ And he was not wounded in the other rib. What hindered the mania of the Jews from wounding both sides of the Lord? It was so that you might learn that the rib of the Jews did not see the grace of the mystery gushing forth. Because of this, the Lord was wounded in one rib.⁴ And God the Word took one rib,⁵ since he was incarnated from a mother only, without a man, beyond nature.

8. And he filled in flesh (not from a seed) in place of the rib that had been taken from Adam. And the Lord God built up the rib, which he had taken from Adam, into a woman.⁶

After the statement *And the Lord God built up the rib*,⁷ the great Clement inserted a period. Then he began the next verse: *This he had taken from Adam for a woman*.⁸ Indeed, it seems to me that Clement had given much reverent attention to this reading. Theodotion too punctuated the same passage in the same way. Thus it might be read so: *And the Lord God built up*, adorned, brightened, and sanctified *the rib* of the flesh. *This he had taken* from Adam as a wife for himself—that is, the Church.⁹ And to her Paul shouts: *I betrothed you to one man, to present you as a pure bride*.¹⁰ Therefore also God, having been wedded and united with this rib, said through the prophet to the adulterous synagogue: “No longer am I your husband; and no longer are you my wife.”¹¹

9. Do you want to learn about the building up of this rib, which once had been stripped bare and unloosed, and then was joined to God?¹² Listen to the corner stone,¹³ the foundation that cannot be shaken,¹⁴ Christ, who became united with her. He said: “Upon this rock I will build my Church. And the gates of Hades will not prevail against it.”¹⁵ It was built up on the foundation of the faith of the prophets and apostles,¹⁶ and on the foundation of the good works of the wise architect.¹⁷ And when was this one rib built up as the Church? It is obvious: when the other rib was abandoned and the Jewish temple destroyed, for the second time. The name of Adam the forefather clearly described this beforehand: that the temple had been as the one rib of Adam the Christ. The name of Adam, when it is counted, equals the number forty-six. It took forty-six years to reconstruct the Jewish temple, which the Romans then destroyed.¹⁸

¹ Gen 2:21. ² Cf Jn 19:34. ³ Cf Ps 65(66):12. ⁴ Cf Jn 19:34. ⁵ Cf Gen 2:21.

⁶ Gen 2:21-22. ⁷ Gen 2:22. ⁸ Gen 2:22. ⁹ Gen 2:22. ¹⁰ 2 Cor 11:2. ¹¹ Hos 2:4.

¹² Cf Is 54:1; Gal 4:27. ¹³ Cf Ps 117(118):22; Is 28:16; Eph 2:20; 1 Pet 2:6. ¹⁴ Cf Is 28:16;

Mt 7:24-25; Lk 6:47-48; 1 Cor 3:11. ¹⁵ Mt 16:18. ¹⁶ Cf Eph 2:20. ¹⁷ Cf 1 Cor 3:10.

¹⁸ Cf Jn 2:20.

812 ο κ(ύριος) τὴν μίαν M^{corr}. 817 ᾠκοδόμησε M 820 καὶ] om. N 823 τουτέστι τὴν τουτέστιν ἣν N^{corr}. 829 καταλελυμένης MP *lege fortasse καταλειμμένης* 835 πλευρὰ] add. ἐκκλησία ᾠκοδομήθη P^{corr}. *per dittographiam* κατελήθη P 838 ἐξαριθμὸν M τέταρσι M

10. Καὶ ἐκοδόμησε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὴν πλευράν, ἣν ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 Ἀδὰμ ἑαυτῷ εἰς γυναῖκα, καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ (δῆλον ὅτι
 μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ὕπνου ἐξέγερσιν), ἣν ἑαυτῷ ἀνέστησεν. Οὐ γὰρ γέγραπται
 ὅτι Καὶ ἐξήγειρε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἤγαγε πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν γυ-
 845 ναῖκα. Ἐχει ὁ πιστὸς καὶ περὶ ταύτης τῆς μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ
 ἀνάστασιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλεύσεως ἐν Εὐαγγελίοις σαφῆ τὴν
 ἀπόδειξιν. Ὅτε γὰρ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη, τότε ἐνετείλατο τοῖς ἀποστόλοις
 λέγων· Πορευθέντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη
 850 βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου
 Πνεύματος.

VII 1. Πορευθέντες συνάξατέ μου τὰ διεσκορπισμένα τέκνα, τὰ δι-
 εσπαρμένα μέλη. Ἐνώσατέ μου τὰς διηρημένας σάρκας. Συζεύξατέ μου
 τὰ διαλυθέντα ὅσθ'· Ἀγάγετέ μοι τὴν ἐξ ἐμοῦ χωρισθεῖσαν πλευράν. Κα-
 λέσατε πρὸς με τὴν ληφθεῖσαν αἰχμάλωτόν μου γυναῖκα. Οἰκοδομήσατε
 855 αὐτὴν εἰς ἐμὴν σύζυγον πάλιν ἐκκλησίαν. Συνάψατέ μοι τῷ ἐξ ὅρους
 ἁγίου ἄνευ χειρῶν τηθέντι λίθῳ ἐκείνους τοὺς λίθους, περὶ ὧν φησιν
 Ἡσαΐας ὅτι Ἀγιοὶ λίθοι κυλίσονται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Δι' ὧν οἰκοδομηθείσης τῆς
 πλευρᾶς Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας καὶ συναφθέντων τῶν μελῶν τῶν συγγενῶν
 τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ συσφιχθέντων ἡμῶν τῶν ὀστέων αὐτοῦ τῇ πρὸς
 860 αὐτὸν ἐνώσει καὶ συμφύτῃ τῆς πίστεως ὁρῶν οὕτω καλῶς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ
 οἰκοδομηθείσαν τὴν σύσσωμον καὶ σύζυγον αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν πλευράν,
 ὅτε ἤγαγεν αὐτὴν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ, εἶπεν ὁ δεῦτερος
 Ἀδὰμ μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν· Τοῦτο νῦν ὅσθ' οὐν ἐκ τῶν
 ὀστέων μου καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῶν σαρκῶν μου.

2. Τῷ γοῦν κατὰ τὸ γράμμα μόνον φιλαῖς ταῖς λέξεσι προσέχοντι τοῖς
 εἰρημένοις πάννυ ἀνοίκεια καὶ ἐναντία τὰ ῥήματα τυγχάνει τοῖς πράγ-
 865 μασιν. Ἐως μὲν γὰρ ἡ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος τυγχάνη ἡνωμένα ἐν τῷ
 σώματι, δυνάμεθα λέγειν περὶ ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ὅτι Τοῦτο νῦν ὅσθ' οὐν ἐκ
 1004A τῶν ὀστέων μου καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς μου. Ἐπὶ δὲ ἕκ τινος αἰτίας
 ἀφαίρεισι καὶ διαίρεσις γένηται τινος μέλους ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, οὐκ ἔτι
 870 χώραν ἔχει τὸ λέγειν· Τοῦτο νῦν ὅσθ' οὐν ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ
 τῆς σαρκὸς μου, ἀλλά· Τοῦτο ἦν ποτε ὅσθ' οὐν ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου καὶ
 σὰρξ ἐκ τοῦ σώματός μου. Νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἔτι ὅσθ' οὐν μου, οὐκ ἔτι δὲ σὰρξ
 μου, ἀλλὰ διηρέθη· ἀφηρέθη· ἐξεκόπη· ἀπεξενώθη τῶν ὀστέων μου καὶ
 875 τῶν σαρκῶν μου. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς παραδόξου καὶ θαυ-
 μαστῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ λεγομένου Ἀδὰμ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου τὰ πράγματα
 λέγονται. Πρὸ γὰρ τῆς ἀφαιρέσεως καὶ διαίρεσεως τῆς πλευρᾶς τῆς
 ληφθείσης καὶ ἐξελεύσεως ἐκ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ οὐκ εἰρήκαμεν αὐτὴν
 880 ὅσθ' οὐν ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων αὐτοῦ οὔτε σάρκα ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ. Ὅτε δὲ
 ἐλήφθη καὶ ἐτέχθη ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἶονεῖ σῶμα αὐτοῦ γέγονε, προσηνέχθη

10. And the Lord God built up the rib, which he had taken from
 Adam, into a woman for himself. And he led her, whom he had raised up
 for himself, to Adam.¹ Obviously, this was after Adam arose from the
 sleep, although it was not written: "And the Lord God raised Adam and
 led the woman to him." The Church came to Christ after his resur-
 rection. The faithful has a clear indication of this in the Gospels. It was
 after he had risen from the dead, that Christ then gave this command to
 the apostles: "Going into the world, teach all the nations and baptize
 them to the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit."²

VII 1. "Go and gather my children, who have been scattered,³ my
 limbs, which have been dispersed. Unite my flesh, which has been
 divided. Join together my bones, which were unhinged. Lead the rib that
 was separated from me back to me. Summon to me my woman, who was
 taken captive. Build her up again into my wife, the Church. I am the
 rock hewn without hands from the holy mountain⁴—join together for me
 those stones of which Isaiah said: *The holy rocks are rolling upon the
 earth.*"⁵

The rib was built up from them into the Church of Christ. And we his
 limbs, kindred to his flesh, were joined together. And we his bones were
 bound together in oneness with him and unity of faith.

When God the Father led her to him,⁶ after he had awakened from
 the dead, the second Adam saw his rib,⁷ built up so beautifully by God
 into the Church, of one body with him and his wife.⁸ And he said: "*This
 now is bone from my bone and flesh from my flesh.*"⁹

2. If one considers these naked words in a literal light alone, so many
 passages appear incongruous and contrary to the facts. For example, so
 long as the parts of the body happen to be joined to the body, we are able
 to say about each of them: "*This now is bone from my bones and flesh
 from my flesh.*"¹⁰ But when, for some reason, there is a separation and
 removal of a certain limb from the body, then this statement has no
 place: "*This now is bone from my bones and flesh from my flesh.*"¹¹ But
 rather: "This was *once* a bone from my bones and flesh from my flesh.
 Now no longer is it my bone, no longer is it my flesh. It has been
 separated, torn away, amputated, and alienated from my bones and
 flesh."

But here the opposite things are said about the incredible and
 amazing rib of the so-called Adam. Before the removal and separation of
 the rib, which was taken and went away from his body, we did not say
 that this was bone from his bones or flesh from his flesh. But after it had
 been taken—indeed after it had been born from him and became like his
 body¹²—it was brought to him and then he said: "*This now is bone*

842 δηλονότι P 844 καὶ] om. P 844/5 καὶ ἤγαγε - γυναῖκα] om. N 845 ἔχει] scripsi
 ἔχεις MNP habet Hiv. 851 μοι N^{corr} P 853 ἀγάγετέ N μοι] μου P 859 σύσφιχθέν-
 των N τη] γῇ M^{corr} 868 τοῦτον P 873 τοῦ σώματος] τῆς σαρκὸς P

¹ Gen 2:22. ² Mt 28:19; Mk 16:15. ³ Cf Jn 11:52. ⁴ Cf Dan 2:45. ⁵ Zech 9:16.
⁶ Cf Gen 2:22. ⁷ Cf 1 Cor 15:45. ⁸ Cf Eph 3:6. ⁹ Gen 2:23. ¹⁰ Gen 2:23.
¹¹ Gen 2:23. ¹² Cf Col 1:24.

αὐτῷ, καὶ τότε φησί· Τοῦτο νῦν ὁστοῦν ἐκ τῶν ὁστών μου καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ
τῆς σαρκὸς μου, ἦγουν ὁμογενής.

3. "Ὅθεν διὰ τοῦ λέγειν καὶ προστιθέναι τὸ νῦν δείκνυσιν ἡμῖν ὅτι τὸ
πρὶν οὐκ ἦν αὐτῇ ἡ πλευρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὔτε ὁστοῦν τῶν ὁστών
885 αὐτοῦ οὔτε σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, λέγω δὴ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Ἀδάμ. Καὶ
εἰ μὲν εἶπε· Τοῦτο ὁστοῦν ἐκ τῶν ὁστών μου, εἶχε χώραν ὁ Ἰουδαῖος
κατὰ τὸ γράμμα νοῆσαι τὸ λεγόμενον. Προστιθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ νῦν
δείκνυσιν ἡμῖν σαφῶς ὅτι, ἕως οὗ ἐξέστη ὁ δεύτερος Ἀδάμ τὴν καλὴν καὶ
μακαρίαν ἀναλλοίωτον ἕκστασιν, καὶ ὑπνώσε τὸν ζωοποιὸν πάντων
890 ἡμῶν τριήμερον αὐτοῦ θάνατον, καὶ ἔτεκε τὴν καλὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν
τὴν σύσσωμον πλευράν, καὶ ὠκοδόμησεν αὐτὴν εἰς γυναικα ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ
ἤγαγεν αὐτὴν ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης ἐπιστρέψας αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν
Χριστόν, ἕως οὗ ταῦτα πάντα γέγονεν, οὕτω ἦν ὁστοῦν ἐκ τῶν ὁστών
αὐτοῦ καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ. Τὸ οὖν νῦν διὰ τὴν ἔλευσιν λέγει,
895 ἡνίκα ἐγγὺς γενομένη τοῦ Ἀδάμ ὠκειώθη καὶ ἠνώθη καὶ ἐνυμφεύθη καὶ
συνηρμόσθη αὐτῷ. Διὸ καὶ ἀκούει παρ' αὐτοῦ· Τοῦτο νῦν ὁστοῦν ἐκ τῶν
ὁστών μου καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς μου, τουτέστιν ἐμοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐξ οὗ
καὶ ἐτέχθη. Διὸ καὶ ἀκούει ὅτι Πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα σου ἡ ἀποστροφή σου, καὶ
αὐτός σου ὡς Κύριος πάντων κυριεύσει.

900 4. Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς ἐξαήμερου κτίσεως ἔσχατον ποιεῖ καὶ πλάττει τὸν
ἄνθρωπον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα πρῶτον αὐτόν εισάγει, εἴθ' οὕτως τὰ
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐξεικονίζοντα πράγματα. Πρῶτον γὰρ ἐσαρκώθη ὁ
Χριστός, εἴθ' οὕτως γέγονεν ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἐν ἣ τὰ θηρία εἰσῆλθον τὰ
ἔσχατα. "Ὁ τι αὐτῷ τῷ εἰσαγάγοντι Χριστῷ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν
905 αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. |

881 ὁστών] ὁστέων N 883 τὸ] οἱ. M 886 Ἰουδαῖος] Ἰδαῖος N 888 καλὴν] κακὴν P
890 θάνατον N 894 καὶ] οἱ. N 896 τοῦτο] add. τοῦτο P per dittographiam
898 ἀποστροφή P

from my bones and flesh from my flesh,"¹ because it had a similar origin.

3. On account of what he said and the fact that he added, the *now* indicates to us that the rib of the Jews was not bone from his bones or flesh from his flesh: I mean of the true Adam. If he had said simply: "This is bone from my bones," the Jew would have ground to consider the statement literally. But since he added the *now*, it clearly points out for us that not until the second Adam² had departed in that beautiful, blessed, and unchanging ecstasy, and slept his three-day death, which gives life to us all; not until he had given birth to his beautiful Church, the rib which shares his body;³ not until God had built her up into a bride for himself, turned her from wandering, and led her to Christ—not until all these things had taken place, would there be bone from his bones and flesh from his flesh.

Therefore, he says *now* on account of the Advent, when she came close to Adam and became his own; when she was united, married, and joined to him. On account of this, she hears from him: "This now is bone from my bones and flesh from my flesh."⁴ That is: "Of me, of Christ, from whom she was born." Because of this, she also hears: "You will turn to your man, and he will lord it over you"⁵ as Lord of all things.⁶

4. In the six-day creation, he makes and forms man last.⁷ But in the second creation, he leads him in first,⁸ and then [presents] the things that are an image of the Church. First, Christ became incarnate. Then the Church arose, in which the wild beasts entered last.⁹

Wherefore, the glory forever and ever belongs to Christ, who leads [them] in. Amen.

¹ Gen 2:23. ² Cf 1 Cor 15:45. ³ Cf Eph 3:6. ⁴ Gen 2:23. ⁵ Gen 3:16. ⁶ Cf Est 4:17c; Acts 10:36; Rom 10:12. ⁷ Cf Gen 1:27. ⁸ Cf Gen 2:15. ⁹ Cf Gen 2:19.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀκολουθῶς
λόγος δέκατος |

I 1. Αὕτη κληθήσεται γυνή, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ἐλήφθη.

Καὶ διὰ τί εὐθέως γυνή, καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῶν σωμα-
τικῶν αὐξήσεων πρῶτον νήπιον, εἶτα παῖς, εἶτα θυγάτηρ, εἶτα νεᾶνις,
καὶ τότε γυνή, ἀλλ' εὐθέως τελείαν γυναῖκα λέγει, τουτέστι πρᾶγμα
5 τέλειον, οἰκοδόμοισιν, μητέρα, τροφόν καὶ γεννήτριαν καὶ κτήτορα
τέκνων πολλῶν; Διό φησιν· Αὕτη κληθήσεται γυνή; Καὶ μὴν ἤδη εἶπεν
αὐτὴν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ οἰκοδομηθεῖσαν εἰς γυναῖκα, καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως πρὸς τὸν
Ἀδὰμ ἐνεχθεῖσαν. Ἀλλ' ὅπως δείξῃ ὅτι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ταῦτα ἀναφέ-
ρονται τὴν ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν αἰώνων νυμφευθεῖσαν τῷ Χριστῷ, τούτου
10 χάριν μέλλον τι ῥῆμα τίθῃσι λέγων ὅτι Αὕτη κληθήσεται ποτε γυνή, ὅτι
ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ἐλήφθη αὕτη. Καὶ μὴν τὸ ἐξ ἀνδρὸς λαμβανόμενον ἢ
πικτόμενον οὐ γυνή τοῦ ἀνδρὸς λέγεται, ἀλλὰ θυγάτηρ ἢ τέκνον ἢ υἱὸς ἢ
γέννημα, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ζώων καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ θηρίων πᾶσα σὰρξ
ἐκ σαρκὸς προερχομένη ἤγουν ὑπόστασις ἐκ τῆς ὁμοουσίου αὐτῆς
15 ὑποστάσεως γέννημα λέγεται καὶ οὐ τέκνον. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐχ οὕτως φησὶ
περὶ τῆς σαρκὸς τῆς πλευρᾶς τῆς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ληφθείσης. Ἰδοὺ
καὶ ἑτέρα ἀπορία. Οὐπω γὰρ ἦν ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ὁ Ἀδάμ· οὐ συνδύασις
γέγονε. Καὶ πῶς φησιν ὅτι Ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ἐλήφθη αὕτη; Οὐκοῦν ἐκ
παντὸς τρόπου δῆλον ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸν Χριστὸν μᾶλλον καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ
20 γεννηθεῖσαν καὶ αὐτῷ ἐνωθεῖσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἀναφέρονται καὶ προφητεύ-
ονται ταῦτα, καὶ γὰρ μόνος ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστὶ καὶ γεννητῶρ καὶ ἀνὴρ τῆς
οἰκείας γυναικὸς καὶ νύμφης ἐκκλησίας.

2. Τινὲς δὲ τῶν ὑπομνηματιστῶν καὶ οὕτως ἔδοξαν ὑπακούειν ταῦτα
περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Ἦν, φησὶ, τὸ πρὶν ἠνωμένη τῷ Θεῷ, ὅτε γέγονεν ἡ
25 τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσις, εἶτα ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ἐλήφθη αὕτη εἶπουν
ὑπεσύρη καὶ ἀπεσπάρθη, καὶ γὰρ ἡχημαλώτιστο τῇ εἰδωλολατρίᾳ ὑπὸ
τοῦ διαβόλου. Ὅτε οὖν ἐπιστρέψας ἡγάγευ αὐτὴν ὁ ἰδιὸς ποτε αὐτῆς
ἀνὴρ Θεὸς πρὸς ἐαυτόν, τὸν δευτέρον φημι Ἀδάμ, εἶπε· Τοῦτο νῦν μετὰ
τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ὁστοῦν ἐκ τῶν ὁστών μου καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς μου
30 αὕτη κληθήσεται μου γυνή τοῦ προπάτορος συζύγου Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἐξ
ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς Χριστοῦ ἐλήφθη αὕτη κλαπείσα καὶ νῦν ἐπάνεισιν.
Ἦν γὰρ ἑτέρω γὰρ ἦν ἀνδρὶ τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ μοιχαλὶς ἐγένετο.

3. Εἰ δὲ ἀντιλέγει ὁ Ἰουδαῖος, ὀφείλουσι τοῦτο οἱ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπίστασθαι
ἀκούοντες διὰ παντὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γυναῖκα ὀνομάζοντός ποτε
35 τὴν συναγωγὴν καὶ νῦν μὲν λέγοντος αὐτῇ ὅτι Ὁψὶς πόρνης ἐγένετό σοι,
ἀπηρυθρίσας πρὸς πάντας, τουτέστιν ἀποστᾶσα ἐξ ἐμοῦ πρὸς πάντας

1 γυνή, ὅτι] γυνή σου N^{a.corr.} 3 νεᾶνις] scripsi νεάνις MNP 7 καὶ] om. N
9 αἰσχάτου I^{a.corr.} 10 τί MP 12 λέγεται] λεται M 23 ταῦτα] add. τὰ M
24 Ἦν] ἦν M^{p.corr.} 32 ἦν] om. P 36 πρὸς] πρὸ I^{a.corr.}

This is the tenth book in the series by the same author.

I 1. *She will be called "woman", because she was taken from her man.*¹

And why at once a woman? Why not, according to the order of physical development, first a baby, then a child, a daughter, a young lady, and finally a woman? But it says at once a finished woman. That is, a perfect creature: a mistress of the home, a mother, a nourisher, bearer, and possessor of many children.² And why does it now say: *She will be called "woman"*?³ It said already that she had been built up by God as a woman, and then as such, she had been led to Adam.⁴ It was to point out that these things relate to the Church, which at the end of the ages will be married to Christ. On account of this, the future tense is used: *She will at long last be called "woman", because she was taken from her man.*⁵

Indeed, what is taken or born from a man is not called the woman of the man, but a daughter or child or son or offspring. And just so, with respect to animals and birds and beasts, all flesh coming from flesh—that is to say, an individual from an individual similar to itself—is not called a child, but an offspring. But here it does not say so about the flesh of the rib that was taken from her man.⁶ And look, another problem. Adam was not her man: there had been no intercourse. So how can it say: *From her man she was taken*?⁷ Therefore, it is obvious from every angle, that these things refer to and prophesize Christ and the Church, which was born from him and was united with him. For Christ alone is both the parent and the groom of his own bride and woman, the Church.⁸

2. Some commentators thought that they could understand such things about the Church as follows. When human nature came into being, they said, she was united with God. Then she was taken from her man—indeed, pulled away and separated. She was made a prisoner to idolatry by the devil. Then God, once her own man, turned her around and led her back to himself⁹—I mean the second Adam¹⁰—and said: *"This now, after her return, is bone from my bones and flesh from my flesh. She will be called the woman of Christ, her forefather and husband, because she was taken from me, from Christ, her man."*¹¹ She had been stolen, but has now come back. She had become an adulteress under another man, the devil.

3. If the Jew argues, they who are with us ought to understand this point. They hear in the Law how God continuously called the synagogue his woman, yet now he says to her: *"The face of a prostitute has appeared on you. You have become shameless to all."*¹² That is: "You turned away

¹ Gen 2:23. ² Cf Is 54:1; Gal 4:27. ³ Gen 2:23. ⁴ Cf Gen 2:22. ⁵ Gen 2:23.

⁶ Cf Gen 2:21. ⁷ Gen 2:23. ⁸ Cf Eph 5:22-32. ⁹ Cf Gen 2:22. ¹⁰ Cf 1 Cor 15:45.

¹¹ Gen 2:23. ¹² Jer 3:3.

θεοὺς τῶν εἰδώλων ἐνωθεῖσα ἐξεπόρνευσας καὶ προσεκύνησας πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει. Διὸ καὶ πάλιν ἔλεγεν αὐτῇ· Οὐκ ἔτι σοὺ εἰμι ἀνὴρ, καὶ σὺ οὐκ ἔτι μου εἶ γυνή, | ὅτι ἐμεγαλύνθη ἡ πορνεία σου ὑπὲρ Σόδομα τὴν ἀδελφήν σου. Καὶ ἕτερα μυρία τοιαῦτα ὡς πρὸς μοιχαλίδά φαίνεται ὁ Θεὸς λέγων τῇ συναγωγῇ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ.

4. Εἰ δὲ μακροθύμως τῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀκούει καὶ ἀνέχεται ὁ Ἰουδαῖος, δείκνυμι αὐτῷ ὅτι καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ συναγωγὴ ἀπὸ σαρκὸς ἐκτίσθη, καθὰ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς περιτομῆς τῆς ἀκροβυστίας Ἀβραάμ τοῦ προπάτορος Ἰουδαίων γενομένη, ὡς περ ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Ἀδάμ. Ἀλλ' ἡ σὰρξ ἐκείνη, λέγω δὴ ἡ ἀκροβυστία τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, ἀπερρίφη εὐθέως, ἡνίκα περιετμήθη καὶ εἰς γῆν κατεπατήθη, τὴν ἀποβολὴν καὶ ἀπορριφὴν τοῦ Ἀβρααμίου Ἰσραηλῆτι τοῦ γένους προφητεύουσα. Ἡ δὲ σὰρξ τῆς πλευρᾶς ἡ θεοτίμητος ὡς ζωὴ ἐκ ζωῆς οὐκ ἀπερρίφη, ἀλλ' εὐθέως χειρὶ Θεοῦ ὠκοδομήθη εἰς γυναικὰ τελείαν Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν.

5. Διὸ, ὡς περ ἐκείνη ἡ σὰρξ καὶ τὸ σπέρμα τῆς περιτομῆς δύο προσηγορίας ἔσχε διὰ γυναικός, λέγω δὴ τῆς Σάρρας πρῶτον, εἶτα Σάρρας, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία Εὐὰ δύο ὀνόματα ἔλαβε, τὸ δεύτερον κρεῖττον καθ' ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ πρῶτου ὑπάρχον. Ὡνομάσθη γὰρ ἐν πρῶτοις γυνή, εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα ζωή, ἣν ἐκτυποῦσα καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἐκλήθη ἐν πρῶτοις Σάρα, τουτέστιν ἀρχουσα καὶ ἡγουμένη, εἶτα Σάρρα εἶπουν πολὺτεκνος. Ἦρξε γὰρ ἀπάντων ἡ ἐκκλησία πολυτοκήσασα τοὺς πιστοὺς.

II 1. Αὕτη κληθήσεται γυνή, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ἐλήφθη. Ἐνεκεν τούτου καταλείπει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ.

Ἐνεκεν τούτου. Ποίου; Τουτέστι τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ληφθέντος διὰ τὸ πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ εἶναι καὶ σάρκα καὶ ὅστουν καὶ μέλος καὶ μέρος καὶ οἶον ἐκ τούτου καὶ γόνον καὶ γέννημα. Ἐνεκεν τούτου ἀρνεῖται ὁ ἀληθὴς καὶ μόνος θεάνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ (εἶπε γάρ· Μήτηρ μου καὶ ἀδελφοί μου εἰσιν οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημά μου) καὶ προσκολλᾶται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ. Γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐκείνην λέγω τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὀστέων τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ προελθοῦσαν, ἥτις ἐστὶ μόνη τοῦ πνευματικοῦ Ἀδάμ γυνή. Οὐδεμία γὰρ ἄλλη γυνὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς προήλθεν, εἰ μὴ ἐκείνη μόνη, ἐπεὶ πᾶσαι αἱ λοιπαὶ ἐν κόσμῳ γυναῖκες ἐκ γυναικῶν προέρχονται καὶ γεννῶνται, εἰθ' οὕτως τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις καὶ ξένοις ἀνδράσιν εἰς γυναῖκας συνάπτονται, οὐ μὴν καὶ συγκολλῶνται. Τὸ γὰρ προσκολλώμενον καὶ συγκολλώμενον οὐδεμίαν διαίρεσιν οὔτε διάστασιν οὐ τόπων, οὐ τρόπων

from me and united with all the idol gods. You prostrated yourself and fornicated with every creature." On account of this, again he says to her: "No longer am I your *man*, and you are *no* longer *my woman*,¹ because your *fornication* has surpassed your *sister*, Sodom."² And thousands of other such things, as against an adulteress, God in the Law manifestly says to the synagogue.

4. If the Jew will patiently endure and will listen to me, I will point out to him that even his woman, the synagogue, was made from flesh, as was the Church. Just as Christ's Church arose from the flesh of Adam's rib, so also the synagogue arose from the circumcision of Abraham's foreskin, the forefather of the Jews.³ But when that flesh was cut off—I am speaking of the foreskin of Abraham—it was immediately thrown away and trampled into the ground. This was a prophecy of the rejection and divorce of the Israelite race of Abraham. But the flesh of the rib, honored by God as life from life,⁴ was not thrown away. It was immediately built up by the hand of God into a perfect woman, the Church of God.⁵

5. On account of this, just as the flesh and seed of the circumcision received two names through a woman—I am speaking of Sarai, then Sarah⁶—so also the Church, Eve, received two names. The second was incomparably better than the first. At first, she was called "woman";⁷ later, she was called "life".⁸ The wife of Abraham was also a type of this. At first she was called Sarai—that is, "the ruler and guide." Then she was called Sarah—that is, "she who has many offspring." This was because the Church, having given birth to many believers, was the ruler of all.⁹

II 1. *She will be called "woman", because she was taken from her man. On account of this, a man will leave his father and his mother and will adhere to his wife.*¹⁰

On account of this. On account of what? That is: because what was taken from the man by means of his rib,¹¹ was his flesh and bone and limb and a part of him.¹² Indeed, it was like a child, a begotten, an offspring. And on account of this, the true and only god-man disowned his father and his mother.¹³ He said: "My mother and my brothers are those who do my will."¹⁴ And he adhered to his wife. His wife, I say, was that one who came forth from him and his rib, from his flesh and his own bones.¹⁵ She is the only woman of the spiritual Adam.¹⁶ No other woman came forth from her man, except that one alone. All the other women in the world come forth—indeed, are born—from women. Then so, as women, they are joined with men who are strangers from other families. But they do not adhere to them. For that which is joined and bonded does not allow a division or separation from the other,

¹ Hos 2:4. ² Ezek 23:11. ³ Cf Gen 17:23-24. ⁴ Cf Gen 3:20; Jn 14:6. ⁵ Cf Gen 2:22.

⁶ Cf Gen 17:15. ⁷ Cf Gen 2:23. ⁸ Cf Gen 3:20. ⁹ Cf Is 54:1; Gal 4:27. ¹⁰ Gen 2:23-24.

¹¹ Cf Gen 2:21. ¹² Cf Gen 2:23; 1 Cor 12:27. ¹³ Cf Lk 9:23; 14:26. ¹⁴ Lk 8:21.

Cf Mt 12:50; Mk 3:35. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 2:21-22. ¹⁶ Cf 1 Cor 15:45.

37 ἐξεπορνάσας P^{corr}. 48 κατεπατεπατήθη M 54 σάρρας NP^{corr}. 55 ὀνομάσθη P 61 καταλήψει P 64 καὶ] add. ὁ M^{corr}. 65 τόκον καὶ γόνον] τόκον καὶ γόνου P καὶ] om. P 68 γυναῖκα] γυναικὰι N^{corr}. ἐκείνη M 73 ἀλλοτρίοις N^{corr}

ἐκ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἅπαξ οὕτω συγκεκόλληται ὥς ὁ ἀήρ τῷ φωτὶ καὶ ὁ σίδηρος τῷ πυρὶ ἐνοῦται καὶ ἡ πορφύρα βαφὴ τῇ χλανίδι καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ κεκολλημένη ἀδιαιρέτως τῷ σώματι.

2. Νοήσεις δὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῆς προσκολλησέως τοῦ
80 πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνδρὸς τὴν | καθ' ὑπόστασιν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου πρὸς τὴν
ἡμετέραν φύσιν, ἣτις ἐστὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας γεννήτρια, "Ὅτι μέλη ἐσμέν τοῦ
σώματος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων αὐτοῦ, κατὰ
τὴν τοῦ Παύλου φωνήν, ὥστε τρόπον τινὶ καὶ πατέρα καὶ ἄνδρα εἶναι
τὸν Ἀδὰμ τῆς οἰκείας γυναικὸς καθὰ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, πατὴρ
85 μὲν γὰρ ὡς γεννῶν αὐτὴν δι' ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος, ἀνὴρ δὲ ὡς τὸν
σπέρμον τοῦ λόγου καταβαλλόμενος αὐτῇ, δι' οὗ πολλὰ ἀμύθητα τέκνα
(ταῦτα λέγω τὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν) ἔτεκεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνέθρεψε καὶ ἡύξησε καὶ
ἐπλήθυνε. Κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καὶ βοηθὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ λέγεται
ἡ ἐκκλησία κατὰ τὸ γεννᾶν αὐτὴν μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνάληψιν καὶ διδάσ-
90 κειν καὶ φωτίζειν καὶ κηρύττειν καὶ ἐπιστρέφειν τὰ ἔθνη πρὸς Θεόν. Καὶ
γάρ, ἐπειδὴ ἡ προτέρα συναγωγὴ γυνὴ μοιχαλὶς γέγονε καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐ-
τῆς, οὓς ὁ Θεὸς ἐγέννησε καὶ ὕψωσεν, αὐτὸν ἠθέτησαν· ἔνεκεν τούτου τοῦ
δράματος κατέλειπε τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ τὸν λαὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὁ Χρισ-
τὸς καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ τὴν συναγωγὴν καὶ προσεκολλήθη πρὸς τὴν
95 ἐξ ἐθνῶν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ δύο εἰς σὰρκα μίαν λαοῦ ἑνός.

III 1. Τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ Παῦλος λέγω εἰς
Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προετυπώθη καὶ προεγράφη ταῦτα.
Ταῦτα. Ποία; Τουτέστι τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ τὴν Εὐάν ἡγουν ἡ τούτου
πλάσις, τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐμφύσημα, ἡ θέσις ἡ ἐν παραδείσῳ, τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι, τὸ
100 φυλάττειν, ἡ ἐντολή, ἡ τῶν ζώων πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐν παραδείσῳ εἰσοδος,
ὁ ὕπνος, ἡ ἔκστασις, ἡ πλευρά, ἡ οἰκοδομή, ἡ ἑναξίς αὐτῆς, τοσοῦτον
μᾶλλον ἡ σὰρξ, δι' ἧς καὶ εἴρηται ὅτι "Ἐνεκεν τούτου καταλείψει
ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ προσκολληθήσεται
πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σὰρκα μίαν.

2. Τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν, ἐγὼ λέγω εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν
ἐκκλησίαν, ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα οὐκ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ συζυγοῦντες
τῇ ὑποστάσει σὰρξ μία. "Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἀσθενεστέρα καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἡ σὰρξ
τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, καὶ πῶς μία; Πλὴν ὅτι οὐδὲ πᾶς
ἄνθρωπος ὑπὲρ τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα ποθεῖ καὶ τιμᾷ τὴν
110 ἰδίαν γυναῖκα. "Ὅθεν καὶ ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν καθ' ἡμέραν μυρίους κατα-
λιμπάνοντας τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας καὶ πρὸς ἄλλας μετερχομένους.
Πατέρα δὲ καὶ μητέρα οὐκ ἂν τις εὐχερῶς ἀπαρνήσασθαι ἢ
καταλεῖψαι δύναται. Καὶ ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς, ἐπεὶ ἠνώθη ἡμῖν, οὕτω

in any place or way. Once it has been bonded so, it is united as the air to light, as iron to fire, as purple dye to a garment—and as the soul is stuck inseparably to the body.

2. You will understand through this woman and the bonding of the man to her,¹ that the Person of God the Word is bound essentially to our nature, which is the mother of the Church: *because we are limbs of his body, from his flesh and from his bones*,² according to the statement by Paul. Thus Adam, in some way, was the father and the husband of his own wife, as Christ is of the Church. He is her father, for he gave birth to her through water and the Spirit.³ He is her husband, for he planted in her the seed of the word,⁴ through which she bore unspeakably many children for him.⁵ (I mean the children of the nations.) And she nurtured and strengthened them, and increased their number. In this way, the Church is also called the helper of Christ. Since his Ascension, she has given birth, instructed, illuminated, strengthened, and converted the nations to God. Because the first woman, the synagogue, became an adulteress,⁶ and her children, whom God begot and raised, broke faith with him.⁷ Because of these events, Christ left his father (the Jewish people) and his mother (the synagogue) and bonded with his Gentile wife. And the two became as one flesh, one people.⁸

III 1. "This mystery is great, but I, and Paul, say that these things were written as early types pertaining to Christ and the Church."⁹

These things. What things? The things about Adam and Eve, especially his shaping, the breath upon this shape, the placement in the garden, the working, the guarding, the command, the entrance of the animals to Adam in the garden, the sleep, the ecstasy, the rib, the building up, her introduction, and more especially the flesh.¹⁰ Because of these things it was said: *On account of this, a man will leave his father and mother and will adhere to his wife. And the two will be as one flesh*.¹¹

2. This mystery is great, and I say pertains to Christ and the Church,¹² since literally a man and a woman, although yoked together, are not in person one flesh. Is not the flesh of the woman weaker by far than the flesh of the man? And how are they one? It is obvious that not every man desires and honors his own wife more than his own father and mother. Every day it is possible to see thousands of men abandoning their wives and pursuing others. Someone cannot so easily deny or abandon his father and mother. The Lord Christ, moreover, when he

¹ Cf Gen 2:24. ² Eph 5:30. ³ Cf Jn 3:5; 1 Jn 5:6. ⁴ Cf Mk 4:14; Lk 8:11. ⁵ Cf Is 54:1; Gal 4:27. ⁶ Cf Jer 3:1-10; Ezek 16:8-43; Hos 2: 1-13; 4:13-14. ⁷ Cf Is 1:2.

⁸ Cf Gen 2:24. ⁹ Eph 5:32. Cf Acts 13:9. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 2:7, 8, 15, 16-17, 19, 21-23.

¹¹ Gen 2:24; Eph 5:31. ¹² Eph 5:32.

76 ὁ om. P 77 πορφύρα] scripsi πορφύρα MNP χλανίδι P 80 τὴν] τοὺς P 82 καὶ - αὐτοῦ] om. P 85 γενῶν N^a corr. 91 γυναι N^a corr. τὰ] om. P 93 κατέλιπε P τῶν] τὸν M 97 εἰς] om. MP 101 ἑναξίς] scripsi ἐνεξίς MNP 102 ἔνεκα P 106 συζυγοῦντες] correxi συζυγόντες MNP 107 καὶ καθ' M (387v16-17) 113 καταλεῖψαι N^a corr.

γέγονεν εἰς τῇ ὑποστάσει καταλείψας τὴν ἰδίαν καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα
 115 φυλὴν μετελθών. Εἰ δὲ μία σὰρξ ἐστὶν ὁ σωματικὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ ἡ γυνή,
 ἐχρῆν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἀσθενούντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς συνασθενεῖν καὶ τὴν
 γυναῖκα, καὶ πάλιν τῆς γυναικὸς ταλαιπωρούσης ἢ γηρασκούσης
 συμφθίνειν καὶ τὴν σάρκα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, καὶ τελευτῶντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
 συνθνήσκειν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα.

120 3. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ πρεσβεύοντα λαλῶ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς συζύ-
 γου αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας κατὰ Ἰουδαίων ὀπλιζομαι, καὶ λεγέτω μοι πάλιν ὁ
 Ἰουδαῖος· εἰ ὁ ἀνθρώπος καὶ ἡ γυνή εἰσιν εἰς σάρκα μίαν, πῶς οὐκ εἶπεν·
 Καὶ εἰς ψυχὴν μίαν, ὅπερ ἦν τῶν ἄλλων μᾶλλον ἀναγκασιότερον; |
 Πάντως ὅτι ἑτέρα ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ Δεσπότης ψυχὴ ἢ γον λογικὴ τε καὶ 1008A
 125 νοερά, καὶ ἑτέρα ἡ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡ γον τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Ὅτι δὲ
 διαφορὸς σάρκας οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἔχουσιν, ἄκουσον τοῦ Θεοῦ
 λέγοντος ὅτι *Οὐ μὴ καταμείνῃ τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις*
διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς σάρκας πάντως ὡς γυναικομανοῦντας. Καὶ πάλιν
 λέγει ὅτι *Ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα καὶ ὀψεται*
 130 *πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν*. Οὐκοῦν Παύλου ἄκουσον τοῦ
 παραδεισοπολίτου, οὗ αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη, τοῦ λέγοντος τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ
 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἶναι εἰς σάρκα μίαν καὶ τὸ ὑπόδειγμα τοῦ Ἀδάμ καὶ τῆς
 Εὔας εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀναφέροντος. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἑτέρως, εἰ βούλει, ἡ Εὔα
 ζωή· εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς ζωοποιου ψυχῆς. Ἐνούμενα οὖν τὰ δύο ταῦτα, λέγω
 135 δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ, γίνονται ἀνθρώπος εἷς, καὶ οὕτως κυρίως
 πληροῦται τό· *Ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν*, εἷς γὰρ ἐκ δύο ὑπάρχων ὁ
 Χριστός, Θεὸς ὁμοῦ τε καὶ ἀνθρώπος.

4. Ἐπιστήσεις δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι περ κατὰ τὴν ἕκτην ἡμέραν τῆς
 ἐξαήμερου κτίσεως ταῦτα τότε ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἐλέγοντο καὶ ἐγένοντο, ἐπειδὴ
 140 τῇ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος τὸ πέρας εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
 ἔλαβεν. Οὐδὲν δὲ ἡττον ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ περὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης
 διεξερχόμενοι ἀπεδείξαμεν τὸ δὲ *Ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν* τοὺς δύο
 φωστήρας εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν νοήσαντες. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἥλιος
 τὸ ξηρὸν καὶ γεῶδες τὸ χορὸς στοιχεῖον πεπίστευται, ἡ δὲ σελήνη τὸ πνεῦ-
 145 μα τοῦ ἀνέμου εἰς τύπον τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ψυχῆς. Ἐνουμένου οὖν τοῦ
 χορὸς καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀποτελοῦνται καὶ γίνονται οἱ δύο εἰς ἀνθρώπον
 ἕνα. Τάχα δὲ ἡ μυστικώτερα τοῦ λόγου διάνοια τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον·
 ἐπειδὴ ὁ Χριστὸς οἰκεῖ ἐν ἡμῖν κατὰ τό· *Ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ*
ἐμπεριπατήσω, τούτου χάριν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πᾶσα καθαρὰ καρδία
 150 ἐνωθεῖσα τῷ Θεῷ Λόγῳ ἁμφω εἰσιν οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν. Ὁ γὰρ
κολλώμενος τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν πνεύματι ἐστίν.

5. Οὐ μόνον δὲ πράγμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐστίν

115 φυλὴν] φωνὴν P 119 συνθνήσκειν P 129 ὀχεται M^{acorr} 131 αἰωνίου M^{acorr}
 αἰώνιος N 142 τόδε] *scripsi* τὸ δὲ MNP 143 εἰς] *om.* P 146 εἰς] *add.* σάρκα M^{acorr}
 151 κολλώμενος M^{acorr}

became one with us, remained one in person. And having abandoned his
 own tribe, he went to the Gentiles.

If the physical man and woman were one flesh, it would be
 completely necessary that, when the man becomes ill, his wife becomes
 ill too. Likewise when the woman is afflicted or grows old, the flesh of
 the man would decay with her. And when the man reaches his end, his
 wife would die with him.

3. Since I speak about things that serve on behalf of Christ and his
 spouse the Church,¹ I take up arms against the Jews. Indeed, let the
 Jew pose another question for me. If a man and his wife are as one
 flesh,² why did it not say: "as one soul," since this would have been more
 forceful than anything else? The answer is that the soul of the Lord is
 one thing—rational and noetic—but the soul of the Church is something
 else: the Holy Spirit.

Men and women have bodies that are different. Just listen to God
 say: "*My spirit will not remain in these men, because they are flesh*
completely"³—mad for women.⁴ But then he says: "*From my spirit, I will*
*pour out upon all flesh,*⁵ *and all flesh will see the salvation of our God.*"⁶
 Indeed, listen to Paul, the citizen of Paradise,⁷ whose memory will be
 eternal. He said that Christ and the Church are as one flesh, and he
 compared them to the example of Adam and Eve.⁸ "Eve" can be said, if
 you will, in another way. Eve is Life.⁹ She is an image of the life-giving
 soul. And these two in unity—I am speaking of the body and soul—
 become one human. And so the phrase *the two will be as one flesh*,¹⁰
 really is fulfilled, for Christ is one from two: both God and man.

4. You yourself will see that these things were said by God and came
 into being on the sixth day of the six-day creation because on the sixth
 day of time these things would reach their goal in Christ and the
 Church. Nevertheless, when we discussed the sun and moon on the
 fourth day, we explained the passage: *The two will be as one flesh*,¹¹ by
 thinking of those two luminaries as Christ and the Church, because the
 sun is believed to be the dry and earthy element of soil, and the moon is
 believed to be the spirit of the wind, a type of the spirit of the soul. When
 the soil and the spirit are united, the two are perfected and become one
 person.¹²

Perhaps, however, the more mystical meaning of this passage is the
 following. According to the statement: "*I will dwell and walk around*
among you,"¹³ Christ lives among us.¹⁴ Because of this, every clean heart
 in the Church is united to God the Word, and both the two are one flesh.
 For *he who adheres to the Lord is one spirit*.¹⁵

5. Not only in its content, but also in the phrasing of the passage, it is

¹ Cf 2 Cor 5:20. ² Cf Gen 2:24; Eph 5:31. ³ Gen 6:3. ⁴ Cf Gen 6:1-2, 4. ⁵ Jl 3:1;
 Acts 2:17. ⁶ Is 40:5; Lk 3:6. ⁷ Cf 2 Cor 12:4. ⁸ Cf Eph 5:31-32. ⁹ Cf Gen 3:20.
¹⁰ Gen 2:24; Eph 5:31. ¹¹ Gen 2:24; Eph 5:31. ¹² Cf Gen 2:7. ¹³ 2 Cor 6:16.
¹⁴ Cf Rom 8:9-11. ¹⁵ 1 Cor 6:17.

ἀκοῦσαι τῆς θείας γραφῆς συναπτούσης καὶ ἐνοποιούσης τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ
τὴν Εὐάν ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἓνα εἰς τύπον Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.
155 *Ποιήσωμεν γὰρ φησιν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμέτεραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν.*
Ἰδοὺ μονοπροσώπως εἰπὼν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπήγαγε λέγων· Καὶ
ἀρχέτωσαν τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης. Τὸ δὲ Ἀρχέτωσαν *δυϊκῇ φωνῇ*
καθέστηκε μονάδα ἐν δυνάδι καὶ δυνάδα ἐν μονάδι συνάπτων αὐτούς. Καὶ
αὐθις πάλιν φησί· Καὶ ἐποίησε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα
160 *Θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, τουτέστι τὸν ἓνα καὶ μόνον ὡς ἐν δυσί. Καὶ δῆλον*
ἐξ ὧν ἐπάγει· Ἀρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς. Ἰδοὺ τοὺς δύο εἰς σάρκα
μίαν ὄντας ἓνα ἄνθρωπον λέγει. Καὶ ἐν τῇ προστάξει δὲ τῆς βρώσεως καὶ
τῆς ἐντολῆς τὸ αὐτὸ ἐστὶν ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἓνα ἄνθρωπον
τοὺς δύο ὄντας, Ἀπὸ παντός γὰρ ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ φάγη
165 *πρὸς ἓνα τινὰ διαλεγόμενου, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ*
πονηρόν, οὐ φάγεσθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· ἢ δ' ἂν ἡμέρᾳ φάγητε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, θανά-
τω ἀποθανήσθε. Ὁρᾷς κἀνταῦθα πάλιν τὰ διάφορα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἓνα
ἄνθρωπον ὀνομαζόμενον, τουτέστι τὴν μονάδα ἐν δυνάδι καὶ τὴν δυνάδα
ἐν μονάδι γνωριζομένην διὰ τὸ ὅμοιον τῆς φύσεως.

170 6. Ἐντεῦθεν παιδεύεται καὶ κομίζεται ἡ ἐκκλησία δόγμα καὶ ὄπλον
μέγα καὶ ἰσχυρὸν τρόπαιον κατὰ τῶν τριθεῶν ἐγκαλούντων ἡμῖν
Ἰουδαίων καὶ βαρβάρων τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς λεγόντων ὅτι Εἰ Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ
ἐστὶν ὁ Υἱός, πῶς δυνατόν τοὺς δύο ἓνα εἶναι Θεόν; Πρὸς οὓς
ἀρμολόγῳ τις ἢ ἐπιτηδεύς καὶ εὐθυβόλως ἐρεῖ· Εἰ ἡ Εὐὰ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ
175 ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ, πῶς τοὺς δύο ἓνα ἄνθρωπον λέγει ὁ Θεός;
Εἰ ζητεῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ πῶς τριάς ἐν μονάδι, εἰπέ μοι σὺ πῶς δυνάς ἐν μονάδι
λέγονται οἱ δύο πρωτόπλαστοι. Φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι Ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν
ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, τουτέστι τὸν ἓνα ἄνθρω-
πον, ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς, ἰδοὺ τὸν ἓνα διάφορα πρόσωπα
180 εἶπεν. Οὐκοῦν ὥσπερ ἡ Εὐὰ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ προελθοῦσα εἰς ἄνθρωπος σὺν
αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ προσηγορεύθη, οὕτω καὶ ὁ προελθὼν Υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ Πα-
τρὸς καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ εἰς Θεός, ἀλλ' οὐ θεοὶ δύο ὑπάρχουσιν τε καὶ λέγονται.

7. Ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῖν πλατύτερον ἐν τοῖς κατ' εἰκόνα λόγοις λέλεκται, ἐν
οἷς παρηγάγομεν πλείστας μαρτυρίας τῆς θείας γραφῆς, τὰ μυρία
185 πρόσωπα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἓνα ἄνθρωπον ὀνομαζόντος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς
ὅταν λέγει· Ἀπαλείψω τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἐποίησα. Εἰ δὲ τὰ ἀναρίθμητα
πρόσωπα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως δύνατον λέγεσθαι ἓνα ἄνθρωπον διὰ
τὸ ταύτῃ τῆς οὐσίας, πολλῶ πλεον τὰ τρία τῆς θεότητος πρόσωπα
190 δύνατον νοεῖσθαι καὶ κηρύττεσθαι ἓνα Θεὸν διὰ τὸ ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπαράλ-
λακτον τῆς φύσεως. Οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ἰσραὴλ ἐξακοσίαις χιλιάσι προσώπων

possible to hear that, when Divine Scripture joins Adam and Eve and makes them as one human, it is a type of Christ and the Church. It says: *Let us make a man in our image and likeness.*¹ Look: speaking about man as a single individual, it adds: *And let them rule over the fish of the sea.*² This *let them rule* with its plural number unites them and establishes the single in the double and the double in the single.

And again it says: *And the Lord God made man. In the image of God he made him.*³ That is: the one and only as if in two. This is obvious from the additional words: *Male and female he made them.*⁴ Look, since the two are as one flesh, he calls them one man.⁵ And in the presentation of the command about eating, it is possible to hear the same. God calls the two beings one man. *"From every tree in the garden, you may eat."* This is addressed to one person (φάγη). *"But from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, do not eat from this"* (φάγεσθε, plural). *On whichever day you eat from this* (φάγητε, plural), you will die in death.⁶ You see here again that the different individuals are called one man. That is: the single in the dual and the dual in the single are revealed, through the likeness of their nature.

6. From this, the Church is taught a lesson and receives its dogma, a strong armor and a great victory against the Jews that attack our Trinity and against the barbarians that say to us: "If the Son is God from God, how is it possible that the two are one God?" Someone will rightfully answer them with a straight and well-aimed shot: "If Eve from Adam is a human from a human, how is it that God calls the two one human?" And if you inquire of me how the three are in one, then you tell me how the two that were formed first are called two in one?⁷ It says: *God made man, in the image of God he made him.* That is the one human. *Male and female he made them.*⁸ Look: it says the one consists of separate persons. Eve proceeded from Adam and was addressed by God as one human with him.⁹ It is just so that the Son, who proceeded from the Father,¹⁰ and the Father are called—and are—one God and not two.¹¹

7. We have discussed these things more broadly in our commentaries about the image.¹² There, we introduced many instances from Divine Scripture where God calls thousands of individuals one man—as when he says: *"I will destroy the man, whom I made."*¹³ If innumerable persons with a human nature are able to be called one man because of the sameness of their essence, is it not much more possible that the three persons of the Trinity are considered and proclaimed one God because of the indistinguishable sameness of their nature? Israel, with six hundred thousand persons, is named as one individual person, Israel.¹⁴ So also

¹ Gen 1:26. ² Gen 1:26. ³ Gen 1:27. ⁴ Gen 1:27. ⁵ Cf Gen 2:24; Eph 5:31.

⁶ Gen 2:16-17. ⁷ Cf Gen 2:7. ⁸ Gen 1:27. ⁹ Cf Gen 2:21-22. ¹⁰ Cf Jn 16:27-28.

¹¹ Cf Jn 10:30; 17:11. ¹² Cf CPG 7748, 9. ¹³ Gen 6:7. ¹⁴ Cf Ex 12:37; Num 11:21;

1 Sam 11:8; Ec 16:10; 46:8.

153 ἐνοποιούσης] N^{p.corr.} ἐνωποιούσης MN^{p.corr.} P 157 δυϊκῇ φωνῇ] scripsi δυϊκῇ φωνῇ M^{p.corr.} NP δυϊκῇ φωνῇ M^{a.corr.} 163 ἐστὶν] scripsi ἐστὶν MNP 164 γὰρ] om. N 165 δὲ] om. P 167 ἀποθανεῖσθε P^{a.corr.} 170 ἐνταῦθα P παιδεύεται N^{a.corr.} 172 Εἰ] add. ὁ N^{a.corr.} P 177 δύο] add. ἄνθρωποι οἱ P 178/9 κατ' εἰκόνα - ἄνθρωπον] om. P 180 εἰς M 180/1 σὺν αὐτῷ] συνατῶ M 181 προελθὼν M τοῦ] om. MP 182 τε] εται M

μονοπροσώπως εἰς Ἰσραὴλ ὀνομάζεται. Οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ἀσσύριος, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Πέρσης, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ἰσμαὴλ ἐν ἀμετρήτοις μυριάσι προσώπων μονοπροσώπως λέγονται, ὥσπερ εἰς ἄνθρωπος ὀνομαζόμενος πολλὰ οὖσαι ὑποστάσεις, λέγω δὴ Πέρσης, Σύρος, Ἀσσύριος, Ἰσμαὴλ, ὥστε
 195 ἀνέγκλητός ἐστιν ἡ Χριστιανῶν πίστις τὰς τρεῖς ὁμοουσίους τῆς θεότητος ὑποστάσεις ἓνα καὶ μόνον Θεόν, ἀλλ' οὐ τρεῖς θεοὺς ὀνομάζουσα.

IV 1. Μέχρι τοῦδε τὸν κατὰ τριθειτῶν ἐξοπλίσαντες λόγον πρὸς τὸν εἰρμόν τῆς ἀκολουθίας ἀνίωμεν τῆς ἐντολῆς τὴν δύναμιν, ὅποια ἐστὶ, διασκοποῦντες οὕτως φασκούσης· Ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ
 200 παραδείσῳ βρώσει φάγη. Παράδεισον δ' οἶμαι αὐτὸν ἐκείνον τὸν Ἀδὰμ ὀνομάζει διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ μέθεξιν τοῦ Θεοῦ περιπόλευσιν, ξύλα δὲ παραδεισιαῖα τὰς πεφυτευμένας ἐν αὐτῷ νοητὰς καὶ ζωτικὰς δυνάμεις χρῆσαι ταύταις τοῦ λόγου κελεύοντος, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐδόθησάν σοι καὶ φύσεως ἔχουσι ξύλα, καθάπερ ἀναίσθητα δηλαδὴ καὶ ἀκίνητα πρὸς πᾶσαν
 205 κτηνώδη διάθεσιν. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν αἰσθητῶν πραγμάτων τῶν εἰς τόδε καὶ τόδε μεριζομένων ὥς εἰς καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν, ἅπερ τοῖς ζώοις διενεμήθησαν, οὐ φάγεσθε ἀπ' αὐτῶν. Μονοειδῆ γὰρ τὴν ἔξιν ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ χαρίζεται πρὸς μόνον τείνουσαν τὸν Κύριον, τὰ δὲ ποικίλα | καὶ σκε-
 1010A δαστὰ τοῖς παρὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ζῶσιν ἀρμόττουσί φησι.

2. Καὶ ἦσαν οἱ δύο γυμνοί, ὃ τε Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἠσχύνοντο.

Εἰ μὲν πρὸ τῆς παραβάσεως ἐλέγετο αὕτη ἡ γύμνωσις ἐπὶ τῶν πρωτοπλάστων, εἶχεν ἂν τις εἰπεῖν ψεκτὴν εἶναι ταύτην καὶ οὐκ ἐπαινουμένην. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εὐθέως ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς γενέσεως καὶ πλάσεως
 215 συνυπῆρξεν αὐτοῖς ἡ γύμνωσις, πρὸ μὲν πάντων πρὸς τὸν Ἰουδαῖον ἀποστρεφόμενος ζητῶ πάλιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν πῶς οὐδεμία ἐτέρα φύσις γυμνὴ γενομένη ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἐδείχθη σκέπης, εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ ἄνθρωπος. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ οἱ θῆρες καὶ τὰ κτήνη καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ τὰ τετράποδα καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἐρπετὰ γυμνὰ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἐδημιουργήθησαν,
 220 καὶ οὐδὲν τούτων ἐνεδύθη ὑπὸ Θεοῦ, εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ ἄνθρωπος. Οὐκοῦν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πρωτοπλάστων τὴν γύμνωσιν νοεῖς καὶ τοῦτο συμβολικῶς ὁμοῦ καὶ προτυπωτικῶς ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γενόμενον. Οὐ γὰρ ἠπόρει ὁ πᾶσαν οὐσίαν λογικὴν τε καὶ ἄλογον αὐτένδυτον δημιουργήσας ἀνευδεῖ σκέπης κατασκευάσαι καὶ τὸν ἄνθρω-
 225 πον. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ γυμνὸς Θεὸς καὶ ἀσύνθετος ὑπάρχων ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ἐν ἀρχῇ συντίθεσθαι καὶ ἐνδύεσθαι ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἡμελλε τὸν δερμάτινον τῆς ἡμετέρας σαρκὸς χιτῶνα σὰρξ γενόμενος καὶ σκηνώσας ἐν ἡμῖν, τούτου χάριν γυμνὸν τὸν πρωτότυπον τοῦ δευτέρου Ἀδὰμ ἄνθρωπον ὁ Θεὸς

the Assyrian,¹ the Persian, and the Arab² with their immeasurable thousands of persons are addressed as an individual man. Although they are many persons, they are named as one human: I mean the Persian, the Syrian,³ the Assyrian, and the Ishmaelite. Just so, the Christian faith cannot be criticized when it names the three Persons having the same nature of the Divinity as its one and only God, and not three gods.

IV 1. Until this point, we have been strengthening our argument against the Tritheists. But let us now return to the next step in the sequence and investigate what is the intent of the command that says: "From every tree in the garden you may eat for food."⁴ Here, I think, it is calling Adam himself a paradise, in which God walks around through participation. The trees of the paradise are the noetic and life-giving powers implanted in him. The Word gives the order to make use of these—"but as they are given to you, and according to the nature that these trees have. For their composition is intangible and unmoved by any beastly will. From tangible things, however, which were divided into this and that, as into good and bad, and which were apportioned to the animals: do not eat from these."⁵ This is the one condition that the Word gives to him, which will help guide him toward the one Lord. But it speaks of various and scattered nourishments for the appropriate animals beside the man.

2. And the two were naked, both Adam and his wife, and they were not ashamed.⁶

If this nakedness of the first-formed humans was talked about before the transgression, someone might say that it was reprehensible and not praiseworthy. Yet since nakedness coexisted with them immediately at their genesis and formation, I will turn to the Jew before all others and seek to learn from him: Why is it that no other nature, having been made naked by God, stood in need of a covering, but only the human? The angels, beasts, herds, birds, cattle, and especially the reptiles were made naked by God. But none of these were clothed by God. Only the human. Therefore, consider this nakedness of the first-formed to be some-thing that happened under God in the beginning as a symbol and early type of Christ and the Church. He crafted every rational and irrational being with its own covering and in need of no shelter. God was not unable to cover humans too. Yet God the Word, in the beginning, was a naked and not composite God.⁷ And he was about to become compounded and clothed by God in the leather garment of our flesh,⁸ and so become incarnate and pitch his tent among us.⁹ On account of this, God constructed man naked, the prototype of the second Adam,¹⁰

¹ Cf Mic 5:4; Wis 2:13. ² Cf Gen 17:20. ³ Cf 2 Sam 8:5-6; 1 Chr 18:5; 19:10, 12, 16-19.

⁴ Gen 2:16. ⁵ Cf Gen 2:17. ⁶ Gen 2:25. ⁷ Cf Jn 1:1. ⁸ Cf Gen 3:21. ⁹ Cf Jn 1:14.

¹⁰ Cf 1 Cor 15:45.

194 πέροση M 200 ἐκείνον] ἐκεί P 205 κτηνώδη M πραγμάτω N 208 τεινούσας MP 213 πρωτοπλάστων M 214 ἐπαινουμένη P ἐξ] om. N αὐτῆς] αὐτοῖς M^{corr} om. N τῆς γενέσεως καὶ πλάσεως] om. N 218 καὶ] om. P 220 μόνος] om. P 222 προτύπω-
 τυκῶς P 225 Θεός] add. καὶ M 227 σὰρξ] σὰρ N

κατεσκεύασε καὶ τὴν σύζυγον τούτου γυναῖκα τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς ἐκκλησίας
230 αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐνδυθείσης. "Ὅσοι γάρ, φησὶν, εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χρι-
στὸν ἐνεδύθητε.

3. Διὸ καὶ φησιν ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι Καὶ ἦσαν οἱ δύο γυμνοί, ὃ τε Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ
γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἤσχύνοντο. Ἐνθα γὰρ ἀμαρτία οὐπω πέπρακται,
235 ἐκεῖ αἰσχύνῃ οὐ πολιτεύεται, τῆς γὰρ ἀμαρτίας αὕτη ἀποκύημα. Καὶ ἔνθα
ἡ φύσις καθαρὰ ὥς γεγένηται καὶ γυμνὴ παντὸς ἐπεισάκτου ἀμαρτή-
ματος καὶ ἐνδύματος τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀνθρώπου, οὐδεμία ἐκεῖ ἐντροπὴ
ἐπείσρχεται. Γυμνοὶ τοιγαροῦν ὑπῆρχον οἱ πρωτόπλαστοι παντὸς
σπίλου καὶ μολυσμοῦ καὶ τραύματος, ὅτε γεγόνασιν, καὶ τούτου χάριν οὐκ
ἤσχύνοντο. Οὐπω γὰρ ἤδεισαν τὸ διὸ αὕτη.

4. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου βούλει ἀκοῦσαι τὸ ἀκαταίσχυντον,
ἀκουσον αὐτοῦ ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάζοντος κριτὴν τῆς ἀδικίας, ἦγουν κατα-
κρίνοντα τὴν ἀδικον κοσμικὴν ἐπέλευσιν τῆς ἀμαρτίας, μήτε τὸν Θεὸν
φοβούμενον, Θεὸς γὰρ ἐστὶ, μήτε ἀνθρώπον ἐντρεπόμενον ὥς ἀπροσω-
πολήπτως καὶ ὀρθῶς δικάζοντα. Διὸ ἔλεγον οἱ ἐν καθέδρᾳ Σαδδουκαῖοι·
245 Διδάσκαλε, οἶδαμεν ὅτι ὀρθῶς κρίνεις καὶ πρόσωπον οὐ λαμβάνεις. Εἰπέ
περὶ τοῦ κήνσου. "Ὅθεν ἡνίκα μὲν ἦν γυμνὸς Θεὸς οὐκ ἤσχύνετο, ἡνίκα δὲ
σαρκωθεὶς οὐκ ἔτι ἦν γυμνὸς ἤσχύνετο καὶ σταυρὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ὑπέμεινεν
αἰσχύνῃς καταφρονήσας. Διὸ καὶ ἔλεγεν ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ραπιζόμενος καὶ
φραγγελούμενος καὶ ἐμπυτόμενος· Τὸν νῶτόν μου δέδωκα εἰς μάστιγας,
250 τὰς δὲ σιαγόνας μου εἰς ράπισματα, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου οὐκ ἀπέστρε-
ψα ἀπὸ αἰσχύνῃς ἐμπυτυσμάτων. Καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς διὰ τοῦ
προφήτου φησὶ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ὅτι Σὺ γινώσκεις τὸν ὀνειδισμόν μου
καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην μου καὶ τὴν ἐντροπὴν μου, ὅτι ἡ αἰσχύνῃς τοῦ προσώ-
που μου ἐκάλυψέ με.

5. Εἰ δὲ ὡς | σαρκικός περὶ σωματικῆς αἰσχύνῃς ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς 1011A
γυμνώσεως τοῦ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῆς Εὕας νοεῖς, εἰπέ μοι τίνος ἑτέρου οὖν
αὐτοῖς μὴ παρόντος τίνα εἶχον αἰσχύνεσθαι; Ἄλλως τε τὸ μυστήριον
τῶν παιδουργῶν μορίων καὶ τίς ἡ διαφορὰ τῆς τούτων πλάσεως
ἡπίσταντο πρὸ τῆς παραβάσεως, οὐδ' ὅτι εἰς συνουσίαν αὐτοῖς καὶ
260 γάμον ταῦτα ἐγένοντο, καὶ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ διετευπώθησαν. Οἱ
οὖν ταῦτα μήπω ἐπιστάμενοι ποῖαν καὶ αἰσχύνεσθαι αἰσχύνην ἡμελλον;
Ὡστε ἀναμφιβόλως εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐνεκτέον τὴν
γύμνωσιν. Ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ δύο γυμνοὶ ἐν ἀρχαῖς, ὁ μὲν Θεὸς Λόγος γυμνὸς
ἀνθρωπότητος, ἡ δὲ ἐκκλησία γυμνὴ τῆς θεότητος οὐπω ἐνδυσσάμενη
265 Χριστόν. Πλὴν οὐκ ἤσχύνετο πρὸ τοῦ παραβῆναι, τοῦτο μὲν ὡς καθαρὰ
καὶ πρὸς ἀφθαρσίαν ἐτοιμαζομένη ἤδη, αἱ γὰρ αἰσχύναι ἐπὶ τῶν πάντη

and his wife, the woman, the image of the Church. For the Church
would wrap itself in him. *For how many were baptized to Christ*, it says,
they put on *Christ*.¹

3. On account of this, Scripture says: *And the two were naked, both Adam and his wife, and they were not ashamed*.²

Where sin has not yet been committed, shame has no place, because it is a child of sin. Where nature is as clean as when it was first born, and naked of every imported fault and the garment of the old man,³ no embarrassment enters. The first-formed, when they came into being, were naked of every blemish,⁴ spot,⁵ and wound.⁶ And on account of this, they were not ashamed. They did not yet know the purpose of shame.

4. If you want to hear how God the Word cannot be put to shame, then listen to him calling himself the judge of injustice,⁷ who condemns the unjust, worldly advent of sin.⁸ He does not fear God, for he is God.⁹ He gives no heed to man, in as much as he is no respecter of persons¹⁰ and judges rightly. On account of this, the Sadducees in the Counsel said:¹¹ "*Teacher, we know that you judge rightly and do not accept appearances*."¹² *Speak*¹³ about the tax." Therefore when God was naked, he was not ashamed. But when he became incarnate, he was no longer naked, and he did feel shame. Yet he disdained and bore the cross of shame for us.¹⁴ Because of this, when he was slapped,¹⁵ whipped,¹⁶ and spat¹⁷ upon by the Jews, he said: *I have given my back to lashes, my cheeks to slaps, and I did not turn my face away from the shame of their spitting*.¹⁸ And again Jesus himself, through the prophet, said to his Father: *You know my reproach, my shame, and my embarrassment*.¹⁹ And: *The shame of my face covered me*.²⁰

5. If you are a person of the flesh and think that the things concerning Adam and Eve's nakedness are about physical shame, then tell me this: Since no other person was present with them, in front of whom did they feel shame? Before the transgression, they did not understand the mystery of those organs for begetting children. They did not understand the difference between their shapes: that they were made male and female by God²¹ and that these things happened for their copulation and marriage. Not yet knowing these things, what was the shame that they were about to be ashamed of?

Unequivocally, one must refer this nakedness to Christ and the Church.²² For the two were naked in the beginning.²³ God the Word was naked of humanity. And the Church, before she put on Christ,²⁴ was naked of divinity. She was not, however, ashamed before her sin. On the one hand, she was clean and prepared for incorruptibility. Shame arose for the physical and corruptible shapes and bodies standing on all sides.

229 κατεσκεύασε M 232 ὃ τε | ὃ, τε N 233 αὐτοῦ M 235 γέννηται N^{a.corr.} P ἐπείσάκτου P
240 βούλη P 246/7 ἡνίκα δὲ - ἤσχύνετο] om. P 248/9 καὶ φραγγελούμενος καὶ
ἐμπυτόμενος] om. P 250 σιαγόνας N^{a.corr.} ράπισματα M 253 αἰσχύνην μου καὶ τὴν
om. P 253 αἰσχύνῃς αἰσχύνῃ P 259 αὐτοῖς | αὐτῆς M 262 ἀναμφιβόλως N

¹ Gal 3:27. ² Gen 2:25. ³ Cf Col 3:9. ⁴ Cf Eph 5:27. ⁵ Cf 2 Cor 7:1. ⁶ Cf Lk 10:34.

⁷ Cf Lk 18:6. ⁸ Cf Jn 16:8-11. ⁹ Cf Lk 18:2. ¹⁰ Cf Lk 20:21. ¹¹ Cf Mt 23:2.

¹² Lk 20:21. ¹³ Mt 22:17. ¹⁴ Cf Heb 12:2. ¹⁵ Cf Mt 26:67. ¹⁶ Cf Mt 27:26; Mk 15:15.

¹⁷ Cf Mt 26:67; 27:30; Mk 14:65; 15:19. ¹⁸ Is 50:6. ¹⁹ Ps 68(69):20. ²⁰ Ps 43(44):16.

²¹ Cf Gen 1:27. ²² Cf Eph 5:32. ²³ Cf Gen 2:25. ²⁴ Cf Gal 3:27.

φθαρτῶν καὶ ὑλικῶν σχημάτων καὶ σωμάτων συνίστασθαι πεφύκασιν, τοῦτο δὲ ὡς γυμνῶ καὶ ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου κατοπτριζομένη, περὶ ἧς ἀξιεπαίνου γυμνότητός φησιν ὁ θεῖος Παῦλος·

270 *Στενάζομεν τὸ οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπενδύσασθαι ἐπιποθοῦντες, τουτέστι τὴν μέλλουσαν τῶν σωμάτων ἀφθαρσίαν, εἴ γε καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι οὐ γυμνοὶ εὐρεθισόμεθα, οὐ γυμνοὶ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος χάριτος, ἣν πέφυκε ποιεῖν ὁ τῶν πονηρῶν πράξεων χιτῶν, ὃν περιέκειτο ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐκβληθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ γάμου, ὃν οὐκ ἐφόρουσαν τὸ πρὶν οἱ*

275 *γυμνοὶ πρωτόπλαστοι οὔτε πάλιν ἐκεῖνος ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ἄμemptος καὶ θεοσεβὴς Ἰώβ, διὸ ἔλεγε· Γυμνὸς πάσης ἀμαρτίας ἐξῆλθον ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς μου, γυμνὸς ταύτης καὶ ἀπελεύσομαι. Μήπως δὲ καὶ ὁ Κύριος καὶ ἡμεῖς μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ σώματος γυμνότητι ἀνεπαίσχυντοι ἐσόμεθα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιστήσεις.*

280 *V 1. Ὁ δὲ ὄφις ἦν φρονιμώτερος πάντων τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.*

“Ὅτι μὲν ὅσον κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ ἀλόγῳ φωνῇ καὶ φύσει φρόνησιν πολλὰ τῶν ζώων φρονιμωτέρᾳ εἰσι τοῦ ὄφεως, οὐδεὶς τῶν εὐ φρονούντων ἀντιφῆσει. Οὔτε γὰρ οἰκοφυλακεῖ οὔτε μὴν ποιμοφυλακεῖ ὁ ὄφις καὶ

285 *διασφίζει τὸν οἰκεῖον ποιμένα καὶ τὸν οἶκον καὶ τὴν ποιμνὴν, ὡς ὁ κύων ποτέ. Οὐ τοὺς κλέπτας ἀπελαύνει· οὐ τοὺς θήρας ἐκφοβεῖ· οὐ τὰ ἔλκη τοῦ σώματος ὥσπερ τινὶ ἰατρικῇ ἐπιστήμῃ θεραπεύει. Οὔτε μὴν τοῦ οἰκείου δεσπότητος στερηθεὶς ὀλολύζει καὶ ἀποδύρεται τοῦτον ἐπιζητῶν. Ἄλλ’ οὐδὲ πάλιν ὡς οἱ σπίγγοι καὶ πίθηκοι δύναται ποτε ὁ ὄφις μιμεῖσθαι καὶ*

290 *ποιεῖν τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σχήματά τε καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα. Οὐδὲν γὰρ σχεδὸν λείπει τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ζώοις, εἰ μὴ μόνον ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως. Φυσικῇ γὰρ τινὶ ἔξει κέκτῃται τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ σχημάτων, ὧν καθορῶσι, μίμησιν τε καὶ ἐπιτήδευσιν. Διὸ καὶ πίθηκοι λέγονται, ὅτι τὸ πᾶν ἠθικεύονται. Καὶ μὴ βδελύξη ὁ ἀκροατὴς τὴν τοῦ τοιοῦτου*

295 *ζώου προσηγορίαν ὡς ἀναξίαν ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀκροάσεως. Τὰ γὰρ ἐλάττωνα τούτων ἀκούομεν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀχράντου στόματος τοῦ Θεοῦ μνημονευόμενα. Καὶ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ τῶν βασιλειῶν εὐρίσκομεν τὴν ναῦν | Σολομῶντος καθ’ ἕκαστον ἔτος ἐκ Θαρσεὶς ἐρχομένην, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ Ἑσπέριος τῆς Δυτικῆς, καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτῷ*

300 *χρυσίον καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ζῶα.*

2. Οὐ τοίνυν, ὡς ἀποδεδείκται, φρονιμωτέρός ἐστιν ὁ ὄφις πάντων τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς, ὥστε ἡ τὸν διάβολον λέγει εἰσελθόντα ἢ αὐτὸν γυμνὸν προσαγορεύει ὄφιν ἢ γραφῇ. Καὶ μοι δοκεῖ μᾶλλον κρεῖττον τοῦ δευτέρου τὸ πρότερον, καὶ γὰρ ὁ Σύμμαχος καὶ ὁ Ἀκύλας ἀντὶ τοῦ

270 στενάζομεν τὸ] στενάζομε τὰ M ἐπενδύσασθαι P^{corr} 272 οὐ] οἱ MP 274 ἐκβληθῆς MP 276 θεοσεβῆς M^{corr} 278 τῇ] om. MP 284 μὴν] μὲν M 289 δύναται P 295 ἀναξίαν ἐκκλησιαστικῆς] ἀν ἐκκλησιαστικῆς M 297 στόστόματος M^{corr} 298 ναῦν] ναῦσαν P 298 Θαρσεὶς] scripsi καθαρῇ M θαρσεὶς N θαρρεὶς P 299 ἡ] om. 301 ὡς] om. N ἀποδεδείκται P 302 τῶν] add. τῶν N per dittographiam 303 ὄφιν] om. P

And on the other hand, she beheld with a naked unveiled face the glory of the Lord, as in a mirror.¹ About her nakedness, worthy of praise, the divine Paul said: *We groan, desiring to put on our dwelling place from heaven.* That is: the future incorruptibility of bodies. *If dressed so, we will not be found naked:*² we will not be naked of the grace of the Holy Spirit. The coat of evil actions creates shame. The one who was thrown out of the wedding feast was wearing such a coat.³ The naked first-formed were not wearing a coat of sin, at first. Nor was Job, who was just, blameless, and pious.⁴ Therefore he said: *Naked of every sin I left my mother's womb, and naked of this I will depart.*⁵ Whether, after the resurrection, both the Lord and we will not in any way be ashamed of such nakedness of body, you yourself will know.

V 1. *The serpent was cleverer than all the beasts upon the earth.*⁶

Many animals are cleverer than the serpent, with respect to cleverness in an irrational nature and voice. No one, who thinks clearly, will contradict this fact. The serpent does not guard the home or sheep; and it will not rescue, as does the dog, its own shepherd, home, or flock. It does not chase away thieves. It does not frighten away beasts. It does not tend to the wounds of the body, as with some medical skill. Bereaved of its own master, it does not mourn; and seeking him, it does not wail.

Unlike monkeys and apes, the snake is unable to make the movements of men and mimic their daily habits. For such animals, almost nothing is lacking, except the reasoning of human nature. By some physical condition, they have come to possess the habit of mimicking the actions and movements that they see. And on account of this, they are called apes (πίθηκοι), because they ape all our behaviors (τὸ πᾶν ἠθικεύονται). And let the reader refrain from disdain that we mention such an animal here, as if it were unworthy of the Church's hearing. We hear references in the Law, from the pure mouth of God himself, to animals inferior to these. Indeed, in the third book of Kings, we find the ship of Solomon coming each year from Tarshish, which is Hesperia in the West, and bringing him gold and such animals.⁷

2. The serpent is not, therefore, cleverer than all the beasts of the earth⁸—as we now have demonstrated. So, Scripture means either that the devil entered [the snake], or it is calling the naked devil a snake. To me, the former seems more plausible than the latter. Indeed Symmachus and Aquila said *craftier* in place of *cleverer*,⁹ which is thought

¹ Cf 2 Cor 3:18. ² 2 Cor 5:2-3. ³ Cf Mt 22:11-13. ⁴ Cf Job 1:1. ⁵ Job 1:21. ⁶ Gen 3:1. ⁷ Cf 1 Kg 10:22. ⁸ Cf Gen 3:1. ⁹ Gen 3:1.

305 φρονιμώτερος, πανουργότερος εἰρήκασιν, ὅπερ κυρίως ἐπὶ τοῦ δολίου καὶ
ἀντιδίκου ἡμῶν νοεῖται καὶ λέγεται. Εἰ δὲ ζητεῖς τί δήποτε μὴ γυμνῶς
ταῦτα ὁ Θεὸς τότε ἐλάλησεν, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ διαβόλου ὄφιν ὠνόμασε, μάνθανε
σαφῶς ὅτι πονηρῶ καὶ φιληδόλῳ ἔθναι διαλεγόμενος οὐκ ἡβουλήθη γνω-
310 ρίσαι τῷ Ἰσραὴλ οὔτε τὰ περὶ ἀγγέλων οὔτε μὴν τὰ περὶ τοῦ Σατανᾶ
τοῦ ἀπατήσαντος τὴν Εὐάν, ἵνα μὴ ὡς ἰσχυροτέρῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ λατρεύ-
σωσι τούτῳ καὶ προσκυνήσωσιν, ὡς δυνηθέντος ἀπὸ Θεοῦ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν
ἐπισπάσασθαι τοὺς πρωτοπλάστους τῇ φρονήσει.

3. Σὺ δέ, ὅταν ἀκούσης ὅτι Ὁ ὄφιν ἦν φρονιμώτερος πάντων τῶν
θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, γινώθι ὅτι ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπίνην φρόνησιν
315 ἰσχυροτέρα καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὑπῆρχεν ἡ πανουργία τοῦ διαβόλου. Διὸ καὶ
ἔλεγε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος· Γίνεσθε φρόνιμοι ὡς ὁ ὄφιν. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ δυσειδεῖ
ἔθνη ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρας ἐκείνης τῆς Σιναιτίδος ἐνομοθέτει ὁ Θεὸς διὰ Μωσέως,
ἡνίκα ταῦτα ἔγραφε, τούτου χάριν ἐκδειματῶσαι βουλόμενος τὸν ἀπειθῆ
Ἰσραὴλ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ νομοθεσίαν αὐτοῖς διαγράφεται καὶ τὴν
320 παράβασιν, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτίμια, καὶ τὰς ἀποφάσεις, καὶ τὰς ἀσυγχωρήτους
ἐξορίας, καὶ τὰς φρικτάς ἐκείνας πρὸς τὸν ὄφιν κατάρας, καὶ τὰς λύπας
καὶ τοὺς στεναγμούς τῆς γυναικός, καὶ τοὺς ἰδρῶτας, καὶ τὴν κατάραν
τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας, καὶ τοὺς τριβόλους αὐτῆς, καὶ τὴν τοῦ
θανάτου ἀπόφασιν, καὶ τὴν εἰς γῆν, ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθη, ἀποστροφήν, καὶ τὴν
325 φθορὰν καὶ διάλυσιν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἅπερ δὴ πάντα οἱ πρωτόπλαστοι
πεπόνυθασιν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ δεινῷ ὄφει ὑπακούσαντες θεοποιῆσαι ἑαυτοὺς
ἐσπούδασαν πρὸς ἀθέτησιν καὶ ἀποστασίαν ἐκ τοῦ ἐνός καὶ μόνου ἀλη-
θινοῦ Θεοῦ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγησάμενοι τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ, τουτέστιν ἀνάβασιν
καὶ ἀνύψωσιν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἀνάτασιν τὸ εἰ γένωνται θεοί.
330 Τοῦτο γὰρ ἠνίττετο ἡ συμβουλὴ λέγουσα ὅτι Ἔσεσθε ὡς θεοὶ γινώσκον-
τες καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν καὶ ἐπέκεινα δηλαδὴ τοῦ τῶν ἀγγέλων νοός.

4. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐξετίθετο ὁ Θεὸς τῷ λαῷ ἀποκρούων αὐτοὺς καὶ
οἰονεῖ προαναστέλλων τῆς ἀποστασίας, ἣν ἐνόσησαν εὐθέως ἐν Χωρὴβ
ἔτι τούτων λαλουμένων πρὸς Μωσέα τῶν λόγων ἄνω ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους, οὐ
335 μὴν τε ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα εἰδωλολατριῶν ἐκείθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς
παραβάσεως λαβουσῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀρχεκάκου ὄφεως καὶ τοῦ
προσαγορευομένου παρακοῆς ξύλου. Καὶ ἴσως τούτου χάριν ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς
νουθεσίαν καὶ ἀνάμνησιν τῶν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ διαφόρων αὐτοῖς
ἐτεράτευσεν ὁμοθυμαδὸν διὰ ὄφεως καὶ ξύλου, νῦν μὲν τὴν ῥάβδον
340 Μωυσέως μεταποιῶν εἰς ὄφιν, εἴτα τὸν ὄφιν νεκροποιῶν εἰς ξύλον,
προδιαγράφων ὡς οὐδεὶς τῷ ὄφει πεισθῆναι καὶ προσκυνῆσαι ξύλῳ, ἢ ὅτι
διὰ ξύλου | σταυροῦ ἀποξυλώσει καὶ νεκρώσει τὸν παραδεισιαῖον
ξύλοσύμβουλον ὄφιν, δι' ὃν πάλιν καὶ ἡ Ἀαρωνίτης ῥάβδος ἡ ξυλάψυχος

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and said especially about our treacherous enemy. And if you are wondering why God did not say these things plainly, but in place of "devil" said "serpent", then understand this clearly: he was talking to an evil and deceitful people. He did not want to reveal to Israel the things about the angels or the things about Satan, who had deceived Eve.¹ This was so they might not serve and worship the devil as stronger than God, because the devil was able to draw the first-formed away from God and to himself through cleverness.

3. So, when you hear that *the serpent was cleverer than all the beasts upon the earth*,² know this: the craftiness of the devil was stronger by far than all human cleverness. On account of this, the Lord said to us: "*Be clever as the serpent*."³

God, through Moses, made laws upon that peak of Sinai for an unruly people.⁴ And when he was writing these laws, he wanted to frighten disobedient Israel. So he described to them the giving of the law to Adam⁵ and his transgression,⁶ the penalties and the sentences,⁷ the inexorable exiles,⁸ those awful curses upon the snake,⁹ the pains and the groaning of the woman,¹⁰ the sweat,¹¹ the curse upon the earth, its thorns and prickly plants,¹² the sentence of death, the return to earth from which he had been taken, and the decay and dissolution of the human being.¹³ The first-formed suffered all of these because they had obeyed the crafty serpent and were eager to make themselves into gods,¹⁴ in lawlessness and rebellion against the one and only true God.¹⁵ They considered it a prize to be equal to God.¹⁶ That is, they considered this "if they become gods" as a step upward, an elevation, and a promotion beyond the angels. The devil's plot hinted at this, when he said: "*You will be like gods, knowing good and evil*"¹⁷—obviously beyond the mind of the angels.

4. God revealed all these things to his people, as if to block their rebellion beforehand and drive them away from it. But while these words were still being spoken to Moses on top of the mountain, they at Sinai were infected with rebellion.¹⁸ And all their idolatries after this had as their sinful beginning that serpent, the author of evil, and that so-called tree of disobedience.

Perhaps because of this, as a reminder of the things in Paradise and for a warning, on various occasions God showed them, so that they were all of one mind, miracles involving a serpent and wood. First he changed the staff of Moses into a serpent; then he turned the serpent into dead wood.¹⁹ This was a prophetic demonstration that it was not necessary to obey the serpent or to worship wood. Or it showed that through the wood of the cross, he would kill and harden Paradise's snake, the counselor beside the wood.²⁰ And on account of this, Aaron's staff, having been

¹ Cf Gen 3:2-6; 1 Tim 2:14. ² Gen 3:1. ³ Mt 10:16. ⁴ Cf Ex 24:15-18; 31:18-32:16.

⁵ Cf Gen 2:16-17. ⁶ Cf Gen 3:6. ⁷ Cf Gen 3:14-19. ⁸ Cf Gen 3:23-24. ⁹ Cf Gen 14-15.

¹⁰ Cf Gen 3:16. ¹¹ Cf Gen 3:19; Lk 22:44. ¹² Cf Gen 3:17-18. ¹³ Cf Gen 3:19.

¹⁴ Cf Gen 3:4-6. ¹⁵ Cf Jn 17:3. ¹⁶ Cf Phil 2:6. ¹⁷ Gen 3:5. ¹⁸ Cf Ex 32:1-8.

¹⁹ Cf Ex 4:2-4. ²⁰ Cf Gen 3:4-5.

306 γυμνῶς] *scripsi* γυμνός MNP 308 φιληδόλῳ P 311 προσκυνήσουσιν P 314 πᾶσαν P^{ms} 316 ἐπειδὴ P 316/7 δυσειδεῖ ἔθνη] *scripsi* δυσειδῇ ἔθνη MNP 317 σιναιτίδος] MP συναίτιδος N 327 καὶ] *om.* M 331 ἀγγέλωνός M 333 ἐνόησαν P 334 Μωσεία] μηνσία M 335 τῶν] *om.* M 339 διὰ ὄφεως N^{p corr.} 340 μωυσείος M 343 ἀρωνίτης M

ψυχωθεῖσα ὄφιν εἶπε καὶ μαγικὰς ξυλερψίας ψευδεῖς ὄφεων ἀνήλωσεν
 345 ἄφνω, καὶ ξύλῳ πάλιν ὄφιν χάλκινος ἄπνους ἤρτητο ἐρήμου μέσος
 λαλῶν ἀλάλως ὥς Ἔσται ποτὲ καιρὸς καὶ ὑποκειμένον Χριστοῦ τοῦ
 ἀηττήτου ἄκμονος τυφθεὶς ὁ πονηρὸς ἀρχισύμβουλος ὄφιν Πιλάτου ὡς
 σφυροκόπου σφυροκοποῦντος καὶ πυρωθεὶς καὶ λυθεὶς καὶ νεκρωθεὶς ἐν
 350 ξύλῳ νεκρὸς στηλιτευθήσεται κόσμῳ τῷ μέχρι τότε ἐν ἐρημίᾳ ὄντι παν-
 τὸς ἀγαθοῦ, καὶ δῆγματα ὀφιοδηκτοῦ λαοῦ καταπαυθήσεται.

VI 1. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ὄφιν τῇ γυναικί· Τί ὅτι εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Οὐ μὴ φάγητε
 ἀπὸ παντός ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ· Καὶ εἶπεν ἡ γυνὴ τῷ ὄφει· Ἀπὸ
 παντός ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ φαγώμεθα, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ
 ξύλου, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου, εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Οὐ φάγεσθε ἀπ'
 355 αὐτοῦ οὐδ' οὐ μὴ ἄψησθε, ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνητε. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ὄφιν τῇ γυναικί·
 Οὐ θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε· ἦδει γὰρ ὁ Θεός ὅτι ἡ δ' ἂν ἡμέρᾳ φάγητε ἀπ'
 αὐτοῦ, διανοιχθήσονται ὕμῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί, καὶ ἔσεσθε ὡς θεοὶ
 γινώσκοντες καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν.

Ὅτι μὲν πέλαγος ἡμῖν ἐνταῦθα καὶ βυθὸς ἀφανὴς ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἡδη
 360 διαπεραιωθέντας πρόκειται νοημάτων οὐχ ἡμῶν τὸ λέγειν. Αὐτόθεν γὰρ
 ἡ λέξις ἡ προκειμένη τοῦτο βοᾷ, ἣν οἱ ἱστορικῶς καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον
 πνευματικῶς ἐκλαμβάνοντες, ἀλλὰ λεξιθηροῦντες, οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως τὰς
 ὑπὸ Εἰρηναίου πρὸς αὐτοὺς προτάσεις ἐπιλύσονται. Φάσκει γὰρ κατὰ
 τῆς τῶν μισαρῶν Ὀφιδῶν αἰρεσιάρχιας ὀπλιζόμενος· Πῶς δυνατόν τὸν
 365 φύσει ἄλογον καὶ ἄνουν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γενόμενον ὄφιν λογικὸν καὶ λαλητὸν
 εἶπειν; Εἰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτουργικῶς ἑαυτῷ τὸν λόγον καὶ τὴν διάκρισιν καὶ
 τὴν σύνεσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς λεγομένων ἐχρήσατο,
 ἄρα οὖν καὶ πᾶς ὄφιν τοῦτο ποιεῖν οὐκ ἐκέκώλυτο. Εἰ δὲ πάλιν φήσουσι
 κατὰ θείαν βουλὴν καὶ οἰκονομίαν ἀνθρωπίνῃ φωνῇ τῇ Εὐα τοῦτον
 370 προσφθέγγεσθαι, τὸν Θεὸν ἰστώσι τῆς ἀμαρτίας αἴτιον. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τῷ
 πονηρῷ δαίμονι ἐξὸν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἀλόγῳ φύσει λόγον
 χαρίσασθαι, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσατό ποτε πρὸς ἀπάτην δι' ὄφεων καὶ
 θηρίων καὶ πετεινῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διαλεγόμενος καὶ πλανῶν. Πόθεν δὲ
 καὶ θηρίον ὃν ἤκουσε τῆς ἐντολῆς τῆς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ μόνῳ
 375 μυστικῶς δοθείσης μηδ' αὐτῇ τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦτο μαθούσης;

2. Διὰ τί δὲ μὴ μᾶλλον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ οὐ τῇ γυναικί προσέβαλλε;
 Κἂν μοι εἴπῃς ὡς ἀσθενεστέρας ταύτης κατέδραμε, τούναντίον ἀνδρει-
 οτέρα ὡς βοηθὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐφάνη ἐν τῇ παραβάσει τῆς ἐντολῆς.
 Αὕτη γὰρ καὶ ἀνταίρει μόνῃ τῷ ὄφει, καὶ μετὰ τινος ἐνστάσεως καὶ
 380 φιλονικίας καταπανουργηθεῖσα τοῦ ξύλου ἔφαγεν. Ὁ δὲ Ἀδάμ οὐδὲν

344 ἦρπε P 348 σφυροκόπου M^{scop} πυρωθεὶς N 350 δῶγματα M ὀφιοδηκτοῦ M
 355 ἀποθάνητε MNP ἀποθάνητε Gen 33 358 γινώσκειν N^{scop} 359 ἀφανὸς N
 ὑπὲρ] add. τοῦ M 362 λεξιθηροῦντες] scripsi λεξιθηροῦντες MNP 364 αἰρεσιαρχίας N
 367 χρήσατο M 368 ἐκέκώλυτο] scripsi ἐκώλυτο MNP 371 ἐξὸν] N^{scop} ἐξὸν M^{p.scop}
 N^{a.scop} P ἐξὼν M^{a.scop} φυλεῖ M 376 μὴ] om. M 379 καὶ] om. P ἀντέρει P^{a.scop}
 380 φιλονικίας] scripsi φιλονεικίας M φιλονικίας N φιλονεικίας P

animated from wood into a living serpent, crawled, surprised, and
 consumed the fake snakes of the magicians, which were only creeping
 wood.¹ Moreover, a bronze snake hung breathless on a tree in the middle
 of the desert,² and said speechlessly:

"At some time, the season will come³ when Christ the invincible anvil
 will lie down and Pilate that blacksmith will hammer.⁴ And the evil
 snake, the arch-counselor, will be beaten, heated, melted and killed.
 Dead on the wood, he will be held up to the scorn of the world, which
 until then will be destitute of all good. And the attacks upon the people,
 bitten by the snake, will cease."⁵

VI 1. And the serpent said to the woman: "Why is it that God said: 'Do
 not eat from any tree in the garden'?" And the woman said to the serpent:
 "We may eat from every tree in the garden. But from the fruit of the tree
 that is in the middle of the garden, God said: 'Do not eat from this, and
 do not touch it, lest you die.'" And the serpent said to the woman: "You
 will not die in death. For God knows that on whichever day you eat from
 it, your eyes will be opened and you will be as gods, knowing good and
 evil."⁶

We do not need to say that here before us lie a sea and an obscure
 depth greater than what has already been crossed. The passage itself
 shouts this out. And they who read it historically rather than spiritual-
 ly—they who are hunters of words—I do not know how they will solve
 the problems presented to us by Irenaeus. For he, arming himself
 against the heresy of the abominable Ophites, said the following.

How was it possible that a snake, which was created irrational by
 God and was speechless by nature, communicated verbally and
 eloquently? Did he through his own industry acquire reasoning, dis-
 cretion, and the ability to understand and answer the woman's
 statements? Then every snake can do the same. And if, on the one hand,
 they insist that this was said in a human voice to Eve according to
 divine will and dispensation, then they make God responsible for the
 sin. Yet on the other hand, it was never permitted to an evil demon to
 create—from non-existence to existence—and grant reasoning to an
 irrational nature. Otherwise, Satan would never cease from speaking
 deceitfully to humans through serpents, beasts, and birds, and so
 beguile them. And how is it that, although he was a beast, he heard the
 command given mystically by God to the man alone,⁷ but the woman
 herself had not perceived it?

2. And why did he not rather attack the man and not the woman? If
 you say to me that he assaulted her because she was weaker, I would
 argue that she appears the more manly one, as helping man in the
 transgression against the command.⁸ For it is she alone who argues
 against the serpent. And when she had been villainously attacked,⁹ it
 was only after some opposition and contention, that she ate of the tree.¹⁰

¹ Cf Ex 7:8-12. ² Cf Num 21:8-9. ³ Cf Jn 12:31-33. ⁴ Cf Mt 27:26; Mk 15:15;
 Lk 23:23-25; Jn 19:16. ⁵ Cf Num 21:6, 9. ⁶ Gen 3:1-5. ⁷ Cf Gen 2:16-17.
⁸ Cf Gen 2:18, 20; 3:6. ⁹ Cf 2 Cor 11:3. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 3:2-3.

ὅλως μαχεσάμενος ἢ ἀντιλέξας τοῦ καρ|ποῦ μετελήφει δοθέντος παρὰ 1014A
 τῆς γυναικός, ὅπερ ἀσθενείας παντελοῦς καὶ νοὸς ἀνάνδρου ἐστὶν
 ἀπόδειξις. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ γυνὴ ὑπὸ δαίμονος καταπαλαισθεῖσα συγγνωστὴ
 385 ὑπάρχει, ὁ δὲ Ἀδὰμ ὡς ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἡττηθεὶς ἀσυγγνωστος ἔσται ὡς
 αὐτοπροσώπως τὴν ἐντολὴν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ κομισάμενος. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ
 γυνὴ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ τῆς ἐντολῆς ἀκούσασα εὐκαταφρονήτως
 διέκειτο ἢ ὡς μὴ ἀξιωθεῖσα τὸν Θεὸν καὶ ταύτη λαλῆσαι ἢ καὶ ὡς διστά-
 ζουσα, ἴσως καὶ νομίζουσα οἰκοθεν τοῦ Ἀδὰμ τὴν ἐντολὴν αὐτῇ δοθῆναι.
 3. Ποῦ δὲ αὐτὴν ἰδίαζουσιν εὔρεν ὁ ὄφις, ἵνα δυνηθῇ κατ' ἰδίαν αὐτῇ
 390 προσομιλῆσαι; Ἐσθίουσαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν ξύλων ἰδὼν προσέβαλλε τὴν
 βρῶσιν τοῦ ξύλου, ἢ μὴ ἐσθίουσαν; Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐσθίουσαν, πρόδηλον ὅτι
 καὶ ἐν φθαρτῷ σώματι οὔσαν. Πᾶν γὰρ τὸ εἰς τὸ στόμα εἰσερχόμενον εἰς
 ἀφεδρῶνα χωρεῖ. Εἰ οὖν φθαρτὴ, εὐδηλον ὅτι καὶ θνητὴ. Εἰ δὲ θνητὴ,
 οὐκέτι κατάρρα οὐδὲ ἀπόφασις ἦν ἐκείνη ἢ φάσκουσα πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον
 395 φωνῇ Θεοῦ ὅτι *Γῆ εἶ, καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ*, καθὰ καὶ ἔχει ἡ τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων ἀλήθεια. Εἰ δὲ πάλιν οὐκ ἐσθίουσαν ὁ ὄφις τὴν γυναῖκα ἐθεάσατο,
 πῶς εἰς βρῶσιν μετήγαγε τὴν οὐδέποτε φαγοῦσαν; Τίς δὲ ὁ μνηύσας καὶ
 τούτῳ τῷ φονευτῇ παλαμναίῳ ὄφει ὡς οὐκ εἰς πέρας ἔλθῃ ἢ πρὸς
 αὐτοὺς ἐκ Θεοῦ περὶ θανάτου ἀπόφασις εἰπόντος· *Ἦι δ' ἂν ἡμέρᾳ*
 400 *φάγητε, θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε*, καὶ οὐ μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅτι σὺν τῇ ἀθνησίᾳ καὶ
 τούτων διανοιχθήσονται οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ οἱ τὸ πρὶν καλῶς ἀβλεποῦντες, τῇ
 δὲ λεγομένη διανοίξει τὴν εἴσοδον τῷ θανάτῳ ποιήσαντες;
 4. Συνάψω δὲ ταῖς προκειμέναις ἀπορίαις καὶ ταῦτα. Πῶς ὁ ἄλογος
 καὶ κτηνώδης θῆρ φωνῆς Θεοῦ ἀκήκοεν, ἡνίκα τὴν φρικωδεστάτην αὐτῷ
 405 κατάραν ἐφθέγγετο, ἢν δεχόμενος προσωπικῶς φαίνεται τῷ Θεῷ
 παριστάμενος, εἰ γε καλῶς φησιν ἡ θεολόγος φωνή· *Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακε*
πώποτε, οὔτε φωνὴν Θεοῦ σωματικὸν οὐς ὑπέδεξατο ἢ ἀκήκοε πώποτε.
 Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκ δεσποτικῆς φωνῆς ἐν εὐαγγελίοις ἅπαντες παρελήφμεν.
 5. Οὐκοῦν ἤκέ μοι πάλιν χαίρων, ὦ παῖ καλέ, χαίρειν φράσας τῷ
 410 γράμματι ὥσπερ κτένοντι. Καὶ τὴν μὲν πραγματικὴν θεουργίαν τὴν περὶ
 τοῦ λεγομένου ὄφεως καὶ ξύλου καὶ γυναικός, ὅπως τε φύσεως ἔχει καὶ
 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἰς ὑπαρξίν πέπρακται, καταλείπτειν τῷ μόνῳ καὶ πράξαντι
 καὶ λαλήσαντι καὶ γινώσκοντι ταῦτα Θεῷ, ἃ δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς ὑποφήταις καὶ
 περὶ τούτων πεφιλοσόφηται, καὶ ὅπως αὐτὰ εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν
 415 ἐκκλησίαν ὑπερφυῶς προτυπωθέντα φάσκουσι, θαρρήσας ἐρῶ, καὶ ὁ
 δυνάμενος χωρεῖν, χωρεῖτω, καὶ ὁ ἔχων τοῦ ἀγίου Πνεύματος ὦτα
 ἀκούειν, ἀκουέτω.

Adam, on the other hand, did not argue or resist at all. When his wife offered the fruit, he ate.¹ This indicates complete weakness and a mind devoid of force. The woman, having been wrestled down by the demon, is pardonable. But Adam, having been subdued by the woman, will not be pardoned, since he himself had personally received the command from God.² The woman, having heard the command from Adam, was inclined to ignore it. Either because she had not been deemed worthy enough for God to speak also to her; or because she doubted it, perhaps thinking that the command had been given to her by Adam alone.

3. And where did the serpent find her alone, so that he might possibly converse with her in private? Did he, seeing her eating from the trees, offer the food of that tree, or was she not eating? If, on the one hand, she was eating, it is obvious that she was in a corruptible body. For everything that enters the mouth exits into the toilet.³ If therefore she was corruptible, it is clear that she was also mortal. And if mortal, that statement by God was not a curse nor a judgment, the one that said to the man: "*You are earth, and to earth you will return.*"⁴ It was the true situation of things.

If on the other hand the woman was not eating as the serpent watched her, how did he bring her, who had never eaten, to a meal? And who was the one that had disclosed to this violent and deadly serpent⁵ that the death proclaimed by God to them would not come about? For he had said: "*On whichever day you eat, you will surely die.*"⁶ And not only this, but who had disclosed that along with their deathlessness, their eyes would be opened—eyes which had been beautifully blind before,⁷ but with their so-called opening, would provide an entrance to death.

4. To the problems that already lie before us, I will add the following. How did this irrational and beastlike animal hear the voice of God when he uttered that most horrible curse against it?⁸ And receiving it, the snake seems to be situated face-to-face next to God. Yet the theologian's voice says clearly: "*No one has ever seen God,*⁹ and no physical ear has ever received or heard the voice of God."¹⁰ From the voice of the Lord in the Evangelists we all have received this.

5. So come to me and rejoice, O beautiful child. Say "farewell" to the letter, in so far as it kills.¹¹ The divine work that was done concerning this so-called serpent and tree and woman—how it relates to nature and how in the beginning it was really done: this must be left to God. He alone did these things, and spoke and knows about them. But how they have been interpreted by divinely-inspired commentators and their circles; and how they as early types in a supernatural way speak of Christ and the Church,¹² I will be bold enough to explain. And he who is able to advance, let him go forward.¹³ And he who has ears to hear the Holy Spirit, let him hear.¹⁴

381 δοθέν P 383 συγγνωσθῇ P 387 ταύτην M 388 καὶ| τὰς M νομίζουσα] F νομίζουσιν] MNP τοῦ] *correxil* W. Harvey, ed., *Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis Libros quinque adversus Haereses* ... (Cambridge, 1857), fragmentum XIV τὸν MNP 389 εὔρον N 390/1 τὴν βρῶσιν| τῇ βρῶσει N 392 οὔσαν| ἦσαν N στόμα| σῶμα P 394 ἦν| εἰ M^a *corr.* 407 σωματικὸν οὐς] σωματικούς M 410 ὥσπερ κτένοντι] *om.* P^a *corr.* 411 λεγομένου] λόγου P 413 ταῦτα] μόνω P 414 καὶ|] *om.* M 415 προτυποθέντα M 416 χωρεῖτω N

¹ Cf Gen 3:6.

² Cf Gen 2:16-17.

³ Cf Mt 15:17.

⁴ Gen 3:19.

⁵ Cf Jn 8:44.

⁶ Gen 2:17.

⁷ Cf Gen 3:5, 7.

⁸ Cf Gen 3:14-15.

⁹ Jn 1:18.

¹⁰ Jn 5:37.

¹¹ Cf 2 Cor 3:6.

¹² Cf Eph 5:32.

¹³ Cf Mt 19:12.

¹⁴ Cf Mt 11:15; 13:9, 43; Lk 8:8; 14:35.

VII 1. Ἀμήχανόν τι καὶ θεοείκελον μικροῦ καὶ ἀνείδεον καὶ χεῖλεσιν
 ὕλικοις ἀνέκφραστον κάλλος ἢ κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ Θεοῦ γεγεννημένη ψυχὴ
 420 ἡμῶν, ἢ λογικὴ καὶ ἀθάνατος ἐκ τῆς ὑπερουσίου οὐσίας οὐσιοποιηθεῖσα |
 ἐξ ἀνουσιότητος, εἰλήφει πάλιν, ἴν' ἢ ὁμοίωμα καὶ ἰνδαλμα καὶ
 ἀνταύγασμα καὶ ἀποσκίασμα τοῦ ἀνείδεου ιδεάρχου καὶ εἰδοποιοῦ Θεοῦ
 θεοσδότως γεγεννημένη. Ταύτῃ τοιγάρ καὶ εἰκὼν καὶ ὁμοίωσις τοῦ ὑπὲρ
 εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ὄντος πέφηνέ τε καὶ προσηγόρευται, ἦν ὁ λεγόμενος
 425 ὄφις ὡς νοῦς νοερός τὴν νοεράν γυμνὴν ὥσπερ τινὰ βασιλίδαν τότε
 παρθένον ἰδὼν, καθάραν, ἄθικτον, ἀφθορον, νεανίδα, θεόνυμφον, ὡς ἐν
 τινι θαλάμῳ τῷ θεῷ ἔρωτι περιεπομένην τῇ μυστικῇ ἀβλεψίᾳ καὶ τῷ
 παστῷ τῷ ἀμιγάνδρῳ τοῦ παραδείσου θαλαμειομένην, ἐξόριστος ὢν ὁ
 δαίμων καὶ τῶν οὐρανίων ἀψίδων ἐξώβλητος, ὡς εἶδεν οὕτω μορφὴν
 430 καὶ φύσιν ἡμῶν ὑπὸ θείων χειρῶν διαμορφωθείσαν καὶ θεοστόμῳ πνεύ-
 ματι ψυχωθεῖσαν καὶ βασιλίδαν τῆς ὑφ' ἡλίον πάσης κατασταθεῖσαν, οὐκ
 ἐνεγκὼν τὸ τῆς τιμῆς ὕψος ἡμῶν ἐξήλωσεν ὁ μιάρως, ἐβάσκηνε,
 διεπονθήθη, ἐθαμβήθη τό τε κάλλος τὴν τε δόξαν τὴν τε ἐξουσίαν, τὸ
 κράτος, τὴν μορφὴν, τὴν θεοείκελον ὄρασιν, τὴν εὐπρέπειαν, καὶ πάντα
 435 διασκοπήσας καὶ περιδραμὼν ὡς πονηρὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ φθονερός ἴσχυσε τῇ
 πλάνῃ ἀποστῆσαι τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ἰδιαζούσαν καὶ
 κεχωρισμένην τούτου λαβὼν ἠπάτησε κενὰς αὐτῇ καὶ ματαίας ὑποθέμε-
 νος τὰς ἐλπίδας, ὡς ἦδη καὶ ἄλλοτε φθάσας εἶπον. Θεοποιηθῆναι γὰρ τὴν
 γυναῖκα διὰ τῆς βρώσεως ὑπετίθετο, ὡς δῆθεν ὁμοίαν Θεοῦ γενομένην
 440 καὶ οὐκ ἔτι τὸν αὐχένα εἰς Θεοῦ προσκύνησιν κάμπτειν, ἀλλ' ἰσόθεον γί-
 νεσθαι γινώσκουσιν τὰ πάντα τὰ τε πονηρὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ὥσπερ ὁ Θεός.
 Ταύταις δὴ ταῖς κεναῖς ἐλπίσι τὸ φανταστικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς γυναικὸς
 μετεωρίσας ἀπεπλάνησε.

2. Γυναῖκα δὲ νῦν τὴν Εὐάν λέγω, ὄφιν δὲ τὸν λεγόμενον φρονιμώ-
 445 τερον πάντων, ὃν ἐποίησε Κύριος ὁ Θεός τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, οὐ μὴν καὶ
 τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς. Ταῦτά μοι κατὰ τὴν λέξιν νοείσθω τοῦ ἐξωτερικοῦ
 καταπετάσματος καὶ τοῦ σώματος τῆς γραφῆς, ἵνα μὴ δώμεν τοῖς υἱοῖς
 καὶ κυαὶ φιλοσόφοις ἀνθρώποις μὴ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα λέγουσι ταῦτα
 γίνεσθαι. Οἱ δὲ γε Παύλῳ μαθητευθέντες εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
 450 πάντα ἀνάγοντι τὰ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῆς Εὐας
 πνευματικαῖς πνευματικὰ συγκρινέτωσαν, ὁ γὰρ νόμος πνευματικός ἐστίν.
 Δῆλον δὲ λοιπὸν ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ πάντα εἰς Χριστὸν προεγράφη,
 οὐκοῦν καὶ ὁ παράδεισος καὶ τὰ ξύλα καὶ οἱ καρποὶ καὶ ὁ Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ
 γυνὴ καὶ ἡ πρὸς αὐτὴν προσβολὴ καὶ ἡ ἦττα καὶ ὁ ὄφις καὶ ἡ βρώσις
 455 μετὰ τὴν τὸ γράμμα ἱστορίαν εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
 προδιετυπώθησαν καὶ ἐσκιαγραφῆθησαν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ

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VII 1. Our soul, created in the image of God,¹ is rational and deathless. From a substance beyond substance, from insubstantiality, it was made substantial. It is something perplexing and almost Godlike. It received a beauty that is without form and is unable to be described by physical lips, so that our soul, having come into existence through the generosity of God, might be a likeness,² an appearance,³ a brilliant reflection,⁴ a shadow of God,⁵ who is the formless beginning and creator of form.

With this soul, an image and likeness of the being beyond image and likeness appeared and was given a name.⁶ The so-called serpent,⁷ as a rational spirit, also saw her: rational, naked,⁸ like a queen, a virgin, pure, untouched, uncorrupt, young, and engaged to God. As in a bridal suite, she was ensconced in mystical invisibility and the chaste bridal bed of Paradise, and she was treated with divine love. But he, miserable one, had been banished and cast out from the heavenly vaults.⁹ When he saw her figure—which was our nature—shaped in such a way by divine hands,¹⁰ animated by the breath of God's mouth,¹¹ and set up as queen of all beneath the sun,¹² he was not able to endure the height of that honor. The abominable one was astonished and troubled.¹³ He felt envy for the beauty, the glory, the authority, the strength, the figure, the Godlike vision, and the dignity. Slithering around, he examined all of her carefully. Then, both jealous and evil, he succeeded in separating the woman from her man by misguiding her. And having taken her away from him and isolating her, the serpent deceived her by offering empty and inane hopes.¹⁴ But I already spoke of this in another place. He offered to the woman that she would be made divine by a meal. And since she would be similar to God, she would no longer have to bend her neck in worship of God. She would be equal to God, because she would know all things, evil and good, just as God does. With these false hopes, he stirred up¹⁵ and deceived the fantasies of the woman's soul.

2. I am now discussing the woman Eve¹⁶ and the serpent, who was said to be the most clever of all that the Lord God had made on the earth¹⁷—but not of those in heaven. Let these things be considered according to my reading of the text of Scripture,¹⁸ the external veil.¹⁹ We will not give in to the swine and dogs,²⁰ the censorious men that say these things do not happen, according to the letter. When they finally listen to Paul, who compares all things in the Law, and especially the things about Adam and Eve,²¹ to Christ and the Church,²² let them compare spiritual things to spiritual things,²³ for *the Law is spiritual*.²⁴ This is obvious because all things in the Law were written beforehand with reference to Christ. Indeed, the garden, the trees, the fruit, Adam, the woman, the attack against her and her defeat, the serpent, and the meal:²⁵ these things were sketched in Divine Scripture as early types relating, behind the literal narrative, to Christ and the Church. For

423 θεοσασμαδότως M^{scor} καί' ei N^{scor}. 424 ὁμοίωσιν] add. τοῦ ὑπὲρ εἰκόνα N^{scor}.
 425 νοῦς] add. καὶ P 427 τινι] τι M 432 ἐξήλωσεν] MN^{scor} ἐξήλωσεν N^p. P
 433 τό τε] scripsit τότε M τό, τε NP 435 διασκοπήσας P 440 Θεοῦ] Χ(ριστο)ῦ M
 ἀλλά M 455 τὴν] om. M

¹ Cf Gen 1:26, 27; 2:7. ² Cf Gen 1:26, 27. ³ Cf Jer 27(50):39; Wis 17:3. ⁴ Cf Lev 13:38, 39; Sir 43:11. ⁵ Cf Jas 1:17. ⁶ Cf Gen 2:20, 22. ⁷ Cf Gen 3:1. ⁸ Cf Gen 2:25; 3:7.
⁹ Cf Lk 10:18-19. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 2:22. ¹¹ Cf Gen 2:7. ¹² Cf Gen 1:28. ¹³ Cf Acts 4:1-2.
¹⁴ Cf Gen 3:5. ¹⁵ Cf Lk 12:29. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 3:20; 4:1; 2 Cor 11:3; 1 Tim 2:13.
¹⁷ Cf Gen 3:1; Mt 10:16; 2 Cor 11:3. ¹⁸ Cf Heb 9:2-3, 8-9, 11, 23-24; 10:1.
¹⁹ Cf Rom 2:29; 2 Cor 3:6, 7. ²⁰ Cf Mt 7:6. ²¹ Cf 1 Cor 15:45; 1 Tim 2:13.
²² Cf Eph 5:32. ²³ Cf 1 Cor 2:12-13. ²⁴ Rom 7:14. ²⁵ Cf Gen 2:7-3:6.

ποτε ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὥσπερ τις σύζυγος Θεοῦ ἐπιγινώσκουσα καὶ λατρεύουσα τούτῳ καὶ ἀχώριστος τούτου ὡσανεὶ Εὐὰ ἡ λεγομένη γυνὴ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου, ἀδισαίρετως τὸν Θεὸν ἦν ποθοῦνσα.

460 3. Καὶ μαρτυρεῖ Ἀβελ δῶρα τῷ Θεῷ προσάγων, Λάμεχ ὥσπερ καὶ Ἀδὰμ περὶ Χριστοῦ προφητεύων, Σὴθ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ κατ' εἰκόνα ἀνανεώσας, Ἐνῶς, ὃς ἡλπίσεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου, Ἐνώχ, ὃς πρῶτος ὡς εὐάρεστος τὴν ἀνάστασιν προδιέγραψεν, ἀθανάτισθεις καὶ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ μετενεχθεῖς, Μαθουσάλα ὁ τοῦ Ἐνώχ υἱός, Λάμεχ ὁ τούτου ἀπόγονος ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς προεφήτευσεν γεννήσας τὸν Νῶε τὸν Χριστοῦ τύπον καὶ εἰπών· Οὗτος διαναπαύσει ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν θλίψεων ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἧς κατηράσατο Κύριος ὁ Θεός, Νῶε, ὃν καὶ ἄνδρα τέλειον καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι προσεμαρτύρησεν ὁ Θεός, ὃς καὶ ἐδυσώπησεν αὐτὸν μὴ πᾶν γένος συνδιολοθεῦσαι τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, ὡς 470 καὶ ὁ Κύριος πεποίηκεν ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων τὸν Πατέρα ἀπαλλάσσω. Ἔως μὲν οὖν τοὺς τοιούτους υἱοὺς καὶ καρποὺς εἶχεν ἡ λεγομένη τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἀνθρωπίνῃ ἐκκλησία, πρὶν ἡ καταφθαρτὴ ἡ γῆ ὑπὸ εἰδωλολατρίας καὶ ἀσελγείας καὶ θηλυμανίας, γυμνὴ ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς σὺν τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς Θεῷ καὶ οὐκ ἡσχύνοντο ἄμφω, ἀλλ' εὐπαρρησιάστως 475 πρὸς Θεὸν ὡς ἀναμάρτητος αὕτη διέκειτο. Ταύτης γοῦν οὕτω διακειμένης καὶ σὺν τῷ ἰδίῳ συζύγῳ εὐφραινομένης προσεπέλασε ζηλωτοῦπῆσας αὐτῇ ὁ ὄφις. Ὁφιν δὲ ἀκούων ἐκείνον ἐνόησεν μετὰ τὸν σωματικὸν ὄφιν, τὸν δράκοντα τὸν ἀποστάτην, ὃν ὁ Θεὸς οὕτως πρὸς τὸν Ἰώβ χρηματίζων ὠνόμασεν. Οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἀπατήσας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. 480 Εἶπε γὰρ ὁ ὄφις τῇ γυναικί, πάντως οὐκ ἀγαθὰ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

4. Εἰ δὲ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα μόνον τὰ περὶ ὄφως καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀκούεις, οὐκ ἔδει τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις ἐν τῷ ἅμα προσβαλεῖν καὶ πολλῶν πλέον τῷ ἀνδρὶ· Πνευματικῶς δὲ νοῶν, οὐκ ἔδει οὐδὲ μόνῳ προσπαῦσαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ, 485 τοῦτέστι τῷ Χριστῷ. Ἀδὰμ γὰρ οὐκ ἡπατήθη τύπος ὢν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἡπατήθη, τοῦτέστι ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσις ἐκκλησία. Ἐπιστημῆσθαι γὰρ ἐχρῆν ὅτι κεχωρισμένη οὕσῃ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ οἶονε μακρυνθεῖσιν τοῦ ἰδίου ἀνδρὸς Θεοῦ ἐπέδραμε καὶ ἡπάτησεν αὐτὴν ὁ ὄφις οὐκ ἂν αὐτὴν ἀπατήσαι ἰσχύσας, ἕως οὗ ἀχώριστον οὖσαν ἐθεώρει τοῦ οἰκείου ἀνδρός. Κάκειθεν δὲ σαφῶς ἐστὶ μαθεῖν ὅτι εἰς τὴν Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίαν πάντα τὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης ἀναφέρονται. 490

5. Οὐχ εὐρίσκομεν γὰρ ὅλως τὸν Ἀδὰμ τῷ ὄφει προσμιλήσαντα. Ὅθεν καὶ ἐρωτώμενος ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς βρώσεως οὐ λέγει ὅτι Ὁ ὄφις ἡπάτησέ με, ἀλλ' Ἡ γυνὴ δέδωκέ μοι καὶ ἔφαγον. Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ φησὶ

human nature in the beginning longed for God and did not go away from him.¹ It was like a wife of God: knowing, serving, and inseparable from him.² It was like Eve, who was called the woman of the first-formed.³

3. Abel bore witness to this, when he brought gifts to God.⁴ So also Lamech bore witness, when like Adam he prophesied of Christ.⁵ And also Seth, when he renewed the image of him that was made according to the image.⁶ And Enoch, who *hoped to call upon the name of the Lord*.⁷ Enoch, because he was pleasing to God, was the first to represent beforehand the resurrection: he was made deathless and was carried away by God.⁸ And there was Methuselah, the son of Enoch.⁹ And the son of Methuselah was Lamech.¹⁰ He gave birth to Noah, a type of Christ, and prophesied saying: *"This one will give us rest from all our work and distress and from the earth, which the Lord God has cursed."*¹¹ And God bore witness that Noah was a perfect and just man.¹² He entreated God not to annihilate the whole human race,¹³ and the Lord did as asked: when he became man, he reconciled the Father to men.¹⁴

As long as she, the so-called wife of Adam, the human Church,¹⁵ was having such sons and fruits, she was naked, as truly with her husband God, and both felt no shame. This was before the earth was destroyed by idolatry, brutal violence, and the mad desire for women.¹⁶ She spoke freely to God, since she was blameless. And because this was her situation and she was happy with her husband, the serpent in jealousy approached her.

When you hear "serpent", think about that serpent behind the physical serpent: the *rebellious dragon*.¹⁷ God named him so, when he was giving his responses to Job. That is the one who deceived the Church.¹⁸ For the serpent said to the woman¹⁹ things which were not at all good for the Church.²⁰

4. If you read the things about the serpent and the woman according to the letter alone, would it not have been necessary to attack both of them together, and especially the man? But if you consider it spiritually, it was necessary *not* to touch the man alone, who was Christ. Adam was not deceived,²¹ because he was a type of Christ. The woman was deceived, because she was the nature of humanity, the Church.²² So it was necessary to note that the woman was separated, as if at a distance, from her husband, God. Then the serpent attacked and deceived her. He would not have had the strength to deceive her, so long as he saw that she was not apart from her husband. From these things it is clearly possible to learn that all things having to do with this woman refer to Christ's Church.²³

5. We do not find anywhere that Adam conversed with the serpent. When asked by God for the reason behind his eating of the apple, he did not say: "The serpent deceived me." He said: *"The woman gave to me*

460 μαρτυρεῖ μοι P 463 ὡς] om. P 465 προσεφύτευσεν N προσεφύτευσεν P τὸν] τὴν N^{corr} 467 τῶν] om. M 468 προσεμαρτύρησεν P 475 ἀνακάρτητος P 476 ζύγω P^{corr} 477 ὄφιν] ὁ ὄφις M 478/9 Ἰώβ χρηματίζων ὠνόμασεν υἱὸν χρηματίζων ὠνόμασεν M Ἰώβ χρηματίζων ὠνόμασεν P 479 ἀπατήσας P 480 ἀγαθὰ N 482 πλέων M^{corr} 485 τοῦτέστι MN φύσις] θύσις M 488 οὐ] om. M 489 τὴν] add. τοῦ P 490 τῆς] om. N

¹ Cf Eph 1:22-23; 5:23, 29-32; Col 1:18, 24. ² Cf Eph 5:23, 29-32. ³ Cf Gen 2:23-24.

⁴ Cf Gen 4:4. ⁵ Cf Gen 5:29. ⁶ Cf Gen 4:25; 5:3. ⁷ Gen 4:26. ⁸ Cf Gen 5:24.

⁹ Cf Gen 5:21, 25-27. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 5:25. ¹¹ Gen 5:29. ¹² Cf Gen 6:8-9, 18; 7:1.

¹³ Cf Gen 7:20-22; 8:8-17. ¹⁴ Cf Rom 5:10; 2 Cor 5:18; Eph 2:16; Col 1:19-20.

¹⁵ Cf Gen 5:1-2. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 6:1-7; 11-13. ¹⁷ Job 26:13. ¹⁸ Cf Rev 12:9; 13:4, 7-8; 20:1-2.

¹⁹ Cf Gen 3:1. ²⁰ Cf Rev 13:5-6. ²¹ Cf 1 Cor 15:45; 1 Tim 2:14. ²² Cf 2 Cor 11:3;

Eph 5:22-32; 1 Tim 2:15; Rev 19:7-9; 21:2. ²³ Cf Gen 2:24; Eph 5:22-32.

πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ὅτι Ὁ ὄφις ἠπάτησέ με καὶ ἔφαγον. Πάλιν δὲ ἐν τῇ
 495 κατάρῃ τῇ πρὸς τὸν ὄφιν οὐδὲν περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐγκαλεῖ αὐτῷ ὁ
 Θεός, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς γυναικός. Διὸ λέγει αὐτῷ ὅτι Ἐχθραν θήσω ἀνὰ
 μέσον σου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς γυναικός. Καὶ διὰ τί μὴ καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός;
 "Ὅσον γὰρ πρὸς τὸ γράμμα φίλους βούλεται εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν
 500 ὄφιν λέγων ὅτι Ἐχθραν θήσω ἀνὰ μέσον σου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς γυναικός
 οἰασθήποτε, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὡς ὅταν λέγῃ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Χριστὸν
 ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ τὸ κατὰ σάρκα καὶ ὅτι σπέρματος Ἀβραάμ ἐπελά-
 βετο, καίπερ μὴ ὄντα ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ἐκ σαρκὸς γυναικός καὶ
 505 μόνης ἀρρήτως τε καὶ ἀκαταλήπτως σαρκωθέντα. | Καὶ γὰρ ὁ ὕπνος
 ἐκείνος τοῦ Ἀδάμ καὶ ἡ ἔκστασις τῆς ἀβλεψίας ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ληφθείσης
 πλευροπλαστίας ἴσως τὴν ἀγνοίαν παντὸς ἀνθρώπου προδιέγραφε καὶ
 ἀκαταληψίαν τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σαρκώσεως.

VIII 1. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ὄφις τῇ γυναικί.

Ζητήσαι δέον θάττον ἐπ' αὐτῆς ξηρᾶς τῆς λέξεως τίνος χάριν παρὰ
 πάντα τὰ ζῶα καὶ πετεινὰ ὄφιν προσαγορεύει τὸν ἀντικείμενον καὶ τῆς
 510 ἐκκλησίας ἐπιβουλον. Καὶ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι πολλὰ τοῦ ὄφεως ιδιώματα
 τοῖς τοῦ διαβόλου ἐξομοιοῦται μηχανήμασι, καὶ πρῶτον ἡ εἰς γῆν αὐτοῦ
 ὄλου τοῦ σώματος κατάρριψις. Πᾶσα γὰρ φύσις ἐμψύχων τε καὶ ἀψύχων
 ἔχει τι ἀνωφερὲς πρὸς τὰ ἄνω τὴν κίνησιν καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν ἔχον, δίχα
 515 μόνου τοῦ ὄφεως. Καὶ αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι
 δείκνυσιν ὅτι τὴν ἰδίαν φρόνησιν καὶ καρδίαν καταπατεῖ ἐκουσίως οὐδὲν
 ὅλως ὑψηλὸν ἢ οὐράνιον φρονῶν. Διὸ καὶ ἀποδύεται πολλάκις τὴν ἰδίαν
 μορφήν, ὡς περὶ ὁ ὄφις ἀποδύεται, μεταμορφούμενος εἰς ἄγγελον φωτὸς
 ὡς ἀλλοιωθεὶς τῆς ἀρχαίας φρονήσεως, κάντεϋθεν θανατηφόρον ἰὸν διὰ
 τοῦ στόματος καὶ τῶν συμβουλιῶν κενῶν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τὴν πτέρναν τῶν
 520 ἐσχάτων τοῦ βίου ἀποτηρῶν, καὶ πρὸς ἐπιβουλήν ἐν ταῖς τρίβοις τοῦ
 ἀνθρώπου αἰεὶ ἐγκαθήμενος τοῦ ἐμποδίζειν ἡμῖν τὰ κατὰ Θεὸν διαβήμα-
 τα. Διὸ καὶ φαρμακοῦσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναιρεῖσθαι ταῖς σοφῶν ἐπαοιδίαις
 καὶ προσευχαῖς πεποίηκεν ὁ Θεός. Καὶ τὸ συρίττειν δὲ καὶ προσκαλεῖσθαι
 τὰ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι καὶ τῷ πνεύματι γεννώμενα ζῶα τὰ τὴν μορφήν καὶ τὸ
 525 σχῆμα ἔχοντα τοῦ ὄφεως πρὸς συνάφιν τε καὶ συνουσίαν λίαν προσ-
 φυῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ λέγεσθαι δύναται δράκοντος. Οὐ γὰρ δύναται
 τούτοις τοῦ ἰδίου μεταδοῦναι σπόρου, ἕως ἂν αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ
 τοῦ Πνεύματος διαχωρίσας εἰς τὴν ξηρὰν ἐξαγάγῃ, αὐτὸς ἀδυνάτως
 530 ἔχων τῷ ὕδατι καὶ τῷ Πνεύματι ἑαυτὸν καταβαπτίζειν, ὡς ἐχθρὸς καὶ
 ἀλλότριος τούτων ὑπάρχων.

2. Εἰς ὄργανον δὲ λέγει, καθὰ χωρεῖς ἀκοῦσαι, τὸν ἐχθρὸν εἰσελθεῖν τὸν
 τὴν λεγομένην γυναικὰ πολεμήσαντα προμηνύουσα ἢ γραφὴ ὅτι εἰς

and I ate."¹ The woman, however, said to God: "The serpent deceived me and I ate."² And again, in the curse upon the serpent, God did not accuse him of anything regarding the man, but only regarding the woman.³ Therefore he said to the serpent: "I will place enmity between you and the woman."⁴ And why not also the man?

When this passage is taken literally, it seems that he wanted the man and the serpent to be friends. It seems that he said: "I will place enmity between you and the woman of such a kind,⁵ but not men."

It is as when it says that Christ was from the seed of David, according to the flesh,⁶ and that he was taken from the seed of Abraham.⁷ In fact, he was not from the seed of a man. He became incarnate from the flesh of a woman alone, in a way that cannot be explained or even comprehended.⁸ Indeed, that sleep and ecstasy of Adam,⁹ when he could not see the fashioning of the rib that was taken from him,¹⁰ described beforehand the ignorance of every human being and the inability to comprehend the Incarnation of God the Word.

VIII 1. And the serpent said to the woman.¹¹

One really ought to seek in this succinct passage why it is the serpent, from all the animals and birds, that is appointed to oppose and plot against the Church.¹² Indeed, it is possible to say that many characteristics of the serpent are like the devices of the devil.

First, its whole body is cast down upon the earth.¹³ Every nature, either with a soul or without a soul, has something that ascends: it has a movement or development upwards. Except the serpent. The fact that the serpent goes upon its chest suggests that the devil tramples down his own mind and heart willingly. He thinks about nothing that is high or heavenly.¹⁴

Second, the serpent sheds its skin, as the devil often sheds his form. He transforms himself into an angel of light,¹⁵ as he was changed from his original wisdom. And thereupon, through the counsels from his mouth, he empties a deadly poison into the soul,¹⁶ while watching for the heel that will end someone's life.¹⁷ In his scheming, he is always lying in ambush in the paths of man, in order to obstruct our steps to God.¹⁸

And third, God made the serpent to be charmed and removed by the chants and prayers of the wise.¹⁹

Finally, it hisses and summons forth the animals that are born in water and wind—those who have the shape and form of the serpent²⁰—for union and copulation. This also can be aptly said about the evil dragon. It is not possible for him to share his own seed with them, until he has separated them from the water and Spirit²¹ and has drawn them onto dry land.²² He is powerless to submerge himself into the water and Spirit, since he is a stranger and their enemy.²³

2. Scripture says, as you are able to hear, that the enemy entered a receptive agent to make war against the so-called woman.²⁴ It thereby foretells that entering into a human agent at the end of time,

¹ Gen 3:12. ² Gen 3:13. ³ Cf Gen 3:14-15. ⁴ Gen 3:15. ⁵ Gen 3:15. ⁶ Cf Mt 1:1; 22:42; Jn 7:42; Rom 1:3; 2 Tim 2:8; Acts 13:22-23. ⁷ Cf Mt 1:1. ⁸ Cf Mt 1:18, 20; Lk 1:34-35. ⁹ Cf Gen 2:21. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 2:22. ¹¹ Gen 3:1. ¹² Cf Mt 10:16; 23:33; Lk 10:19; 1 Cor 10:9; 2 Cor 11:3; Rev 9:19, 12:9, 14, 15; 20:2. ¹³ Cf Gen 3:14. ¹⁴ Cf Job 1:8-11; 2:3-5; Mt 16:23; Mk 8:33; Jn 8:44; 1 Jn 3:7-8; 4:1-6; Rev 12:9-10, 12.

497 διὰ τὴν P 499 ἀνὰ μέσον] ἀναμέσων M^a corr. ἀναμέσων M^p corr. 513 ἔχον] ἔχων P 514 τὸ] om. P τῷ] om. M 516 ὑψηλὸν N 519 κενῶν] om. P 522 σοφῶν] σοφαῖς P 525 πρὸς] πρὸ P 528 ἐξαγάγη N 531 τὸν] om. P 532 προμηνύον M^a corr.

535 ὄργανον ἀνθρώπου ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων εἰχερχόμενος ὁ αὐτὸς
δράκων ὁ ἀποστάτης ὡς ἀντίχριστος καὶ ἀντίτυπος τοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ
βρώσεως πάλιν ἀπατήσῃ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς τὸ αὐτῷ καὶ οὐ Θεῷ
προσκυνῆσαι ὡς Θεῷ, ὅπερ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ Εὐα ἔδρασαν, ὡς οἱ περὶ ταῦτα
ἔφασαν δεινοί. "Ὅπερ ἔφαγε, φασί, πρὸ πάντων ἡ Εὐα, τοῦτο ἡμαρτε
πρὸ πάντων ἡ ἐκκλησία, πρὸς ἣν περὶ τοῦ ὄφεως ἐλέγετο· *Αὐτός σου*
τηρήσει κεφαλὴν, καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ πτέρναν.

540 3. "Ὅτι δὲ ὁ ὄφης πτεροφυλάξῃ καὶ πτεροδηκτὴς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀντίχριστος
ὁ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς Μωυσῆς διδάσκει ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τῆς Γενέσεως βίβλῳ
λέοντα προσαγορεύων τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν ταῖς εὐλογίαις τοῦ Ἰακώβ λέγων·
Σκύμνος λέοντος Ἰουδᾶ ἐκ βλαστοῦ, υἱέ μου, ἀνέβης, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Ἐν δὲ
τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ ἐν ταῖς εὐλογίαις ταῖς τοῦ Μωυσεως, αἷς προεφῆτευσεν
545 ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς, ὡς ἀντίτυπον καὶ ἀντίδικον Χριστοῦ τὸν ἀντίχρισ-
τον εἰσάγων προφητικῶς ὁ θεὸς Μωυσῆς ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτὸν σκύμνον
λέοντος προσαγορεύει | διδάσκων ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν φυλὴν καὶ τὸν τόπον, 1018A
ὅθεν γενήσεται. Ἐλθὼν γοῦν εἰς τὴν προφητείαν τῆς φυλῆς τοῦ Δάν φησι·
Σκύμνος λέοντος Δάν καὶ ἐκπηδήσει ἐκ Βασάν. Βασάν δὲ τινες τὴν
550 Σκυθόπολιν λέγουσιν εἶναι τὴν γεινιάζουσαν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, ὅθεν καὶ ὁ
Χριστὸς προῆλθε τὸ κατὰ σάρκα. Τὸν δὲ τόπον σοι νῦν τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου
ἀναγκαίως παρεστήσατο, πόθεν τὴν ἐξοδὸν καὶ τὴν κίνησιν ἔχει, ἐπειδὴ
πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ ἤδη ἡ πλάνη αὐτοῦ προλαβοῦσα τοὺς
πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἠπάτησε φάσκοντας ὡς ὅτι ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἀπὸ
555 χωρίου τινὸς λεγομένου Χουσή γεννηθήσεται ὁ ἀντίχριστος. Αὕτη δὲ
πανουργία καὶ μηχανὴ τοῦ διαβόλου καθέστηκεν, ἵνα ἐξ Αἰγύπτου
ἐκδεχόμενοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι τοῦτον πιστεύσωσι καὶ δέξονται ἐκείνον τὸν
Γαλιλαίας γεννώμενον ὡς Χριστῷ τούτῳ προσκυνούντες, πλάνῳ δὲ καὶ
ἀντιχρίστῳ ἀκριβῶς τυγχάνουσι. Λεῖπεται τοίνυν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ
560 Ἰακώβ προφητειῶν συμφώνως δεῖξαι ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τοῦ Δάν τὸν
ἀντίχριστον προερχόμενον καὶ ὄφιν δάκνοντα πτέρναν ἵππου, ὡς ὁ ἐν
τῷ παραδείσῳ προκείμενος ἡμῖν νῦν ὄφης, προσαγορευόμενον. Λέγει γὰρ
ὁ πατριάρχης διαλεγόμενος τῷ Χριστῷ τοῦ Δάν οὕτως· *Δάν κρινεῖ τὸν*
λαὸν αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ καὶ μία φυλὴ ἐν Ἰσραὴλ. Καὶ γενήσεται Δάν ὄφης ἐφ'
565 *ὁδοῦ ἐγκαθήμενος ἐπὶ τρίβου, δάκνων πτέρναν ἵππου, καὶ πεσεῖται ὁ*
ἵππευς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσθια τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀναμένων Κυρίου. Ἰδοὺ ἔχεις σαφῶς
τὸν ὄφιν καὶ τὴν πτέρναν εἰς τὸν ἀντίχριστον λαμβανόμενα καὶ τὴν
πτῶσιν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δακνομένων σοι ἐμφανίζοντα, δι' ἧς καὶ τοὺς
προπάτορας Δάν πρὸς ἀβείαν ἠπάτησεν.

570 IX 1. Ἐπεὶ εἰ γε καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν λέξιν, ταῦτα ἐν παραδείσῳ
ἐπράχθησαν, ἐν σχήματι ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ ὠπτάνετο καὶ

the same rebellious dragon,¹ as the Antichrist² and anti-type of Christ, will again deceive the Church through a meal³—just as he had deceived Eve⁴—so that the Church will genuflect to him as God, and not to God.⁵ This is what some experts have said about these things. And they have said what Eve ate before all others, so also the Church sinned in this way before all. So it was said to the Church about the snake: "*He will watch your head, and you will watch his heel.*"⁶

3. The snake that watches and bites the heel is the Antichrist.⁷ Moses himself, in the present book of Genesis, taught this to us. In the blessings of Jacob, he called Christ a lion: "*Judah is a lion's whelp. From this root, my son, you have arisen*"⁸—et cetera. In Deuteronomy, in the blessings that he prophesied to the twelve tribes, the divine Moses prophetically introduced the Antichrist as the anti-type and adversary of Christ. He called him similarly a lion's whelp,⁹ and taught us both the tribe and place where he would be born. For coming to his prophecy about the tribe of Dan, he said: "*The whelp of the lion of Dan indeed will leap out from Beth-shean.*"¹⁰ Some say that Beth-shean is Scythopolis, a neighbor of Galilee,¹¹ from where also Christ came, in the flesh.¹² Out of necessity he presented to you the place of the Antichrist, where would be his stirring and his exit, because already before his arrival, his fallacy would seize and deceive many people. These people say that the Antichrist will be born in Egypt, in the region called Cush.¹³ This however is a villainous deception by the devil. People expecting him from Egypt, will receive and believe the one born near Galilee. They will genuflect to him as the Christ, although he is a deception and precisely the Antichrist. But it still remains for us to show how the prophecies of Jacob agree that the Antichrist is coming from the tribe of Dan. He is called a snake biting the heel of a horse—just as the snake that now lies before us in Paradise. For the Patriarch, speaking with Christ about Dan,¹⁴ says this: *Dan will judge his people as indeed one tribe in Israel. And Dan will become a serpent on the way, lying on the path, and he will bite the heel of the horse. And the rider will fall backwards*, where he will await the salvation of the Lord.¹⁵ Look, you clearly have here the serpent and the heel, understood as referring to the Antichrist. And the fall of those bitten by him is made clear. Through this fall, which also affected the forefathers, he deceived Dan into godlessness.¹⁶

IX 1. Even if these things were done in Paradise—according to this

¹ Cf Is 14:12-20; Lk 10:18; 2 Cor 11:14. Cf also Gen 6:1-4. ² Cf Is 59:4-6; Mt 12:34-35; 23:33. ³ Cf Gen 3:15. ⁴ Cf 1 Cor 7:5; 2 Cor 2:11; Eph 6:11; 1 Th 3:5; 2 Th 2:9-11; 1 Tim 3:7; 2 Tim 2:26; Rev 13:4-10. ⁵ Cf Mt 4:11, 23; Mk 1:12-13, 21-34; Lk 10:17-20; Jn 17:15; Acts 16:16-18; 19:13-20. ⁶ Cf Job 26:12; Is 27:1; 30:6-7. ⁷ Cf Gen 1:2; Ez 36:25-27; Mt 3:16; Mk 1:10; Lk 3:21-22; Jn 1:31-33; 3:5; Acts 8:16-17; 19:4-6; 1 Cor 12:13; Tit 3:5. ⁸ Cf Mt 4:1-11; Mk 1:12-13; Lk 4:1-13. ⁹ Cf Mt 3:7-10; Lk 3:7-9. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 3:1-6, 13. ¹¹ Cf Job 26:13; 2 Th 2:3-4; Rev 12:3-17; 13:2, 4, 11; 16:13; 20:2. ¹² Cf 1 Jn 2:18, 22; 4:3; 2 Jn 7. ¹³ Cf Mt 4:3-4. ¹⁴ Cf 1 Cor 11:7-8; 2 Cor 11:3; Rev 17:2, 4, 6; 18:3, 6, 14. ¹⁵ Cf 2 Th 2:3-4. ¹⁶ Gen 3:15. ¹⁷ Cf 1 Jn 2:18, 22; 4:3; 2 Jn 7. ¹⁸ Cf Dt 33:22. ¹⁹ Cf 2 Macc 12:29; Mt 4:25; Mk 5:20; 7:31. ²⁰ Cf Mt 21:11; Mk 1:9; Lk 1:26; 2:39. ²¹ Cf Est 1:1; Is 11:11; 18:1; Zeph 1:1. ²² Cf Gen 49:2. ²³ Cf Gen 49:16-18. ²⁴ Cf Jg 13-16.

535 αὐτῷ] αὐτὸ N 540 ἀντίχρηστος M^{com} P 541 ὁ] om. N 543 ἀνεύης M 544 Μωυσεως] correxi μωυσεός MNP προεφῆτευσεν P^{com} 545/6 ἀντίχρηστον P 551 δὲ] add. τὸν M ἀντιχρίστου P 555 γεννηθήσεται N 561 ὁ] om. M 566 τὴν] τῶν P^{com} 568 δακνομένων N 571 ὀπτάνετο P

διελέγετο. Ἄλλ' ὥς αὐτὸν ιδέσθαι μὴ δυναμένων τὸν δημιουργὸν ἐντεῦθεν
τὴν ἀφορμὴν λαβὼν ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων τὴν γυναῖκα ἠπάτησεν ὑποτι-
θέμενος αὐτῇ ὁμογενῇ ταύτης καὶ ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τὸν Θεὸν κατὰ τὴν
575 μορφὴν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα, ὃ ἐθεώρει ἐν αὐτῇ. Διό φησι πρὸς αὐτήν· *Τί ὅτι*
εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Οὐ μὴ φάγητε ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ;

2. Ἐντεῦθεν δὴλον ὅτι πρὸ πάσης βρώσεως ταῦτα τῇ γυναικὶ ὁ ὄφης
ἐφθέγγετο, τουτέστι νήστιδος οὔσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπὸ πάσης ἀμαρτίας
καὶ εἰδωλολατρίας, πρὸς ἣν ὥσανει πρὸς γυναικὰ τινα ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὁ
580 πονηρὸς ὄφης καὶ δράκων ἀποστάτης δολίως διαλεγόμενος καὶ προσομι-
λῶν καὶ πρὸς ἄθεον πολυθεῖαν ἀποπλανῆσαι θέλων ἔφασκεν οἵτινες οἱ ἐν
ἀρχῇ αὐτῷ τῷ πονηρῷ δαίμονι προσκυνήσαντες ἦσαν καὶ τὸν Θεὸν
καταλείψαντες. *Τί ὅτι εἶπεν ὑμῖν ὁ Θεός· μὴ φαγεῖν ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ*
ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, τουτέστι μὴ προσκυνεῖν πᾶσι τοῖς κτίσμασι καὶ ἐμοί,
585 ἄλλ' αὐτῷ καὶ μόνῳ προσάγειν τὴν προσκύνησιν καὶ σέβας. Εἶτα εἰ-
πούσης τῆς γυναικὸς ὅτι Ἄπὸ μὲν παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ
φαγώμεθα, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ καρποῦ σοῦ τοῦ πονηροῦ ξύλου εἶπεν ὁ Θεός
«Οὐ φάγεσθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδ' οὐ μὴ ἄψησθε αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνητε,»
καθὼς ἐκεῖνος ὁ πονηρὸς ἀπέθανε, πρὸς ταῦτα ἀνταποκρίνεται ὁ δεινὸς
590 ὄφης λέγων ὅτι *Οὐ θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε* ἡδεῖ γὰρ ὁ Θεός ὅτι ἡ δ' ἂν
ἡμέρᾳ φάγητε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ προσκυνήσητέ μοι, διανοιχθήσονται ὑμῶν οἱ
ὀφθαλμοὶ δι' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἔσεσθε ὡς θεοί, καθάπερ εἰμι | ἐγώ, γινώσκοντες
καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν. Ἀκούεις; Οὐκ εἶπεν ὅτι Ἔσεσθε ὡς Θεός, ἀλλ' ὡς
θεοί, πολυθεῖαν διδάσκων καὶ ὑπεισάγων αὐτοῖς.

3. Ὅθεν καὶ φθονερὸν διαβάλλει αὐτοῖς τὸν Θεόν. Φθονεῖ ὑμῖν, φησὶν,
ὅπως μὴ γένησθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ὡς αὐτὸς θεοὶ γινώσκοντες τὰ πάντα. Καὶ
τούτου χάριν ἐνετείλατο ὑμῖν μὴ φαγεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καρποῦ μου μηδὲ
ἄψησθαι μου μηδὲ προσκυνῆσαι μοι. Τῷ γὰρ ἐμοὶ προσκυνοῦντι δίδωμι
γνώσιν καλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν. Δίδωμι σοφίαν τὴν κάτω· ἀστρολογίαν·
600 μαντείαν· φαρμακείαν· προρρήσεις· προγνώσεις· τερατοποιίας· ἐπασι-
δίας· θηρίων ὑπακοήν· πετεινῶν ὑπουργίαν· κτηνῶν μεταμορφώσεις· τῶν
μετεώρων ἐρεύνας· πυρὸς κατένεξιν· ἐπὶ ὑδάτων πεζοπορίαν· ἀβύσσου
κατανόησιν· ἐρπετῶν ἀναιρέσεις· θησαυρῶν ἀποκαλύψεις.

4. Ταύταις δὲ καὶ ἐτέραις τοιαύταις μυρίαις ὑποσχέσεσι διενυχλήσας
605 τῇ λεγομένῃ γυναικὶ φύσει τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ ὁ μαρὸς ὄφης ἐπὶ πλείστους
χρόνους ἔπεισε ταύτην καὶ ὑπέκλινεν ἀποστήναι Θεοῦ καὶ λατρεῦσαι
αὐτῷ. Διό φησι· *Καὶ εἶδεν ἡ γυνὴ ὅτι καλὸν τὸ ξύλον εἰς βρώσιν*, ὥστε
ἠνεωγμένους εἶχε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ἠράσθη τῆς βρώσεως ἥτοι

literal text—God appeared [only] in outline to Adam and the woman and
communicated with them.¹ But since they had not been able to see God
as the craftsman, the evil demon seized this opportunity to deceive the
woman. He suggested to her that God was of the same kind and essence
as she, according to the form and shape that she saw in herself.²
Accordingly, he said to her: *'What if God did say: 'Do not eat from any*
*tree in the garden?'*³

2. From this it is obvious that the serpent said these things to the
woman before any meal had been eaten. That is, the Church had been
fasting from all sin and idolatry. Then the evil serpent, the rebellious
dragon,⁴ conversed treacherously with her, as with any woman. He
conversed with her in his desire to mislead her to godless polytheism. He
explained to her who they were that, in the beginning, had genuflected
to the evil demon himself and abandoned God. He said: *"What if God did*
*say to you not to eat from any tree in the garden?"*⁵ That is: "Why is it
that God said to you not to genuflect to any creation, not even to me,⁶
but to give reverence and worship to him and him alone?"⁷

Then the woman said: *"We may eat from every tree in the garden."*⁸
But from the fruit of your evil tree, God said: 'Do not eat from this, and
*do not touch it, lest you die,*⁹ just as that evil one died.'" The clever snake
argued against these words. He said: *"You will not die in death. For God*
knows that on whichever day you eat from it and worship me, your eyes
will be opened through me and you will be like gods, just as I am,
*knowing good and evil."*¹⁰

Do you hear? He did not say: *"You will be like God,"* but *"like gods."*
So he stealthily introduced and taught them polytheism.

3. Thereby he also maligned God as envious. "He is envious of you,"
he said, "lest you too become like him: gods knowing all things. And on
account of this, he commanded you not to eat from this my fruit,¹¹ nor to
touch me,¹² nor to genuflect before me.¹³ For I give knowledge of good
things and bad things to the one who kneels to me.¹⁴ I give infernal
wisdom:¹⁵ astrology, divination, potions, predictions, premonitions,
creating wonders, incantations, the obedience of beasts, the ministry of
birds, the transformations of animals, exploring astronomical
phenomena, bringing down fire, walking on water, scrutinizing the
abyss, raising serpents, and the revelation of treasures."

4. With these and a myriad of other such promises, the foul serpent
tried to seduce the so-called woman, which was human nature.¹⁶ And for
many years, he was persuading her. He was urging her to rebel against
God and to serve himself.¹⁷ Therefore it says: *And the woman saw that*
*the tree was good to eat.*¹⁸ Her eyes were opened and she longed for the

¹ Cf Gen 1:28-30; Gen 2:15-17, 19, 22. ² Cf Gen 3:5. ³ Gen 3:1. ⁴ Cf Job 26:13;
Ps 73(74):13, 14; 90(91):13; 103(104):26; 148:7; Is 27:1; Bel 23-28; Rev 12:3-17; 13:2, 4, 11;
16:13; 20:2. ⁵ Gen 3:1. ⁶ Cf Ps 103(104):26. ⁷ Cf Dt 6:13-15; 10:20; Mt 4:9-10.
⁸ Gen 3:1. ⁹ Gen 3:2-3. ¹⁰ Gen 3:4-5. ¹¹ Cf Gen 2:17. ¹² Cf 3:3.
¹³ Cf Dt 6:13-15; 10:20; Mt 4:9-10. ¹⁴ Cf Acts 13:6-12. ¹⁵ Cf 2 Th 2:9-11.
¹⁶ Cf 1 Cor 11:3; 1 Cor 13:27; 2 Cor 11:2-3; Eph 2:3; 5:28-32. ¹⁷ Cf Rom 1:25. ¹⁸ Gen 3:6.

574 ὁμογενῇ M 575 δ] om. P 576 φάγεται M^{1. corr.} φάγετε M^{1. corr.} 581 οἵτινες] scripsi
ἥτις MNP οἱ ἐν] οἶαν P^{1. corr.} 583 ἡμῖν M 584 τουτέστιν M 585/6 εἰπούσης M
588 φάγεσθε M^{1. corr.} οὐδ' οὐ μὴ ἄψησθε αὐτοῦ] om. P per homeoteleuton 589 ἀντι-
ποκρίνεται M 590 ἀποθανῆσθε MP 591 μοι με N ὑμῶν] om. N 593 ἀλλὰ N
594 ἐπεισάγων M 596 ὑμεῖς] ἡμεῖς M τὰ πάν τὰ πάντα P^{1. corr.} 597 φάγειν N
600 φαρμακίαν N

γεύσεως, ὅτι καλὸν ἦν τὸ ξύλον εἰς βρώσιν. Πᾶσα γὰρ βρώσις διὰ τῆς
 610 γεύσεως γινώσκεται καὶ δοκιμάζεται, ὥστε κἀντεῦθεν πάλιν ἐλέγχονται
 οἱ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα μόνον ταῦτα νομίζοντες. Καὶ εἶδεν ἡ γυνὴ ὅτι καλὸν
 τὸ ξύλον εἰς βρώσιν καὶ εὐάρεστον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῦ ἰδεῖν καὶ ὠραιὸν
 ἐστὶ τοῦ κατανοῆσαι. "Ὅσον μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον τῆς σωματικῆς
 615 λέξεως ἔδοξε τισι λέγειν ὅτι μορφήν τινα ἔκλαμπρον καὶ θάμβους ἔμπλε-
 ων ὑπέδειξε τῇ γυναικὶ ὁ πονηρὸς, ὅτε ταῦτα πρὸς αὐτὴν διελέγετο,
 μετασχηματίσας ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἄγγελον φωτός, ὥς φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ὡς-
 ανεὶ λέγων πρὸς αὐτὴν ὅτι περ εἰς τοιαύτην μορφήν καὶ δόξαν γενήσεσθε
 ὡς θεοί, ἐὰν τοῦ καρποῦ μου μεταλάβητε. Καὶ τούτου ἕνεκα, φησὶν,
 εἴρηται τό· Καὶ εἶδεν ἡ γυνὴ τὸ ξύλον, ὅτι ἀρεστόν ἐστι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς
 620 τοῦ ἰδεῖν καὶ ὠραιὸν τοῦ κατανοῆσαι. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, οὐκ ἔχω
 λέγειν.

Χ 1. Καὶ λαβοῦσα τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ ἔφαγε. Καὶ ἔδωκε καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ
 αὐτῆς, καὶ ἔφαγε.

Καὶ μὴν οὕτω ἦν ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς οὔτε αὐτὴ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ· Διὰ τί δὲ μὴ
 625 ὁμοῦ ἔφαγον οἱ δύο, ἀλλ' ἡ γυνὴ πρῶτον, εἴθ' οὕτως ὁ ἀνὴρ παρ' αὐτῆς
 δεξιόμενος καὶ μηδὲν ἀντιλέξας μηδὲ κατακράξας μήτε ὅλως ἐμβριμησά-
 μενος αὐτῇ ὡς παρακουσαμένη τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ; Οὐκοῦν καὶ ταῦτα
 τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον. Προσωμίλησε γὰρ ὁ πονηρὸς δράκων πρῶτη
 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· διηνώχλησεν· ἔπεισεν· ἠπάτησεν. Ἐλαβε καὶ συνέλαβε τὸν
 630 καρπὸν τῆς πονηρᾶς βρώσεως. Προσεκύνησε τῷ πονηρῷ ὡς Θεῷ, εἴτα
 φαγοῦσα ὑπέστρεψε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα. Ἀφῆκε τὸν ὄφιν. Ὑποστρεψάσης
 οὖν ἐκείνης καλῶς πρὸς ὃν κατέλειπε κακῶς ἐδέξατο ταύτην ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἦν
 πάνν ἐξήτει, καὶ ὡς τὸν ἄσωτον ἐδέξατο. Οὐκ ἐμέμψατο· οὐκ ἐπέπλη-
 1020A ξεν· οὐκ ὠνεῖδισεν· οὐχ ὕβρισεν· οὐκ ἀπώσατο. Ἀλλὰ καὶ δεξιόμενος παρ'
 635 αὐτῆς, μάλλον δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, τὸν καρπὸν τοῦ ξύλου προθύμως τούτου
 ἐγεύσατο.

2. Τὸν ἐπὶ σταυροῦ δὲ θάνατον νόησον ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καρπὸν τοῦ
 ξύλου, ὃν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὡς ὑπὲρ γυναικὸς ἰδίας παρ' αὐτῆς ἐδέξατο
 καὶ τριήμερος ἐγεύσατο, ἵνα ὑπὲρ παντὸς γεύσῃται θανάτου κατὰ τὴν
 640 τοῦ Παύλου φωνήν, ὅντινα θάνατον καὶ βρώσιν ἡνίττετο τὸ ὄξος ἐκεῖνο
 καὶ ἡ χολή, ἦν ἐν τῷ κήπι· καὶ τῷ ξύλῳ ἐγεύσατο τοῦ Γολγοθᾶ ὁ πάντα
 καθ' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ Ἀδάμ γενόμενος δίχα μόνης τῆς ἀμαρτίας. Εἰ δὲ
 πάντα καθ' ὁμοιότητα ἐκουσίως ᾤκειώσατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὰ ἡμέτερα,
 πάντως ὅτι καὶ τὸν πειρασμόν, ὃν ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου εὐθέως μετὰ τὸ
 645 βάπτισμα ἐκουσίως ἐδέξατο, καθ' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ Ἀδάμ ἀπειράστως
 ἐπειράσθη. "Ὅρα γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν ἑκατέροις τὰ ἀντιμιμήματά τε

614 ἔδειξε M 618 μου] om. P 626 μηδὲ] μὴ δὲν P 628 προσωμίλησεν M γὰρ] om. M
 628/9 ὁ πονηρὸς - ἐκκλησίᾳ] om. M^a corr. 629 διηνώχλησεν] M^a corr. διηνώχλησεν om. M^a corr
 διενώχλησεν N διηνώχλησεν P 630 προσεκύνησε M 631 τὸν'] τῶν N^a corr
 632 κατέλιπε P 633 ἐξήτει] ἐξήτει M^a corr. 637 τοῦ'] om. P 641 τῷ'] τὸ P
 643 καθομοιωτήτα M^a corr. 646 ἐν] om. N ἀντιμήματά P

food, at least a taste, because the tree was good for eating. Every meal is
 tried and known through tasting. So from this, they who consider these
 things only literally are again refuted. And the woman saw that the tree
 was good to eat, and it was pleasing to the eyes to look upon and at-
 tractive to think about.¹

As far as what is offered by the literal text, it seemed to some to say
 that the evil one showed the woman a form that was splendid and
 wonderful. When he was talking about these things to her, he changed
 his shape to an angel of light, as the apostle says.² It was as if the
 serpent were saying to her: "You as gods will be changed to such a
 glorious form, if you partake of my fruit." And on account of this, it was
 written: And the woman saw the tree, that it was pleasing to the eyes to
 look upon and attractive to think about.³ But whether these things were
 so, I am not able to say.

X 1. And having taken its fruit, she ate. And she gave also to her man,
 and he ate.⁴

Indeed, was he not her husband? Was she not his wife?⁵ Why did the
 two not eat together? But rather, the woman ate first, and then the
 man? He received it from her and made no objection, did not cry out to
 her, did not rebuke her for disobeying the command of God? Surely,
 therefore, these things happened in the following way.

The evil dragon had conversed with the first Church.⁶ He annoyed
 her, persuaded her, and deceived her. She took and enjoyed the fruit, the
 evil meal. She bowed down to the evil one, as to God. Then having eaten,
 she turned back to her husband. She let the serpent go. She rightfully
 returned to him, whom she had wrongfully abandoned. And her man
 received her, because he desired her exceedingly. Indeed he received her
 like the prodigal son.⁷ Yet he did not complain, did not lash out, did not
 criticize, did not insult, and did not reject her.⁸ Instead, having received
 from her—or rather, in defense of her, he eagerly tasted the fruit of this
 tree.⁹

2. Consider this fruit of the tree as referring to Christ's death upon
 the cross. On behalf of the Church, as on behalf of his own wife, he ac-
 cepted it from her and tasted it for three days.¹⁰ On behalf of everyone,
 he tasted death—according to the statement by Paul.¹¹ The vinegar and
 the gall hinted at such a deadly meal, which were tasted in the garden
 and on the tree of Golgotha.¹² He was like Adam in all things,¹³ except
 for sin alone.¹⁴ In our likeness, Jesus willingly made all our things his
 own. This certainly included temptation, which he voluntarily accepted
 from the devil right after his Baptism.¹⁵ In his likeness to Adam he, who
 can not be tested,¹⁶ was tested.

In each of these matters, look at the imitations and the types, which

¹ Gen 3:6. ² 2 Cor 11:14. Cf Is 14:12; Lk 10:18. ³ Gen 3:6. ⁴ Gen 3:6. ⁵ Cf Gen 2:23-24.
⁶ Cf Ex 7:9-12; Dt 32:33; Jb 4:10; 20:16; 26:13; 38:39-40; 40:20-27; Ps 73(74):13-14;
 90(91):13; 103(104):26; 148:7; Wis 16:10; Sir 25:16; Am 9:3; Is 27:1; Jer 9:11(10); 27(50):8;
 28(51):34; Ez 29:3; 32:2; Bel 23-28. ⁷ Cf Lk 15:13, 20-24. ⁸ Cf Lk 15:13, 20-24; Jas 1:5.
⁹ Cf Gen 3:6. ¹⁰ Cf Mt 12:40; 26:61; 27:63; Mk 8:31; 14:58; Jn 2:19; 1 Cor 15:4.
¹¹ Heb 2:9. ¹² Cf Ps 68(69):22; Mt 27:48; Mk 15:36; Lk 23:36; Jn 19:29-30.
¹³ Cf 1 Cor 15:45, 47. ¹⁴ Cf Jn 8:46; Heb 4:15; 7:26. ¹⁵ Cf Mt 4:1-11; Mk 1:12-13;
 Lk 4:1-13; Heb 2:18, 4:15. ¹⁶ Cf Dt 6:16; Is 7:12; Mt 4:7; Acts 15:10.

καὶ τὰ ἀντίτυπα σαφῶς σε τούτου διδάσκοντα, καὶ ὅτι ὥσπερ τὸν
πρότερον Ἀδὰμ διὰ τῆς Εὕας πρὸς εἰδωλολατρίαν προετρέψατο, οὕτω
καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὴν προσβολὴν προσ-
ῆγαγε μέν, ἡστόχησε δέ.

3. Τὸν δὲ ἀντιλέγοντα ἱκανὴ ἔσται ἐλέγξει ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων
ἀλήθεια τοῦτον ἔχουσα τὸν τρόπον. Εὐθέως γὰρ γεννηθέντος τοῦ
πρώτου Ἀδὰμ διὰ τῆς ὁμοζύγου αὐτοῦ πλευρᾶς Εὕας προσέβαλλεν
αὐτῷ ὁ Σατάν, καὶ εὐθέως τὴν ἀληθῆ ἀναγέννησιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ
655 βαπτίσματος τοῦ δευτέρου Ἀδὰμ Χριστοῦ ὑποδείξαντος διὰ τῆς συζύ-
γου σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ πειράσαι αὐτὸν ἐπεχείρησεν ὁ πειράζων. Ὁ πρῶτος
Ἀδὰμ εἶχε τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐμφύσημα· ὁ δεύτερος τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. Πάλιν
ἐν μέσῳ φυτῶν ὁ πειρασμὸς ἐγένετο τῷ Ἀδὰμ ἐν τῇ πηγῇ τῆς Ἑδέμ· καὶ
ὁ δεύτερος πειρασμὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τῶν ἐλαιῶν ἐν μέσῳ δένδρων
660 προσήχθη τῷ Χριστῷ ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἀνιόντι. Ὁ πρῶτος
ἄνθρωπος ἐν μέσῳ τῶν θηρίων ὡς ἐπειράζετο· ὁμοίως καὶ περὶ Χριστοῦ
εἶπεν ὁ Μάρκος ὅτι *Ἦν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ πειραζόμενος*. Ἐν
τῷ παραδείσῳ νηστεύοντος καὶ μηδὲν οὐπω φαγόντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ
διάβολος τὸν πειρασμὸν διὰ βρώσεως ἐπετήδευσεν· ὁμοίως καὶ τῷ
665 Χριστῷ νηστεύσαντι ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα διὰ βρώσεως προσήλθεν ὁ
πονηρὸς λέγων· *Εἰπέ ἵνα οἱ λίθοι οὗτοι ἄρτοι γένωνται*. Ἐκεῖ ἔλεγεν ὁ
ὄφης ὅτι *Ἔσεσθε ὡς θεοί*, καὶ τούτῳ λέγει ὅτι *Εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰπέ*
τάδε καὶ τάδε. Ὁ πρῶτος πειρασμὸς κατὰ πρῶτον καὶ ἀντιθέσεις ὑπὸ τῆς
γυναικὸς καὶ τοῦ ὄφεως γένονεν· ὡσαύτως καὶ ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου πειρασμὸς
670 ἀντιρρητικῶς μετὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ παρηκολούθησε δαίμονος.
Εἰ οὖν ταῦτα πάντα ὁμοιότροπον ἔχει τὸν τύπον ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου Ἀδὰμ
καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μὴ ἀμφιβάλλης λοιπόν, ἀλλὰ γινῶθι ἀκριβῶς ὅτι
παρεφθέξατο τῷ Χριστῷ λέγων, ἵνα πεσὼν προσκυνήσῃ αὐτῷ τῷ
πονηρῷ δράκοντι. Τοῦτο ἦν, ὃ καὶ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκκλησίαν ἐν ἀρχαῖς
675 προσέβαλε, καὶ ἔπεισε καὶ ἠπάτησεν.

4. Ὅθεν καὶ ὀνειδίζων τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁ Θεὸς μετὰ τὸ ἐνδύσαι αὐτὸν
τὸν δερμάτινον χιτῶνα οὐδὲν περὶ βρώσεως ἐγκαλεῖ, ἀλλὰ περὶ θεοπτίας
καὶ ἀποστασίας λέγων· *Ἴδου γέγονεν Ἀδὰμ ὡς εἷς ἐξ ἡμῶν τοῦ γι-
νώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν*, Ἀδὰμ τὸν καθόλου ἄνθρωπον τοῦ κόσμου
680 προλέγων. Οὕτω γὰρ ἐνόμιζον ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι θεοὺς οἱ περὶ τὸν Κρόνον
καὶ τὸν Ζῆνα καὶ Ἑρμῆν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἡρακλέα καὶ Σάραπιν καὶ
Ἄρτεμιν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐκείνους παναθέους ἀνθρώπους, πρὸς οὓς
πάνυ προσφυῶς ἀρμόττει τὸ μετὰ τὴν βρώσιν τὴν πονηρὰν ἐκείνην τῶν

clearly teach you this: just as the devil had urged the earlier Adam to
idolatry through Eve,¹ so also he made his case and brought his attack
against the second Adam through the flesh.² But he missed the mark.³

3. The one who disagrees will be refuted sufficiently by the truth of
the matter, which points in this direction. After the first Adam was
born,⁴ Satan immediately attacked him through his rib, Eve, who was
his wife.⁵ Likewise, after the second Adam, Christ, had indicated the
true rebirth of his Baptism,⁶ the Tempter immediately attempted to
tempt him through his flesh,⁷ which was now his spouse.⁸ The first
Adam had the breath from God.⁹ The second Adam had the Spirit from
heaven.¹⁰ What is more, the temptation of Adam happened in the midst
of vegetation, at the spring of Eden.¹¹ The second temptation happened
at the Mount of Olives,¹² in the midst of the trees: Christ was tempted as
he was going up from the font of the Jordan River.¹³ The first man was
tested when he was among the beasts.¹⁴ Mark speaks similarly about
Christ: *He was tested in the wilderness with the beasts*.¹⁵ In Paradise,
when the human was fasting and had not yet eaten anything, the devil
crafted a temptation through food.¹⁶ Similarly, after Christ had fasted
for forty days, the evil one attacked him through food: *“Speak, so that
these stones may become loaves of bread.”*¹⁷ There the serpent said: *“You
will be like gods.”*¹⁸ And here he said: *“If you are the Son of God, say this
and that.”*¹⁹ The first trial took place through questions and refutations
between the serpent and the woman.²⁰ Just so, the trial of the Lord
proceeded as a controversy between him and the evil demon.²¹

If, therefore, all these things concerning the first Adam and Christ
are of a type tending in a similar direction, do not be doubtful any
longer. Know this precisely: that which he was murmuring to Christ,
that Christ should fall and bow to the evil dragon himself,²² this was
what he was also presenting to the woman, the Church in the beginning,
and he persuaded her and deceived her.²³

4. Therefore God, after having clothed him in a leather garment,²⁴
reproached the man, but said nothing about the meal. Instead, he spoke
about the rebellion and divine vision: *“Look, Adam has become like one
of us, knowing good and evil.”*²⁵ With the name “Adam”, he was
foretelling man in general in this world. For in this way they thought
themselves to be gods—those around Cronus, Zeus, Hermes, Apollo,
Hercules, Sarapis, Artemis, and all the rest of those utterly godless
people, to whom can be applied very aptly that which was said after the
first-formed’s evil meal. It was said that after they had eaten,

648 εἰδωλολατρίαν M^{a-corr}. 649/50 προσήγαγεν 651 ἡκανῇ P 653 τῆς] τους N^{a-corr}.
654 καὶ] om. P 656 σαρκὸς] καρκὸς N 657 δεύτερος] β' δς' P 663 οὐ παφαγόντος M
665 Χ(ριστο)ῦ P νηστεύσαντι 666/7 ἄρτοι - ὡς] om. M 667 εἰπ[?] om. P 668 καί] om. P
669 καί] om. M^{a-corr}. 671 πάντα] add. πάντα P per dittographiam 672 ἀκρυβῶς P
673/4 ἵνα - δράκοντι] om. M 678 γέγονεν] add. ἐν M 681 σέραπιν P

¹ Cf Gen 3:1-6. ² Cf Mt 4:1-11; Mk 1:12-13; Lk 4:1-13; Heb 2:18, 4:15. ³ Cf Mt 4:11;
Lk 4:13. ⁴ Cf Gen 2:7. ⁵ Cf Gen 2:21-22; 3:1-6. ⁶ Cf Mt 3:13-17; Mk 1:9-11;
Lk 3:21-22; Jn 1:12-13; 3:1-4. ⁷ Cf Mt 4:1-11; Mk 1:12-13; Lk 4:1-13; Heb 2:18; 4:15.
⁸ Cf Ps Sol 7:6; Jn 1:14; Rom 1:3; Gal 4:4; Phil 2:7; 1 Tim 3:16; He 2:14; 1 Jn 4:2.
⁹ Cf Gen 2:7. ¹⁰ Cf Mt 4:16; Mk 1:10; Lk 3:22; Jn 1:33-34. ¹¹ Cf Gen 2:8-10.
¹² Cf Mk 11:1; Jn 1:28. ¹³ Cf Mt 4:1; Mk 1:12; Lk 4:1-2; Jn 1:28. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 2:19.
¹⁵ Mk 1:13. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 3:1-6. ¹⁷ Mt 4:3. Cf Lk 4:3. ¹⁸ Gen 3:5. ¹⁹ Mt 4:3. Cf Lk 4:3.
²⁰ Cf Gen 3:1-5. ²¹ Cf Mt 4:3-10; Lk 4:3-12. ²² Cf Mt 4:9; Lk 4:7. ²³ Cf Gen 3:6, 13;
2 Cor 11:3. ²⁴ Cf Gen 3:21. ²⁵ Gen 3:22.

685 πρωτοπλάστων ειρημένον. Φαγόντων γὰρ αὐτῶν φησιν· *Διηνοίχθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔγνωσαν ὅτι ἦσαν γυμνοί.* Ἐγνώσαν ὅτι γυμνοὶ ἦσαν τοῦ πράγματος, οὐ ἐνόμισαν ἐπιτυχεῖν. Ἐγνώσαν ὅτι ἀπέτυχον, οὐ προσεδόκησαν ἐπιτεύξασθαι. Ἐγνώ ὁπότε ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ ὁ προσ-
690 κολληθεὶς τῇ πλάνῃ αὐτῆς πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ ὁφείας ἠπατήθησαν καὶ ἐτύφλωτον νομίζοντες ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι θεοὺς. Ὅτε δὲ τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ἔλαμψε τὸ φωτίζον πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἠνοίγησαν αὐτῶν οἱ τῆς ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμοί, καὶ τότε ἔγνωσαν ὅτι πρὶν γυμνοὶ καὶ ἄθλιοι ἦσαν. Ἐπισημήνασθαι γὰρ χρή ὅτι οὐ λέγει· *Γυμνοὶ εἰσιν*, ἀλλ' ὅτι
695 ἦσαν τὸ πρὶν ἐν τῷ παρωχηκῶτι χρόνῳ τῇ εἰδωλολατρῷ τυφλώ-
τοντες. Ἄλλη γοῦν ἡ πρώτη αὐτῶν γύμνωσις, τουτέστιν ἡ τῶν κακῶν ἀλλοτρίωσις· διὸ οὐδὲ ἠσχύνοντο τότε. Ἐτέρα δὲ αὕτη ἡ νῦν λεγομένη γύμνωσις ἡ ἐκ Θεοῦ ἔκπτωσις.

XI 1. Οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα μόνον τὰ τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ καρπῶν καὶ ξύλων καὶ βρώσεως καὶ ὁφείας καὶ ἀναβλέψεως ἀκούοντες τῇ λεγομένη Μανιχαίων καὶ Ὀφιτῶν δυσσεβείᾳ περιπίπτουσιν. Ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ὡς
700 εὐεργέτη τῷ ὁφεί μεγίστας εὐχαριστίας προσάγουσι λέγοντες ὅτι Διὰ τοῦ ὁφείας ἡμῖν προσέγευε βρώσις· διὰ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως ἡ ἀνάβλεψις· διὰ δὲ ταύτης λοιπὸν ὁ γάμος· διὰ δὲ τοῦ γάμου ὁ κόσμος· διὰ δὲ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ὁ Θεὸς ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν· ἐντεῦθεν λοιπὸν οὐρανῶν βασιλεία καὶ τὰ αἰῶνια ἀγαθὰ, ὧν αἴτιος καὶ πρόξενος ἡμῖν ὁ
705 ὄφης ἐγένετο. Οὐκοῦν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς ταῖς σφῶν δυσσεβείαις περιπαρῶμεν, προφητικῶς εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν πάντα τὰ ἐν παραδείσῳ ἱστορικῶς ἀναγεγραμμένα ἢ πεπραγμένα νοήσωμεν χρονικὰς τινὰς καιρῶν διαστάσεις ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ αὐτῶν διαφόρως γινώσκοντες, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα πάντα ἐκεῖνα ὡς ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ πεπραγμένα
710 ἀκούμεν. Ἄλλος γὰρ καιρὸς ἐκεῖνος, ἡνίκα ἦν ἡ ἐκκλησία μὴ ἔχουσα αἰσχύνῃ γυμνὴ πάσης ἁμαρτίας σὺν τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ Θεῷ ὑπάρχουσα, καὶ ἕτερος πάλιν καιρὸς, ἡνίκα ἀφηνιάσασα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς συνόμιλος τοῦ ὁφείας καὶ φίλη καὶ μοιχαλὶς γέγονε, καὶ πάλιν μετὰ τοῦτον ἕτερός τις διέπτευσεν χρόνος, ὅτε ἀποστᾶσα τοῦ ὁφείας καὶ οἰοῦν ἀποταξαμένη
715 πρὸς τὸν πρότερον ἄνδρα τὸν πνευματικὸν Ἀδὰμ ὑπέστρεψεν. Οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ χρόνος, ὅτε ἔγνω καὶ ἐπέγνω ὅτι γυμνὴ καὶ ἀκαλῶπιστος καὶ ἀσχημονοῦσα ἦν. Οὗτος ἦν ὁ καιρὸς, ὅτε αὐτὴν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐδέξατο καὶ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ξύλου συνεγεύσατο αὐτῇ θανατωθεὶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν.

720 2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ νῦν πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους μοι ὁ

684 αὐτῶν] om. P φησὶ M διηνοίχθησαν P 686 οὐ M 689 ἐτύφλωτον M ἐτύφλωτο P νομίζαντες P 691 αὐτῶ P 692 ἐπισημήνασθαι M^{corr} 693 εἰδωλολατρία M 694/6 τουτέστιν - γύμνωσις] om. P 697 κατὰ] τὰ τὰ M^{corr} 700 εὐχαρίστεας P προσάγοντες P 703 ἐντεῦθεν P 704 τὰ] τὴν M 705 δυσσεβεῖς P 707 ἀναγεγραμμένα M^{corr} 710 γὰρ] om. P 711 Θεῷ] om. M 716 ἀκαλῶπιστος N 717 ὁ] om. P 718 αὐτῇ] αὐτοῦ N 719 τῶν] om. M^{corr}.

their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked.¹ They knew they were bereft of the thing they thought they would obtain.² They knew that they had lost that which they had expected they were going to get. The Church and every person that followed its error came to know that the evil serpent had deceived them. They were blind when they imagined that they were gods.

But when the true light shone, illuminating every man,³ the eyes of their soul were opened.⁴ And then they knew that they had been naked before and wretched. Indeed, it is necessary to point out that it does not say "they are naked," but *they were*,⁵ before, in the past tense, being blind in idolatry.

Their first nakedness, therefore, was one thing: it was being a stranger to evil. And they were not ashamed then.⁶ This nakedness, the one now called so, was something else. It was separation from God.

XI 1. But they who hear only the literal meaning of the things of the garden, the fruits, the trees, the meal, the serpent, and the opening of the eyes⁷—they fall into the so-called impiety of the Manicheans and Ophites, who give great thanks to the serpent as a benefactor. They say: "On account of the serpent, food was given to us. And on account of this food, our eyes were opened. And on account of this, finally, marriage. And on account of marriage, the world. And for the world and sin, God became man. And from this, the kingdom of the heavens and the eternal goods were given to us. And the cause and provider of all these things was the serpent."

So that we too might not approach their impieties, let us consider all the things in the garden, which were done or recorded historically, as prophecies regarding Christ and the Church.⁸ We must also recognize that in each of these correspondences, in a variety of ways, there are some different chronological periods, even if we hear that almost all those things were done in one day. And indeed that was one period, when the Church was naked of all sin and felt no shame,⁹ because she was with her husband, God. But it was another period when she rebelled against her man. Conversing with the serpent, she became his mistress and an adulteress.¹⁰ After that, another time came riding through: she separated from the snake and, as if having done with him, returned to her former husband, the spiritual Adam.¹¹ This was the time when she recognized and knew that she was naked, unadorned, and unseemly. This was the season when her man received her and tasted with her the fruit of the tree. He was killed on her behalf,¹² and rose from the dead.

2. Since now I am speaking to the Church and not the Jews, listen, O

¹ Gen 3:7. ² Cf Heb 6:4-6; 10:34. ³ Cf Jn 1:9; 8:12; 1 Jn 2:8. ⁴ Cf Heb 6:4; 10:34.

⁵ Cf Gen 3:7. ⁶ Cf Gen 2:25. ⁷ Cf Gen 2:8-3:7; Is 6:9-10; Mt 11:15; 13:9, 13-16, 43; Mk 4:23; Lk 14:35; Ac 28:23-27; Rev 2:7; 13:9. ⁸ Cf Mt 5:17-18; 13:52; 26:56; Mk 14:49; Lk 24:27, 44; Acts 28:23; Eph 5:32. ⁹ Cf Gen 2:25. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 3:1-6. ¹¹ Cf Gen 3:6-7.

¹² Cf Gen 3:19.

λόγος, ἀκουσον ὁ πιστὸς καὶ πιστώθητι ὡς πιστὸς ὁρῶν ἀπαραλλάκτως
 πάντα τὰ ἐν παραδείσῳ ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐναργῶς
 πληρωθέντα. Δύο ὑπῆρχον οἱ ἐν παραδείσῳ ἀβλεπτοῦντες τὴν γύμνω-
 σιν ἑαυτῶν, | εἶτα φαγόντες τινὰ ἀπὸ ὄφρα βρώσιν καὶ ἀναβλέψαντες
 725 δι' αὐτῆς. Ἐλθέ μοι λοιπὸν ἀπὸ τῶν τύπων ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων
 ἀλήθειαν. Ἀνατρέπων γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκείνην τὴν τῶν δύο γύμνωσιν καὶ
 τὴν τύφλωσιν ἰώμενος καὶ τὴν πονηρὰν αὐτῶν βρώσιν καταργῶν διὰ
 τινος θεοκάρπου βρώσεως, λύων δὲ καὶ τὴν κατάραν διὰ τινος εὐλογίας
 καὶ ἐγείρων αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκείου πτώματος καὶ ἐπανάγων αὐτοὺς
 730 βλέποντας, ὅθεν ἐξῆλθον μὴ βλέποντες, ἀκουσον τί μετὰ τὸ ἐκ νεκρῶν
 ἀναστῆναι ἐξεργάζεται. Τοῦ γὰρ Κλεοπᾶ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τοῦ Λουκᾶ, ὡς
 οἱ μύσται ἔφασαν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑμμαοὺς ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ὡς ὁ Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ
 Εὐὰ, χωρισθέντων καὶ ἀβλεπτούντων τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, Ἰησοῦς
 προσεγγίσας συνεπορεύετο αὐτοῖς, καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν ἔτι ἐκρα-
 735 τοῦντο τοῦ μὴ ἐπιγινῶναι αὐτόν. Αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ ἀβλεψία. Ἄκουσον καὶ
 τῶν ἐξῆς. Ἐγένετο γὰρ ἐν τῷ κατακλιθῆναι αὐτόν μετ' αὐτῶν λαβῶν
 τὸν ἄρτον εὐλόγησεν. Ἰδοὺ ἡ εὐλογία, ἀντὶ τῆς κατάρας. Καὶ κλάσας
 ἐπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς. Αὐτῶν δὲ διηνοίχθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί, καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν
 αὐτόν. Ἰδοὺ ἔχεις καὶ τὴν βρώσιν. Ἐχεις καὶ τὴν ἀνάβλεψιν διὰ βρώσεως
 740 καὶ τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃν ἠγνόησαν διὰ τῆς βρώσεως οἱ πρωτό-
 πλαστοί. Εἶτα τί μετὰ τὴν βρώσιν γίνεται; Ἀναστάντες αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ
 ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ. Ἰδοὺ καὶ ἡ ἐκ πτώματος ἔγερσις. Ἰδοὺ καὶ ἡ
 καλὴ ἐκ πλάνης ὑποστροφή. Πρῶτον ἔφαγον, καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως ὑπέστρε-
 ψαν, ἐπειδὴ ἡ Εὐὰ πρῶτον ἔφαγε τοῦ καρποῦ, εἶθ' οὕτως πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ
 745 ὑπέστρεψε καὶ τῆς βρώσεως αὐτῷ μετέδωκε καὶ ἔφαγεν. Ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀδὰμ
 οὐκ ἠπατήθη, τουτέστιν ὁ Χριστὸς, ἀλλὰ συγκατεκλήθη ἀναστῆναι τὴν
 πεσοῦσαν βουλόμενος.

3. Ἔτι δ' ἐνδιατρίβων τῷ γράμματι σὺ σκόπει καὶ κατὰ τὴν πράξιν
 αὐτῶν καὶ ζήτησον τίς ὢν ὁ Ἀδὰμ τί γέγονε μετὰ τὴν παράβασιν. Καὶ
 750 γὰρ ἦν ὅλος φωτεινὸς καὶ θεοειδὴς καὶ θεοείκελόν τι εἰπεῖν ἄγαλμα,
 γέγονε δὲ μετὰ τὴν παρακοὴν σκοτεινὸς τις καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστος τὴν
 μέλαιναν ἀμαρτίαν καθ' ὁλόκληρον ἐνδυσάμενος. Ταῦτα γοῦν τὰ τοῖς
 προπάτορι συμβάντα καὶ ὁ Δαυὶδ ἐς ὕστερον ὀδυρόμενος ἔλεγεν·
 Ἡμέρα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐρεῦγεται ῥῆμα, καὶ νῦν νυκτὶ ἀναγγέλλει γνώσιν. Ἔτι,
 755 φησὶν, ὡσεὶ ἡμέρα καθίσταντο φωτεινοὶ οἱ προπάτορες, ὅταν μήπω τοῦ
 ξύλου φαγόντων ἔτι ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς τοῦ ὄφρα
 συμβουλῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα διέβαινε καὶ τὰς τοῦ νοητοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτῖνας
 καθ' ὁλόκληρον περιεβάλλοντο ὡς ἱμάτιον. Ἀλλ' ὅτε βέβρωκεν αὕτη

believer, and believe as a believer, seeing that all the things in Paradise
 were clearly and precisely fulfilled by Christ in the Church.¹

There were two, who did not see their own nakedness in the garden.
 Then they ate a meal from the serpent, which opened their eyes. Come
 with me then from types to the truth of the matter. Christ overturned
 the nakedness of those two, cured their blindness, annulled their evil
 meal through a divine meal, dissolved their curse through a blessing,
 and raised them from their fall. And from where they had left, not
 seeing, he led them back, seeing.

Indeed, hear what he accomplished after his resurrection from the
 dead. Cleopas together with Luke—as the interpreters have said—went
 away from Jerusalem to Emmaus,² as did Adam and Eve. They were
 blind to the true light. *Jesus, having approached, traveled with them.*
 But *their eyes were still restrained, so as not to recognize him.*³ This then
 was the blindness. Now hear what follows. *It happened that while*
*reclining with them, he took the bread and blessed it.*⁴ See: the blessing
 in place of the curse.⁵ *And having broken the bread, he gave it to them.*
*Their eyes were opened, and they recognized him.*⁶ Look: you have the
 meal. You have the restoration of sight through the meal, and the recog-
 nition of God—whom the first-formed failed to acknowledge because of
 their meal.⁷ Then what happened after the meal? *Rising at that very*
*hour, they returned to Jerusalem.*⁸ See: the rise from the fall. See: the
 beautiful return from their wandering. First they ate, and then they re-
 turned, since Eve first ate the fruit, then returned to Adam, and shared
 the meal with him, who also ate.⁹ Adam—that is, Christ—was not
 deceived. But he sat down with her because he was planning to raise her
 who had fallen.¹⁰

3. Since you continue to dwell on the literal, look closely at the result
 of their actions. Who was Adam and what happened after the trans-
 gression? Adam had been entirely splendid. He had the appearance of
 God. Indeed, he was a God-like image, so to speak.¹¹ But after the
 disobedience, he became someone shadowy and unadorned. He dressed
 himself completely in black sin.¹²

David later mourned over the things that had happened to our
 ancestors. He said: *Day to day utters the words, and night to night*
*announces the understanding.*¹³ Our ancestors were still standing
 splendid as the day, before they ate from the tree, nor had the woman
 revealed the words of the serpent's plot to her man. Indeed, they were
 wrapped completely, like a cape, in the rays of the noetic sun. But when
 she was persuaded and she ate, she put on the nocturnal shadow

723 ἀβλεπτοῦντες P 725 λοιπῶν M^a ^{cont.} 726 ἐκείνων P 731 ἐξεργάζεται P^a ^{cont.}
 κλεοπᾶ] *scripsi* κλεόπα MNP 732 οἱ] *om.* P 733 ἀβλεπτούντων MP 742 ἡ²] *add.* ἐκ
 πτώματος ἔγερσις P^a ^{cont.} *per dittographiam* 744 οὕτως MP 746 ἀναστήσαι N
 748 ἐντρίβων P γράματι M^a ^{cont.} 749 τι M 753 καὶ] αὐτὸν P *ad initium lineae* 754 νῦν] *add.*
 τῇ N ἀναγγέλλει P 755 φωτεινοὶ οἱ] οἱ φωτεινοὶ P 758 βέβρωκεν N^a ^{cont.}

¹ Cf Mt 5:17-18; 13:52; 26:56; Mk 14:49; Lk 24:27, 44; Acts 28:23; Eph 5:32.

² Cf Lk 24:13, 18. ³ Lk 24:15-16. Cf Mt 16:17; Jn 20:14; 21:4. ⁴ Lk 24:30.

⁵ Cf Gen 3:17-19. ⁶ Lk 24:30-31. ⁷ Cf Gen 3:8. ⁸ Lk 24:33. ⁹ Cf Gen 3:6.

¹⁰ Cf Mk 14:58; 15:29; Jn 2:19, 21; 6:39-40, 44, 54. ¹¹ Cf Gen 1:26-27. ¹² Cf Gen 3:7, 21;

2 Cor 5:21; Gal 3:13. ¹³ Ps 18(19):3.

πεισθεῖσα καὶ νυκτῶδες σκότος τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἡμφίεστο, τόθ' ὡς νύξ
 760 ἦγουν ἐσκοτισμένη, μηδ' εἰδυῖα τί συμβουλεύεται τῷ ἀνδρί, νυκτὶ καὶ
 αὐτῷ γεγονότι διὰ τὴν ἴσην ἄγνοιαν ἀπαγγέλλει γινῶσιν, ἦτοι τὸ
 γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ φυτὸν ἀπαγγέλλουσα ἐπιδίδωσιν. Ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ἄλλως σκοπητέον. Πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ἕως ἂν πρὸ τοῦ φαγεῖν ὥσει
 765 ἡμέρα ἦν φωτεινὴ, ῥῆμα ἀπήγγελλεν, ἦγουν κατεσπουδασμένως καὶ
 συντετμημένως ὑπετίθει περὶ τῆς βρώσεως, τὸ κατηρημένον γὰρ τῆς
 1023A ἡδονῆς τῆς Εὐας πρὸς τὸ ἀμάρτημα μακρηγορεῖν οὐκ εἶα· ὃ | τε δὲ τὸ
 δεινὸν ἀπηρτήσθη καταπήλαυσέ τε τοῦ ἐφετοῦ καὶ λίχνον πέπανται
 κορεσθέν, τότ' ἀπαγγέλλει γινῶσιν. Ἰδοὺ, φησὶν, ὅτι γεγυμνώμεθα ἐκ τῶν
 τοῦ φυτοῦ δυνάμεων τε καὶ ποιοτήτων, καὶ γὰρ διηνοίχθησαν αὐτῶν οἱ
 770 ὀφθαλμοὶ τοῦ νοὸς καὶ ἔγνωσαν οἷον κακοῦ κατηντήκεισαν ἀλλήλους
 διδάσκοντες, ἃ πεπόνθασιν.
 4. Οὕτως ἐμοὶ φίλον τὰ περὶ τοῦ παραδείσου πάντα καὶ τῶν πρωτο-
 πλάστων νοεῖν. Ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ γὰρ πρεσβεύω, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς
 γνησίας μητρὸς Εὐας ἐκκλησίας ζωῆς προΐσταμαι κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων
 775 Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ τῶν αἰρετικῶν τρόπαια τῷ πιστῷ λαῷ ἰστών καὶ
 ποιούμενος. Καὶ τοῦτοις τοῖς νοήμασι καὶ | θεωρήμασι τοῖς διὰ πάσης
 1024A ταύτης τῆς ἑξαήμερου πραγματείας ἡμῖν εἰρημένοις ὁ πιστὸς λαὸς κατὰ
 τῶν ἐναντίων ὥπλισθη, καὶ οὐ δεήσει ἄλλων τροπαίων ἢ ὅπλων ἰσχυρο-
 τέρων πρὸς αὐτούς, οὐ Μωσαϊκῶν, οὐ προφητικῶν, οὐ Δαυϊτικῶν. Τὰ
 780 γὰρ ὅπλα τῆς στρατείας ἡμῶν ταῦτα, οὐ σαρκικά, οὔτε εὐθραυστα,
 ἀλλὰ δυνατὰ τῷ Θεῷ πρὸς καθαίρεσιν ὀχυρωμάτων ἐναντίων,
 λογισμοὺς αὐτῶν καθαιροῦντα καὶ πᾶν ὕψωμα ἐπαιρόμενον κατὰ τῆς
 γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ
 τὸ κράτος ἅμα τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν
 785 αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. |

761 ἀπαγγέλλειν M ἀπαγγέλει P 762 ἐπιδῶσιν N 763 μὲν] om. N^{a corr}
 764 ἀπήγγελλεν M^{a corr} 765 κατηρημένον] scripsi κατερριμένον MP κατερριμ(έν)ον
 NP^{corr} 766 τῆς] τε M 766 τὸ] τὸν M 767 ἀπηρτήθη M^{a corr} λίχνον M
 768 ἀπαγγέλει P 770 οἷον] οἱ M οἷα P 771 πεπόνθασιν M 773 ὑπὲρ χριστοῦ γὰρ]
 ὑπὲρ γὰρ χ(ριστο)ῦ N ὑπὲρ χ(ριστο)ῦ P 774 γνωσίας M 775 πιστωλαῶ P καὶ] om. M
 778 ὥπλισθη M 780 σαρκά M^{a corr}

of sin. Then she became dark as night. She did not know what she was saying to her man. And so she announced the knowledge to him, who had become like night through equal ignorance. Or at least, she told him about the fruit of understanding good and evil,¹ and she gave it to him.²

David's statement can also be considered in another way. Earlier, before she ate, she was splendid as the day. She reported the words, but she spoke quickly and briefly about the meal, for the despicable nature of Eve's pleasurable inclination to sin did not allow her to speak at length. Yet when the awful thing had been done and she satisfied her desire for the object, the urge now satiated ceased and she announced her understanding. "Look," she said, "we have been stripped naked by the powerful qualities of the fruit." For their eyes of reason were opened. And they understood what evil they had encountered, as they explained to one another what they suffered.

4. It is pleasing for me to contemplate all the things of Paradise and the first-formed in this way. For I am an ambassador for Christ.³ I am the champion⁴ of my genuine mother,⁵ Eve, the Church of Life.⁶ And against opposing Jews and heretics, I earn and erect trophies of victory for the faithful people.⁷ And with the observations and reflections that have been discussed by us throughout this treatise on the six-day creation, the faithful people have been given weapons against the enemy.⁸ There is no need for other trophies or stronger arms against them: not from Moses, nor the prophets, nor David. *For the weapons of our war* are these: *not physical* nor easily broken, *but having the power of God to demolish the fortresses of his enemies*,⁹ tearing down their arguments and every proud obstacle that is raised against our understanding and faith in Christ, the true God.¹⁰

The glory and the power belong to him with the Father and the Holy Spirit forever and ever. Amen.

¹ Cf Gen 2:9, 17; 3:5. ² Cf Gen 3:6. ³ Cf 2 Cor 5:20; Eph 6:20. ⁴ Cf Rom 12:8; 1 Th 5:12; 1 Ti 3:5; 3:12-15; 5:17. ⁵ Cf Ps 86(87):5; Jn 19:27; Gal 4:26. ⁶ Cf Jn 5:26; Jn 6:35, 48; 11:25; 14:6; Rom 8:10; 2 Cor 4:10, 11; Eph 3:15; Col 3:4; 1 Jn 5:12. ⁷ Cf 1 Cor 15:56-57; 1 Jn 5:4-5. ⁸ Cf Rom 6:13; 13:12; 2 Cor 6:7; 10:4; Eph 6:13-17; 1 Pet 4:1. ⁹ 2 Cor 10:4. ¹⁰ 2 Cor 10:5.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀκολουθῶς
λόγος ἐνδέκατος |

1 I 1. Καὶ λαβοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ ἔφαγε καὶ ἔδωκε καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἔφαγε. Καὶ διηνοιχθήσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν δύο, καὶ ἔγνωσαν ὅτι γυμνοὶ ἦσαν.

5 Ἦδη μὲν ὑμῖν πρὸ βραχείος ἀποδέδεικται ὅτι πρὸ τῆς βρώσεως διηνοιγμένους εἶχον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, τὸ γὰρ εἰπεῖν ὅτι Καὶ εἶδεν ἡ γυνὴ ὅτι καλὸν τὸ ξύλον εἰς βρώσιν ὀξυβλεπτοῦσαν αὐτὴν δείκνυσι, καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ λέγειν ὅτι Ἀρεστὸν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν καὶ ὠραῖον τοῦ κατανοῆσαι. Διὰ τῶν τριῶν λέξεων πάνυ αὐτῆς τὴν ὀξυωπίαν καὶ τὸ περιεργον καὶ τρανὸν μανθάνομεν τῆς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν
10 τηλαυγοῦς ὁράσεως. Ὅθεν ὁ Σύμμαχος εἰς τὸ Διανοιχθήσονται, συνετισθήσονται τέθεικεν. Ὁμοίως καὶ εἰς τὸ Διηνοιχθήσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν δύο, συνετίσθησαν εἶρηκε, τουτέστιν ἐσοφίσθησαν καὶ εἰς ἐπίγωσιν ἦλθον τῆς οἰκείας γυμνότητος τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῶν ὅμματα, περὶ ὧν καὶ ὁ προφήτης ἠύχετο τῷ Θεῷ λέγων· Ἀποκάλυψον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου,
15 ὅτι τὸ φῶς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου καὶ αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστι μετ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλὰ φώτισον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου μήποτε ὑπνώσω εἰς θάνατον, ὥστε τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀμαρτίας καὶ συναίσθησιν πρὸς ἐπιστροφὴν νόησον ὁμμάτων ἀνάβλεψιν. Ἐπισημῆνασθαι γὰρ δεόν μετὰ πολλῆς τινος τῆς ἀκριβείας ὅτι πλησίον τοῦ ὄψεως ὑπαρχούσης τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ κεχωρισμένης τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ πρώτης αὐτῆς φαγούσης ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου οὐκ εὐθέως ἀνέβλεψεν, ἀχρὶς ἂν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ὑπέστρεψε. Λαβόντος δὲ καὶ
20 φαγόντος τοῦ πνευματικοῦ Ἀδάμ, τουτέστι παθόντος Χριστοῦ, τότε διὰ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ ἡ γυνὴ ἀνέβλεψε σὺν αὐτῷ. Εἰ δὲ οὐχ οὕτω τὰ πράγματα νοεῖς, ἐχρῆν τὴν γυναῖκα πρώτην φαγοῦσαν πρώτην καὶ ἀναβλέψαι. Ἰδωμεν οὖν λοιπὸν καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἧς.

2. Καὶ ἔγνωσαν ὅτι γυμνοὶ ἦσαν, καὶ ἔρραψαν φύλλα συκῆς καὶ ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς περιζώματα.

30 Ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ γυμνώσει εἰπὼν ὁ συγγραφεὺς ὅτι Οὐκ ἠσχύνοντο νῦν λέγει ὅτι καὶ ἠσχύνοντο ἀλλήλους, τοῦτο γὰρ ἀκόλουθον ἦν εἰπεῖν. Μήπω δὲ πρὸς συνάφειαν γάμου συνελθόντες μήτε μὴν ἐπιστάμενοι δι' ἣν αἰτίαν τὰ παιδουργὰ μόρια παρηλλαγμένῳ σχήματι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ὑπάρχουσι παρ' αὐτοῖς, | τίνα αἰσχυνόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς τὰ ἐκ φύλλων συκῆς
40 συνέρραψαν περιζώματα; Εἰ γὰρ τὴν σωματικὴν γύμνωσιν καλύψαι ἠβούλοντο, πολλὰ τῶν ἄλλων φυτῶν φύλλα πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην χρεῖαν

titulus ἀκόλουθος P λόγος] om. P 2 ἀνδρὶ] om. P 5 διηνοιγμένους M 6 ὀξυβλεπτοῦσαν MN δείκνυσιν N 9 πε(ρ)ὶ ἐργον N^{corr} 10 τό] τὸν M 11 τέθεικεν P 12 συνετίσθησαν M^{corr} 13 καὶ] om. N 17 συνετίσθησιν N 18 δεόν μετὰ] δέομαι M^{corr} 20 φαγού N 21 ἄχρῃς N 22 φαγόντος M παθόντος] add. τοῦ P 23 ἡ] om. M τὰ] add. τὰ M per dittographiam 28 ἠσχύνον τό M ἠσχύνοντο P 29 ἠσχύνοντο] om. P ἀκόλουθον P 31 παρηλλαγμένῳ M παρηλλαγμένῳ

This is the eleventh book in the series by the same author.

I 1. And the woman, taking its fruit, ate. And she gave it also to her man, and he ate. And the eyes of the two were opened, and they knew that they were naked.¹

Indeed a little while ago it was pointed out to you that, before the meal, they had eyes that were open. The statement: *And the woman saw that the tree was good to eat*,² indicates that she was sharp sighted, as well as the statement: *It was pleasing to the eyes to look upon and attractive to think about*.³ Through these three descriptions, we learn thoroughly about her sharp sightedness and about the clarity and curiosity of the far-sighted vision of her eyes.

Therefore Symmachus replaced *they will be opened*⁴ with *they will comprehend*. Similarly, instead of *the eyes of the two were opened*,⁵ he said *they comprehended*. That is: they understood. Indeed, the eyes of their soul came to an understanding of its own nakedness.

It was with respect to these spiritual eyes that the prophet implored God by saying: *"Uncover my eyes,"*⁶ because *the light of my eyes—even this is not within my power*.⁷ But *illuminate my eyes, so that I will never sleep in death*.⁸ The perception and recognition of sin lead to change. Consider this the opening of the eyes.

It is necessary to note with fine precision that when the woman was separated from her man and near the serpent, when she first ate from the tree, she did not immediately see.⁹ This did not happen until she returned to her husband. But when the spiritual Adam received and ate¹⁰—that is, when Christ suffered—then through his suffering, the woman saw with him.¹¹ If, however, you do not accept these things in this way, then it would have been necessary that the woman, who ate first, saw first.

Let us look, then, at what follows.

2. And they knew that they were naked. And they sewed together leaves from a fig tree and made clothes for themselves.¹²

In the earlier nakedness, the narrator said: *They were not ashamed*.¹³ But now he says that they did feel shame before one another, for to speak so was a consequence.¹⁴ Yet if they had never come together in marital intercourse, and they did not understand why their reproductive organs were formed differently from one another, male and female,¹⁵ before whom did they feel shame and so stitch together clothes for themselves from the leaves of the fig tree?¹⁶

In fact, if they had wanted to conceal their physical nakedness, there grew many leaves of other plants for such a purpose, broader and more useful. We see that the leaves of the Indian palm tree are of such a kind.

¹ Gen 3:6-7. ² Gen 3:6. ³ Gen 3:6. ⁴ Gen 3:5. ⁵ Gen 3:7. ⁶ Ps 118(119):18.

⁷ Ps 37(38):11. ⁸ Ps 12(13):4. ⁹ Cf Gen 3:1-6. ¹⁰ Cf 1 Cor 15:45. ¹¹ Cf Gen 3:7.

¹² Gen 3:7. ¹³ Gen 2:25. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 3:10-11. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 1:27. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 3:7.

35 εὐμεγεθέστερά τε καὶ χρησιμώτερα πέφυκεν, οἷα δὴ καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν
φοινίκων ὀρώμεν τυγχάνοντα. Ὅμως οὐκ ἀνανεύομεν οὔτε μὴν τὴν σω-
ματικὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς θείας γραφῆς καταλύομεν, ζητοῦμεν δὲ πάλιν πῶς
καὶ τὰ συκογενῆ ταῦτα περιζώματα εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
προετυπώθησαν, εἰ γε πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀποβλέποντα
40 γεγόνασιν.

II 1. Καὶ ἔρραψαν φύλλα συκῆς ἑαυτοῖς περιζώματα. Καὶ ἤκουσαν τῆς
φωνῆς Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ περιπατοῦντος ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τὸ δειλινὸν
τῆς ἡμέρας.

Κοινὸν τι καὶ ἀναντίρρητον δόγμα καθέστηκε τὸ δειλινὸν τῆς ἑκτης
45 ἡμέρας ἐκείνης τῆς ἑβδομάδος τῆς κτίσεως τὸ μέσον τῆς ἑκτης ἡμέρας τοῦ
αἰῶνος αἰνίττεσθαι καὶ διαγράφειν, τουτέστι τὸ πεντακισχιλιοστὸν καὶ
πεντακοσιοστὸν ἔτος, ἐν ᾧ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐνηνθρώπησεν. Οὐκοῦν ὁ πρὸ
τοῦ δειλινοῦ καιρὸς τὴν νομικὴν σημαίνει λατρείαν τῆς συναγωγῆς, ὡς
φύλλα συκῆς λόγους τινὰς ἀκάρπους καὶ προστάγματα κνηθῶδη
50 συμμέτρως πῶς ἔχουσιν τὰ ρυτιῶδη τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων πταίσματα
ἐπιπολαίως πῶς διαξύνονται, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ τὰ φύλλα τῆς συκῆς ἡμέρως
πῶς διαξύνει τοὺς τῶν σκευῶν ρύπους διὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς μετρίας τραχύ-
τητος. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γύμνωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην τῆς φύσεως διὰ τῆς
περιτομῆς συγκαλύπτουσι. Διὸ καὶ περὶ τὸ μόριον ἐκεῖνο τὸ τῆς περι-
55 τομῆς δεκτικὸν τὰ ἐκ φύλλων συκῆς τεθείκασιν περιζώματα οἱ προπάτορες
δηλοῦντος ἴσως τοῦ τοιοῦτου ὑποδείγματος ὅτι τῷ δειλινῷ τῆς κτίσεως
ἡμέρας τοῦ αἰῶνος καλυφθήσεται πῶς καὶ ἀφανὴς γενήσεται διὰ τοῦ
καταπετάσματος τοῦ δερματίνου χιτῶνος Χριστοῦ ἢ περιτομῆς. Τὰ γὰρ
φύλλα σκιᾶς εἰσι ποιητικά. Σκιὰν γὰρ εἶχεν ὁ νόμος τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ
60 προσταγμάτων. Ὑπὸ γὰρ τὰ φύλλα ὁ καρπὸς Χριστοῦ ἐκρύπτετο ἐν τῇ
τῶν Ἰουδαίων γραφῇ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μὴ βλεπόμενος διὰ τὸ κάλυμμα τῆς
καρ|δίας καὶ τοῦ καταπετάσματος τῶν φύλλων τῶν ἐξωτέρων 1025A
ρήμάτων.

2. Ὅθεν καὶ ἐναντὶος τοῖς φύλλοις ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος ξηραίνει
65 καὶ ἀπορρίπτων αὐτά, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ τῆς συκῆς ταύτης. Καὶ γὰρ
πολλάκις συκὴν προσαγορεύει ὁ Κύριος τὴν ἄκαρπον τῆς συναγωγῆς
λατρείαν, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ τριετίαν ἐπισκεψάμενος αὐτήν καὶ ἄκαρπον θεα-
σάμενος καὶ ἐπιτρέψας τῷ γεωργῷ ἐκκόψαι αὐτήν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὴν γῆν
καταργῇ, ἔσχατον δὲ πάλιν ἐλθὼν καὶ πεινῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ
70 παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὴν συκὴν τὴν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ μὴ εὐρώων εἰ μὴ
φύλλα καὶ μόνον, ἐξ ὧν ὑπῆρχον καὶ τὰ περιζώματα ἐκεῖνα, ἦν καὶ ἐξή-
ρανε λέγων· Μηκέτι ἐκ σοῦ καρπὸς ἀρματίας γένηται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

39 αὐτὸν] εἰς τὸν N^{acorr}. 45 ἑβδομάδος M ἑκτηρ N^{acorr}. 46 διαγράφει M 46/7 καὶ
πεντακοσιοστὸν] om. N 50 τότε] τε P 51/2 διαξύνονται - πῶς] om. N 51 ἐπεὶ τοι] M
ἐπεὶ P 55 τεθείκασιν P 60 τὰ] om. M 61 κάλυμμα M 68 ἐπιστρέψας M^{acorr}
68 ἐκκόψας M 70 παραγενόμενος N^{acorr}

All the same, we are not rejecting nor are we undoing the physical history of Divine Scripture. We are inquiring, once more, how these clothes, which were made from the fig tree, were early types¹ related to Christ and the Church.² For all things happened through him and look toward him.³

II 1. And they sewed together leaves from a fig tree as clothes for themselves. And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in Paradise in the evening of the day.⁴

A common and indisputable belief has established that the evening of that sixth day in the seven-day creation⁵ suggests and describes the middle of the sixth day of time: that is, the five thousand five hundredth year, when the Lord God became man.⁶ Therefore, the time before the evening signifies the lawful worship of the synagogue. And like the leaves of the fig tree, which because of their moderate roughness somehow gently scrape away the sordidness of vases, the synagogue's unfruitful words⁷ and scratchy commands somehow superficially scraped away the filthy mistakes of men at that time. And they concealed the nakedness and shamefulfulness of nature through circumcision. Therefore, the forefathers placed the clothes from the fig leaves around that part of the body that receives circumcision. Such imagery perhaps also revealed that in the evening of this day of creation, somehow, the circumcision would be concealed and become invisible,⁸ when covered by the leather garment of Christ.⁹ And as the fabric was made from shady leaves, so also the Law came under the shadow of Christ's commands.¹⁰ And in the Jewish Scripture, under its leaves, the fruit of Christ was concealed.¹¹ The Jews did not see it, because of the veil that covered their heart,¹² and the curtain of leaves, the words from the outside.

2. For these reasons, the sun of righteousness is opposed to the leaves.¹³ It dries them and casts them away—and especially the leaves of this fig tree. The Lord often called the fruitless worship of the synagogue a fig tree. Indeed, once when he saw a three-year old tree and observed that it was fruitless, he ordered the farmer to cut it down, so that it would not also make the ground useless.¹⁴ And when he finally came back and was hungry for righteousness,¹⁵ he approached the fig tree in Jerusalem.¹⁶ Yet he found nothing but leaves and leaves alone, from which also those clothes were made. So he dried it up and said: "Let there never be from you the fruit of sin for all eternity."¹⁷

¹ Cf 1 Cor 10:6. ² Cf Eph 5:32. ³ Cf Jn 1:3; Col 1:16. ⁴ Gen 3:7-8. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:31.
⁶ Cf Jn 1:14. ⁷ Cf Mt 21:19; Mk 11:13; Lk 13:6. ⁸ Cf Heb 8:13. ⁹ Cf Gen 3:21; Heb 10:19-20. ¹⁰ Cf Heb 10:1. ¹¹ Cf 2 Cor 4:3. ¹² Cf 2 Cor 3:14-16. ¹³ Cf Mal 3:20 (4:2). ¹⁴ Cf Lk 13:6-7. ¹⁵ Cf Mt 5:6. ¹⁶ Cf Mt 21:18-19; Mk 11:12-14. ¹⁷ Mt 21:19.

3. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἰώτα ἐν ἡ μία κεραία οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, ἕως
 75 ἂν πάντα γένηται εἰς Χριστόν, σκόπει τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀκολουθίαν.
 Ἐφαγεν Ἀδὰμ βρώσιν τῆς ἐπιβούλου γυναικός, εἶτα διέζωσεν ἑαυτὸν τὸ
 περίζωμα μετὰ τὴν βρώσιν, εἶθ' οὕτως ἔφυγε καὶ ἐκρύβη ὑπὸ τοῦ ξύλου
 ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ ἐζητήθη, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Οὕτως δὲ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἔφαγε
 80 σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς τὸ νομικὸν βρῶμα πολλάκις τῆς ἐπιβούλου συναγω-
 γῆς, καὶ ὅτε ὁ ὄφις Ἰούδας ἐποίησε τὴν προδοσίαν συλλαλήσας τῇ
 μοιχαλίδι συναγωγῇ, εἶτα μετὰ τὴν βρώσιν ἀναστὰς ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου ὁ
 πνευματικὸς Ἀδὰμ διέζώσατο τὸ περίζωμα τοῦ λεντίου, εἶθ' οὕτως
 85 ἔφυγεν ἐν τῷ κήπῳ ἐκουσίως καὶ ἐζητήθη καὶ ἐξῆλθε τοῦ κήπου. Ἐγὼ δὲ
 θαυμάζω τὴν πώρῳσιν Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκριβεῖ τῆς γραφῆς, καὶ γὰρ
 ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ κέεται ὅτι ἑαυτὸν διέζωσεν, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ. Εἰ δὲ
 90 καὶ ἐν κήπῳ βούλει ἰδεῖσθαι αὐτὸν γυμνὸν λέντιον καὶ μόνον περι-
 εζωμένον, ὅρα αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Γολγοθᾶ ἀπὸ περιζώματος καὶ μόνου
 κρεμώμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ κρανίου Ἀδὰμ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ
 πάσχοντα καὶ τῆς Εὐας, περὶ ὧν εἴρηται ὅτι Καὶ ἤκουσαν τῆς φωνῆς
 Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ περιπατοῦντος ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τὸ δειλινὸν τῆς
 95 ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐκρύβησαν ὃ τε Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ προσώπου
 Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ παραδείσου. Καὶ ἐκάλεσε Κύριος
 ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Ἀδὰμ, πού εἰ; Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Τῆς
 φωνῆς σου ἤκουσα περιπατοῦντος ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ ἐφοβήθην, ὅτι
 100 γυμνός εἰμι, καὶ ἐκρύβην. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Κύριος ὁ Θεός· Τίς ἀνήγγειλέ σοι
 95 ὅτι γυμνός εἶ, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, οὗ ἐνετείλάμην σοι τούτου μόνου μὴ
 φαγεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἔφαγες;

III 1. Ἰσως οὐδὲν ἀπαικὸς ἐστίν, ὅπερ ἐκεῖναι ἔλεξαν αἱ περὶ Μαρίαν
 καὶ Σαλώμην καὶ Ἰωάνναν ζητοῦσαι εὐρεῖν τὸν ἐν παραδείσῳ τοῦ
 Γολγοθᾶ κρυπτόμενον ὑπὸ τὸ ξύλον γυμνὸν Χριστὸν Ἀδὰμ, ὃν ἐκάλεσε
 100 καὶ ἐξήγαγε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τῆς κατακρύψεως ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν
 τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, τοῦτο καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ κήπου καὶ τοῦ
 κρυπτομένου ἐν αὐτῷ γυμνοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ξύλου, ὃν ἐπιζητῶν ὁ
 Θεὸς ἀναστήσῃ τῷ δειλινῷ τῆς ἡμέρας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπεδήμησεν. Ἐκεῖναι
 105 μὲν γὰρ αἱ περὶ τὴν Μαгдаληνὴν Μαρίαν ἔφασκον· Τίς ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν
 τὸν λίθον, ἵνα τὸν ἐνδον κρυπτόμενον ἴδωμεν; Ὁμοίως ταῦτόν κάμοι
 106A ἐπεισὶν ἐπὶ τοῖς προκειμένοις καὶ ἀθεωρήτοις μυστηρίοις | τούτου τοῦ
 γράμματος εἰπεῖν καὶ ὥσπερ μεγάλῳ τινὶ λίθῳ τῇ ἀσαφείᾳ καλυπτο-
 μένοις εἰπεῖν· Τίς ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν τὸν τοῦ γράμματος γνόφον, ἵν' ἐντὸς
 110 τῆς νεφέλης καὶ τῶν θείων τούτων ἀδύτων εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων
 διακύψαντες τὰ κρυπτὰ τούτου τοῦ κρυπτομένου μυστηρίου κατ'ὶδωμεν

3. Since not one line or one dot will pass away from the Law until all
 things have happened¹ in regard to Christ, look at the sequence of
 events. Adam ate the meal of his treacherous wife.² After the meal, he
 girded himself the loin-cloth.³ Then he fled and hid beneath the tree in
 the garden and was sought.⁴ And so on. So also Christ often ate with his
 apostles the lawful meal of the treacherous synagogue.⁵ But when the
 serpent Judas betrayed him, by speaking with the adulterous
 synagogue,⁶ then the spiritual Adam, after eating, stood up from the
 dinner and girded himself the loin-cloth; that is, the towel.⁷ And thus he
 fled of his own will into the garden, and he was sought. Then he left the
 garden.⁸

I am amazed at the precision of Scripture and at the obtuseness of
 the Jews. Concerning Adam, it states that he girded himself.⁹ And it
 says the same of Christ.¹⁰ And if you desire to see him naked, girded
 round with only a cloth in the garden, then look at him at Golgotha,
 where he was clothed only in a loin-cloth. He hung from the cross above
 the skull of Adam,¹¹ suffering on behalf of Adam and Eve.

It was said about them: *And they heard the sound of the Lord God walking in Paradise at the evening of the day. And both Adam and his wife hid from the face of the Lord God in the middle of the forest of Paradise. And the Lord God called to Adam and said to him:*

"Adam, where are you?"

And he said to him:

"I heard the sound of you walking in Paradise and I was afraid, because I am naked, and I hid."

And the Lord God said to him:

"Who told you that you are naked? Did you eat from that tree, from which alone I commanded you not to eat?"¹²

III 1. Perhaps it is not unreasonable for us to repeat what they said, the companions of Mary and Salome and Joanna.¹³ Under the tree in that garden of Golgotha they sought to find him that was concealed: the naked Christ, Adam. But the Lord God had called him and led him from his concealment:¹⁴ he had raised him in the flesh from the dead.¹⁵ We can apply their statement to this garden and the one concealed within: the naked Adam in the middle of the forest, whom God came to visit and sought to raise at the evening of the day.¹⁶ For the companions of Mary Magdalene said: *"Who will roll away the stone for us,"¹⁷* so that we might see the one hidden within?" I could say the same thing about this passage's mysteries, which lie before us and are invisible, because they are concealed in obscurity as by a great stone. Who will roll away for us the mist of the literal meaning? We want to look through at the Holy of Holies within the cloud and the divine sanctuary; we want to gaze upon the secret rituals of this hidden mystery. But we will not perceive them with a clear-sighted and correct way of thinking, if we are diverted by the crassness of an historical reading.

73 Ἐπειδὴ M^{scpt} P Ἐπειδ(η) M^p opt. ἡ M^{a-cpt}· καραία P^{a-cpt}· 74 πάντα N^{a-cpt}· τῶν τῷ N
 76 οὕτω P τὸ ξύλον N 79 τὴν] om. N 82 καὶ] om. M 86 μόνον N^{a-cpt}
 88 πάσχονται] scipsi πάσχοντος MNP 90 καὶ] om. N 98 τὸν] om. N 99 τὸ ξύλον]
 ξύλου P 104 τὴν] om. P Μαгдаληνὴν NP 106/7 καὶ ἀθεωρήτοις - εἰπεῖν] om. M^{a-cpt}·

¹ Mt 5:18. ² Cf Gen 3:6. ³ Cf Gen 3:7. ⁴ Cf Gen 3:8-9. ⁵ Cf Jn 2:13, 23; 6:4; 13:1-2.
⁶ Cf Mt 26:14-16; Mk 14:10-11; Lk 22:3-6; Jn 6:70-71; 13:2, 26-27, 30. ⁷ Cf Jn 13:4.
⁸ Cf Mt 26:30, 46-57; Mk 14:26, 32, 41-53; Lk 22:39, 47-54; Jn 14:31; 18:1-13.
⁹ Cf Gen 3:7. ¹⁰ Cf Jn 13:4. ¹¹ Cf Mt 27:33, 35; Mk 15:22, 24; Lk 23:33-34; Jn 19:17-18,
 23, 24. ¹² Gen 3:8-11. ¹³ Cf Mk 16:1-2; Lk 24:1, 10. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 3:9. ¹⁵ Cf Eph 1:20;

ὄργια, ἅτινα οὐκ ἂν εὐσυνόπτω ὀρθοδοξίᾳ κατανοήσωμεν, εἰ τῷ πάχει
 τῆς λέξεως ἱστορικῶς ἀπαχθείημεν: 'Ο γὰρ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν
 πληρῶν Θεός, ὁ λέγων: *Οὐκ ὄφεται ἄνθρωπος τὸ πρόσωπόν μου καὶ*
ζήσεται, πῶς προσωπικῇ παρουσίᾳ καὶ τοπικῇ μεταστάσει βαδίζων ὁμοῦ
 115 τε καὶ φωνῆς ἦχον ποιῶν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τὸ δειλινὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ
 ἐπεδήμησε: Τίνος δὲ χάριν καὶ ἡσχύνη ὀφθῆναι τῷ Θεῷ γυμνὸς ὁ Ἀδὰμ
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γυμνὸς εὐθέως ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενόμενος καὶ ἀπερικάλυπτος: Ἄρα
 δὲ ἡγνῶει ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τὰ πάντα γινώσκων πρὶν γενέσεως αὐτῶν τὸν
 120 τόπον, ἔνθα ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἐκέκρυπτο, καὶ ἔκραζε λέγων: *Ἀδάμ, ποῦ εἶ;* Τὸ δὲ
 παραδοξότερον διὰ τί μὴ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους καλεῖ, καὶ πολλῶν πλείον τὴν
 γυναικα τὴν πλανηθεῖσαν: 'Ο Ἀδὰμ γὰρ οὐκ ἠπατήθη, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἠπα-
 τήθη. Πῶς δὲ οὐδὲ φαίνεται ὅλως λαλήσας ὁ Θεὸς τῇ γυναικὶ πρὸ τῆς
 παραβάσεως:

2. Ἐπεὶ οὖν πολλὴ καὶ δυσκατάληπτος ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ προειρημένα ἡ
 125 τῶν προκειμένων ἀληθὴς κατανόησις μὴ ὅτι τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τοῖς ἀνέκαθεν θεολήπτοις καὶ περὶ ταῦτα δεινοῖς, ὥς καὶ Ἀδαμάντιος
 φησιν ὁ φυρατῆς εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ ταῦτα καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἄλλων
 λαβεῖν, δεηθῶμεν ἐκείνου τοῦ δακτύλου τοῦ ἀψαμένου τῶν ὁμμάτων τοῦ
 ἐκ γενετῆς τυφλοῦ, ὅστις κυρίως ὑπῆρχεν ὁ Ἀδὰμ εὐθέως ἐκ γενετῆς
 130 ἀόμματος γενόμενος ὥς κρυβεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ φωτός, ὅπως καὶ τῶν
 ἡμετέρων ὀφθαλμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀψάμενος εἶπη: *Ἐφφάθα, ὃ ἐστὶ*
Διανοίχθητι. Οἱ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν κρατοῦνται τοῦ μὴ ἐπιγινῶναι
 σαφῶς πῶς ὁ μὲν προφήτης Μωϋσῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ λαλῶν ἐν
 αὐτῷ, διὰ πάσης τῆς ἐν τῇ παρακοῇ δραματουργίας καὶ τῆς ἀμαρτίας
 135 τοῦ ξύλου καὶ τῆς βρώσεως κοινοποιεῖ καὶ συνάπτει ἅμφω τοὺς
 πρωτοπλάστους, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν γυναικα μόνην δεικνυσιν αἰτίαν. Αὕτη
 γὰρ πρὸς τὸν ὄφιν ἐπλησίασεν: αὕτη προσωμίλησεν: αὕτη ἠπατήθη:
 αὕτη ἔφαγεν: αὕτη τῷ ἀνδρὶ δέδωκεν: αὕτη τούτῳ ἐπεβούλευσεν: αὕτη
 γέγονεν αἰτία τῆς ἀμαρτίας, τῆς γυμνώσεως, τῆς αἰσχύνης, τοῦ φόβου,
 140 τῶν περιζωμάτων, τῆς φυγῆς τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τῆς κατακρύψεως, τοῦ
 ἐπιτιμίου, τῆς κατάρας, τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ ὅλων τῶν μυρίων κακῶν. Καὶ
 τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων πῶς παραγενόμενος ὁ Θεὸς τῷ δειλινῷ ἐκείνῳ
 εἰς ἀναζήτησιν καὶ οἰονεῖ ἐξέτασιν τῶν παρακουσάντων οὐ καλεῖ τὴν
 145 γυναικα πρὸς ἐξετασμόν, οὐκ ἐπιτιμᾷ βαρέως αὐτῇ, οὐ τίθησιν ἐν τῷ
 ἐπιτιμῷ αὐτῆς ὅλως κατάραν, οὐ δίδωσιν αὐτῇ χοῦν εἰς βρώσιν, οὐκ
 ἀκάνθας, οὐ τριβόλους, οὐ χορτοφαγίαν, οὐχ ἰδρώτα προσώπου, ἀλλ'
 οὐδὲ θάνατον, ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐκβάλλει ἢ ἐξορίζει αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου,
 οὐκ ἀναμνησκει αὐτὴν ὅλως τοῦ ὄψεως, οὐ καταισχύνει αὐτὴν λέγων:

God, who fills heaven and earth, said: "A man will not see my face and live."¹ How then, did God, by walking, change places and arrive face-to-face with Adam? How did he make a sound with his voice, when he visited Adam in the garden at evening?² Why was Adam ashamed to be seen naked by God?³ In the beginning, he had been made naked and unclothed by him.⁴ And are we supposed to think that God, who knows all things before they happen,⁵ did not know the place where Adam was hiding? Why did he cry out: "Adam, where are you?"⁶ What is even more unexpected: why did God not call both of them—indeed, especially the woman, who had been misled? For Adam had not been deceived: his wife had been deceived.⁷ Indeed, how is it that God does not seem to have spoken at all to the woman before her transgression?

2. A true understanding of this episode is a great challenge. It is difficult to grasp, more so than all that we have discussed before. And this is the situation not only for us and our contemporaries, but was also so for those who from the very beginning were inspired by God and were skilled at these things, as even Adamantius, the compiler for Christ, said. It is difficult to grasp these things, according to their similarity with other episodes. Since this is so, let us pray to that finger which touched the eyes of the one born blind.⁸ Adam was above all such a one. From his very origin, he was sightless, as he hid from the light of God.⁹ So let God, having touched the eyes of our soul, say: "Ephphatha," which means: "Be opened."¹⁰

Our eyes are held fast so as not to understand clearly¹¹ why the prophet Moses—or rather, the angel speaking through him¹²—in all the drama of the disobedience joined together the first-formed humans and made them both sharers in the sin of the tree and meal, or rather he pointed out that only the woman was to blame. She approached the serpent. She conversed with it. She was deceived. She ate. She gave it to her man. She plotted against him.¹³ She became the cause of the sin, the nakedness, the shame, the fear, the girdling clothes, the flight from God, the concealment, the punishment, the curse, the death, and all the myriad of evils.¹⁴

And with these things being so, when God appeared that evening to seek out and examine those who had sinned,¹⁵ why did he not scrutinize the woman? He did not seriously chastise her; he did not include a curse in her rebuke; he did not give to her dust for food, nor thorns, nor prickly plants, nor grass to graze, nor sweat on her face, not even death. He did not cast her out or bar her from the garden. He did not remind her of the serpent. He did not embarrass her by saying: "Why did you mislead Adam?"¹⁶

Acts 2:31. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 3:8. ¹⁷ Mk 16:3. ¹ Cf Ex 33:20. ² Cf Gen 3:8. ³ Cf Gen 3:10.

⁴ Cf Gen 2:25. ⁵ Cf Dan 13:42 (= Sus 42); 1 Jn 3:20. ⁶ Gen 3:9. ⁷ Cf 1 Tim 2:14.

⁸ Cf Jn 9:1-7. ⁹ Cf Gen 3:8, 10; 1 Jn 1:5. ¹⁰ Mk 7:34. ¹¹ Cf Lk 24:16. ¹² Cf Acts 7:38,

53; Gal 3:19; Heb 2:2. ¹³ Cf Gen 3:1-6. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 3:7-19. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 3:8-9. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 3:11-19, 23-24.

111 εἰς Ν^{α.ο.π.} ἐν Ρ 114 παρουσίᾳ] παρησίᾳ Ρ^{α.ο.π.} 119 που Μ 120 πολλῶν Μ πολῶ Ν 122 οὐ Ν 124 τὰ] οἱ. Μ^{α.ο.π.} Ν 125 προκειμένων] προειρημένων Ρ^{α.ο.π.} καὶ] γὰρ Μ 126 ἀδὰμ ἀντίος Ν^{α.ο.π.} ἀδαμᾶν-πίος Μ 128 δῖθησκον Ν 129 γενετῆς] γενέτου Ν κυρίως] *correxí* κύριος ΜΝΡ 130 γενόμενος Μ 134 δραματουργίας Ρ 136 μόνον Ν 137 προσωμίλησεν Ν^{α.ο.π.} 139 γυγυμνώσεως Μ 143 οἰονεῖ Μ οἰονεῖ Ρ 148 καταισχύνει Ρ

150 Διὰ τί τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐπλάνησας; ἀλλὰ φιланθρωπίαν πᾶσαν καὶ ἀγαθό-
τητα ἐπὶ τὴν πεσοῦσαν γυναῖκα ἐνδειξάμενος ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον χωρεῖ
καὶ φησι πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἀδὰμ, ποῦ | εἶ; Καὶ εἶπε Τῆς φωνῆς σου ἀκήκοα 1027A
περιπατοῦντος ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ ἐκρύβην, ὅτι γυμνός εἰμι. Ἄκουσον
δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ συνωδᾷ τῷ Θεῷ ἀποκρινομένου. Μόνος γὰρ ζητηθεὶς
καὶ κληθεὶς μοναδικῶς καὶ ἀποκρίνεται, καὶ οὐ συνάπτει ἑαυτῷ τὴν
155 γυναῖκα. Οὐ γὰρ λέγει ὅτι Τῆς φωνῆς σου ἠκούσαμεν περιπατοῦντος ἐν
τῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ ἐφοβήθημεν, ὅτι γυμνοὶ ἔσμεν, καὶ ἐκρύβημεν, ὅπερ ἦν
ἀληθές, ἀλλὰ καταλιπὼν αἰτιάσασθαι τὴν οἰκείαν πλευράν ἑαυτὸν προ-
δίδωσιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς.

3. Ταῦτά μου διεξιόντος ὁ παραδεισοπολίτης Παῦλος πάλιν εἰς μέσον
160 παρελθὼν εἶπε· Τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστὶ, καὶ γὰρ δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ λέγω
εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὑπὲρ ἧς δέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς θάνατον.
Ὅθεν καὶ κληθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Ἀδὰμ, ἡνίκα εἶπεν·
Ἀδὰμ, ποῦ εἶ; οὐκ εἴρηται ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ὅτι ἐξῆλθεν ἡ ἡλθε πρὸς τὸν Θεόν,
ἀχώριστος γὰρ ἐστὶν αἰὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ὁ Υἱός. Ταῦτα προκατωρθώ-
165 σαμεν ἀποφράττοντες Ἰουδαίων τὰ στόματα, ἵνα μὴ ἀκούοντες ἡμῶν
πάντα τὰ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ εἰς Χριστὸν ἀναφερόντων νομίσωσιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ
ἀμαρτίαν καὶ ἔγκλησιν καὶ κατάραν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ γεγονέναι. Ἰκανὴ γὰρ ἡ
τῶν νῦν εἰρημένων ἀποδείξεις καὶ τὸν λίαν ἀπειθῆ πείσαι ὅτι ὅσα μὲν ἡ
γυνὴ ἐνεκλήθη, αἰτιατικῶς ἐνεκλήθη, ὅσα δὲ ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ
170 ἀνεγκλήτως ἤκουσε, ταῦτα εἰς Χριστὸν συγκαταβατικῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλη-
σίας λέγονται οἰκωσάμενον καὶ ἀναδεξάμενον τὴν ἐκείνης ἀμαρτίαν καὶ
κατάραν καὶ τὸν θάνατον.

4. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ παρηλλαγμένα καὶ ὑψηλότερα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς
ὑπὲρ τὴν γυναῖκα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀδὰμ πράγματα, ὅπως ἡμεῖς μάθωμεν
175 καὶ παιδευθῶμεν τὸ ἀσύγκριτον διαφορᾶς Χριστοῦ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.
Εἰπὼν γὰρ ὁ Θεός· Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ'
ὁμοίωσιν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον λέγει ἐπὶ τῆς γυναικός, ἡνίκα ἔμελλεν ἐκ τῆς
πλευρᾶς τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ταύτην δημιουργεῖν. Καὶ πάλιν λέγων ὅτι Καὶ
ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν οὐ
180 λέγει καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τὸ Ἐποίησεν αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν περὶ τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου ὅτι Ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, τότε ἐπιφέρει τὸ Ἀρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίη-
σεν αὐτούς. Ὅμοιως καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς διαπλάσεως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἡνίκα λέγει
ὅτι Καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ
ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς αὐτὸν πνοὴν ζωῆς, οὐδὲ μίαν μνήμην ἐποίησατο τῆς
185 γυναικός. Οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν ἡ ἐκκλησία κατ' οὐσίαν τι ἐκ τῆς θείας οὐσίας, ἧς
ὑπῆρχε σύμβολον τὸ ἐμφύσημα προμηνῦον τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου τοῦ ἐκ Πα-
τρὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ πηλίνῳ ἡμῶν εἰσοδόν τε καὶ καθ' ὑπόστασιν σκηνῶσιν.

But showing complete beneficence and goodness to the fallen woman, God approached the man and said: "Adam, where are you?" And he said: "I heard the sound of you walking in the garden and I hid, because I am naked."¹ Listen to Adam's responses when he answers God. He alone was called and questioned, and he alone answers. He does not include the woman. He does not say: "We heard the sound of you walking in the garden. And we were afraid, because we are naked, and we hid." This was the truth of it. But Adam excludes the fact that his own rib was at fault, and he hands himself over on her behalf.

3. When I was going through these things, Paul, that citizen of Paradise, came forward again and said: *This mystery is great.*² And with him, *I say that it concerns Christ and the Church,*³ on account of whom Christ gave himself over to death. Therefore, when the true Adam was called by God, who said: "Adam, where are you?"⁴ Scripture does not say that he came out or that he approached God. Unmovable, the Son is always with God.⁵

We have presented these things correctly beforehand to block the mouths of the Jews, so that they, hearing us compare everything about Adam to Christ, do not believe that Christ committed a sin and so came under God's accusation and curse.⁶ The proof of these statements will be enough to persuade even the most adamant unbeliever. No matter how much the woman was accused, she was accused with good reason. But the many accusations that God made against Adam: these were said to Christ⁷ because of his condescension on behalf of the Church. He took on her sin and curse and death and made them his own.⁸

4. God made the things concerning Adam different and more elevated than the woman, so that we, instructed by these, might learn that Christ's incomparable excellence surpasses the Church. For God said: "Let us make man in our image and likeness."⁹ He did not say the same about the woman, when he was about to form her from the rib of Adam.¹⁰ And again Scripture says: *And God made man, in the image of God he made him.*¹¹ It does not say about her: "He made her." But after this was said about the man—that *he made him*—it adds: *Male and female he made them.*¹² Similarly, with respect to the shaping of man, it says: *And God, taking dust from the earth, created man, and blew the breath of life into him.*¹³ It makes no single mention of the woman.

The Church did not have by essence anything from the divine essence. The symbol of this was the breath, predicting the procession of God the Word from the Father into our clay and his indwelling as a person.¹⁴ On account of this, God did not give his essential breath to the

¹ Gen 3:9-10. ² Eph 5:32. ³ Eph 5:32. ⁴ Gen 3:9. ⁵ Cf Jn 1:1-2; 1 Jn 1:2. ⁶ Cf Rom 8:3; Heb 9:14; 1 Pet 1:19. ⁷ Cf Rom 5:14; 1 Cor 15:21-22, 45, 47. ⁸ Cf Is 54:12; Mk 10:45; Jn 1:29; Rom 5:18-19; 1 Cor 15:3; Heb 9:26-28; 1 Jn 1:7; 2:1-2; Rev 6:9. ⁹ Gen 1:26. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 2:21-22. ¹¹ Gen 1:27. ¹² Gen 1:27. ¹³ Gen 2:7. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 2:7.

160 ἄνθρωπον] *add.* δεξ M^{scop}. 161 καὶ εἶπε] *om.* P 164 καὶ κληθεὶς] *om.* P τὴν] *om.* M 165 ὅτι] *om.* N 166 ἐφοβύβημεν N^{scop}. ἐφοβύθημεν N^{p^{scop}}. 165 ἀποφράσσετοντες N^{scop}. 167 ἰκανή] ἡκανή P^{scop}. 171 ἀναδεξάμενον N^{scop}. 178 καὶ] *om.* N 186 σύμβον N ἐκ] *add.* τοῦ M

Καὶ τούτου χάριν οὐ δίδωσι τῇ γυναικὶ ἐμφύσημα οὐσιῶδες αὐτοῦ ὁ
 Θεός, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ θεότητος καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος συνετέθη ἡ γυνὴ ὥσπερ καὶ
 190 ὁ Χριστὸς Ἀδὰμ, ἀλλ' ἐκ μιᾶς μόνης σαρκὸς πλευρᾶς ἀνθρωπότητος. Καὶ
 ἐν τῇ θέσει δὲ καὶ εἰσόδῳ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ τῇ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ οὐ λέγει
 συντεθείσαν αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα οὔτε μὴν ἐν τῇ ἐργασίᾳ συνεργάζεσθαι
 αὐτῷ ταύτην οὔτε ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ συμφυλάκισαν εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὔτε ἀπὸ
 195 παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἐπιτρέπεται ἐσθίειν, εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ
 ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' οὔτε τίθησιν ἡ γυνὴ ὀνόματα τοῖς θηρίοις καὶ τοῖς
 πετεινοῖς, πρὸς μόνον γὰρ τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἤγαγεν αὐτὰ | ὁ Θεὸς ἰδεῖν τί
 200 καλέσει αὐτὰ ὡς βασιλέα καὶ δεσπότην μέλλοντα αὐτῶν. "Ὅθεν ἐστὶν
 ἰδέσθαι καὶ τὸν ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωπον ὡς ἐξουσιαστήν καὶ δεσπότην
 Χριστὸν μετονομάζοντα τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκκλησίαν ἐξ αὐτῆς ταύτης τῆς
 προσηγορίας, ἣς τέθεικεν αὐτῇ ὁ Θεός, καὶ καλοῦντα τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς
 ζωὴν, ζωαὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς οὗς γεννᾷ τῷ βαπτίσματι. Καὶ ὁ προφήτης
 205 περὶ μόνου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου λέγει πρὸς Θεὸν ὅτι *Ἠλάττωσας αὐτόν
 βραχὺ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους, δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν καὶ κατέ-
 στησας αὐτόν, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτούς, ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου, καὶ πάντα
 ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ* καὶ μόνου, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτῶν,
 τουτέστιν οὐ τῶν δύο, ἀλλὰ μόνου τοῦ Ἀδὰμ εἰς τύπον Χριστοῦ.

5. Ταύτην δὲ σοὶ τὴν πολλὴν καὶ ἀσύγκριτον διαφορὰν τοῦ Ἀδὰμ
 παρὰ τὴν Εὐάν ὑπέδειξα καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν δόξαν, ὅπως μάθης
 ἀκριβῶς, ἥνικα ἴδῃς τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τύπον Χριστοῦ συγκαταβαίνοντα
 210 τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ συνεσθίοντα αὐτῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου καὶ συναναβλέποντα καὶ
 συγγυμνούμενον καὶ συρράπτοντα φύλλα συκῆς, τουτέστι προμελετῶν-
 τα καὶ συντιθέμενον καὶ συννοοῦντα ῥῆμα πρὸς ῥῆμα εἰς ἀπολογίαν, καὶ
 συνακούοντα τῆς φωνῆς Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ περιπατοῦντος καὶ
 φοβούμενον καὶ φεύγοντα καὶ κρυπτόμενον ἀπὸ Θεοῦ καὶ καλούμενον
 215 μόνον εἰς ἐξέτασιν καὶ ἐγκαλούμενον ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ στερρόν
 ἐπιτίμιον ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης δεχόμενον καὶ ἐκβαλλόμενον μόνον ἐκ τοῦ παρα-
 δείσου καὶ ἀπόφασιν θανάτου δεχόμενον, ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ὅτε θεάσῃ τὸν
 Ἀδὰμ καὶ πράττοντα καὶ ὑπομένοντα, ἐννοήσεις Χριστὸν διὰ Παύλου
 σοὶ λέγοντα ὅτι ὁ Ἀδὰμ οὐκ ἠπατήθη ὁ Χριστός. Καθ' ἕτερον γὰρ
 220 τρόπον ἐσθίει ὁ παλαιὸς εἰς τύπον Χριστοῦ, καθ' ἕτερον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ εἰς
 τύπον τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον νοητέον τὴν ἀνάβλεψιν
 τούτου, καθ' ἕτερον δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς. Ἄλλη ἡ γύμνωσις τοῦ ἀνδρός,
 ἑτέρα δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς. Ἄλλως φοβεῖται ὁ Ἀδὰμ ὁ τύπος Χριστοῦ μὴ
 ἀπατηθεῖς, καὶ ἄλλως δειλιᾷ ἡ γυνὴ πλανηθεῖσα. Αὕτη γὰρ κατὰ
 225 παρακοὴν ὡς καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία, ὁ δὲ Ἀδὰμ Χριστὸς κατὰ ἀναδοχὴν ὑπὲρ
 ἀμφοτέρων. Τοιοῦτοτρόπως δὲ καὶ τὴν γύμνωσιν νοητέον, ἣν ἐν κρανίῳ

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woman. The woman was not composed from divinity and humanity, as was the Christ, Adam, but from a single corporal rib of humanity.¹

And when Adam entered, having been placed into the garden, it does not say that the woman was placed with him, or that she labored with him in his work, or that she was a fellow guardian in his guardianship.² She was not ordered to eat from any tree in the garden—only the man was.³ The woman did not give names to the beasts and birds. God led them to Adam alone to see what he would call them,⁴ as their king about to rule over them, It is possible to see the true man, the king and the authority, Christ when he called the woman, the Church, by a new name. Changing the name that God had given to her, he gave her the name "Life".⁵ For she would give life to those whom she bore in Baptism.⁶

It was only about the man, that the prophet said to God: *You made him a little less than the angels, you crowned him with glory and honor; and you established him—but not them—over the works of your hands; and you placed all things beneath his feet.*⁷ His alone: not of them, not of the two, but of Adam alone as the type of Christ.⁸

5. I have pointed out to you his honor and glory and the difference, great and incomparable, between Adam and Eve, so that you may understand properly when you hear what follows. The man, as a type of Christ, gave way to the woman and ate with her from the tree. And his eyes were opened with her, and he was naked with her. And with her he sewed the leaves of the tree:⁹ that is, he prepared beforehand, stitched together, and joined phrase to phrase into a speech of defense. And with her he heard the sound of the Lord God walking about and was afraid and fled and hid from God.¹⁰ But alone he was called for questioning, and he was accused on account of the woman.¹¹ On her account, he received his harsh punishment.¹² And alone he was cast out of the garden and received the sentence of death.¹³

When you see Adam doing and enduring all these things, you will realize that Christ was speaking to you through Paul when he said: *Adam, the Christ, was not deceived.*¹⁴ The former man ate in one way: as a type of Christ.¹⁵ The woman ate in another way: as a type of the Church.¹⁶ You should think in one way about the opening of his eyes, but in another way about her sight.¹⁷ The nakedness of the man was one thing; of the woman, another. Adam, the type of Christ, who had not been deceived, was afraid in one way;¹⁸ the woman, who had been deceived, was frightened in another:¹⁹ she, as the Church, according to her transgression; Adam, as the Christ, in taking responsibility for both.

In such a way you should consider the nakedness that he endured on

193 ἀλλὰ M 194 νόμος N 195 τοῖς²] om. P 200 τέθηκεν P 204 αὐτόν] add. καὶ κατέστησας αὐτόν M per ditto-graphiam 211/2 προμελλετῶντα P 219 σοι] om. N ἠπατήθει N 219/20 γὰρ τρόπον - καθ' ἕτερον] om. M 223 φοβῆται M^{corr.} 224 κατὰ] om. M^{corr.} 226 τοιοῦτοτρόπως MN

¹ Cf Gen 2:23. ² Cf Gen 2:15. ³ Cf Gen 2:16. ⁴ Cf Gen 2:19. ⁵ Cf Gen 3:20. ⁶ Cf Jn 1:12; Gal 3:26-27; 4:26. ⁷ Ps 8:6-7. ⁸ Cf Rom 5:14; 1 Cor 15:21-22, 45, 47. ⁹ Cf Gen 3:6-7. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 3:8. ¹¹ Cf Gen 3:9-11. ¹² Cf Gen 3:17-19. ¹³ Cf Gen 3:19, 23-24. ¹⁴ Cf 1 Tim 2:14. ¹⁵ Cf Rom 5:14; 1 Cor 15:21-22, 45, 47. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 2:24; Eph 5:31-32. ¹⁷ Cf Gen 3:7. ¹⁸ Cf Gen 3:8, 10. ¹⁹ Cf Gen 3:8.

ὑπέμεινε, καὶ τὴν φυγὴν. Διὸ οἰκονομικῶς καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἔφυγε καὶ
ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κρυπτόμενον. Διὸ καὶ ἔλεγεν·
230 Ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου. Εἰ δὲ καὶ φοβούμενον ἐκουσίως θέλεις
Χριστὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ιδέσθαι, ἄκουσον τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ περὶ
αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἐκτενέστερον προσήχετο.
Διὸ καὶ περίλυπος ἕως θανάτου ἐγένετο τὴν τῆς γυναικὸς λύπην ἰώμενος
καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ πάθος ἀγόμενος.

IV 1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ δειλινὸν τῆς ἡμέρας τὸν τῆς ἐπιδημίας τοῦ Θεοῦ
235 Λόγον καιρὸν εἶναι πατρικῶς ἐκδεδώκαμεν, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ιδεῖν πῶς καὶ
εἰς τὸν κατὰ κοινου ἄνθρωπον, οἶονεἰ Ἀδὰμ τινα ὄντα, καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ
σύζυγον ἐκκλησίαν τὰ προκειμένα παραδεισιαῖα μυστήρια προδιεγρά-
φησαν καὶ τὸ πέρας εἰς ἡμᾶς εἰλήφασιν. Φαγούσης τοίνυν τῆς λεγομένης
γυναικὸς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ τῆς ἀσεβείας καρποῦ τοῦ ξύλου, πλησίον τοῦ
240 ὄψεως ἰσταμένης ὡς συζύγου αὐτοῦ ὑπαρχούσης, εἶτα ἀποταξαμένης,
ὡς ἤδη προεῖπον, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ὑποστρεψάσης, οὐκ ἔτι εὐρίσκομεν
αὐτὴν πλησιάσασαν ἢ ὅλως συλλαλήσασαν τῷ ὄφει. Οὐκοῦν πάντα τὰ
μετὰ τὴν ἀποστροφὴν αὐτῆς τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ, τουτέστι Χριστόν, 1029A
ἀγαθὰ χρὴ νοεῖν καὶ ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ παντὸς ὁμογενοῦς
245 αὐτῇ ἀνθρώπου τότε προδιατυπωθέντα, τὴν μὲν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀνά-
βλεψιν Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ φωτὸς ἐπίγνωσιν, τὴν δὲ τῆς γυμνώσεως
συγκάλυψιν ἀρχὴν αἰσθήσεως πρὸς διόρθωσιν. Σοφοὶ γὰρ φησι καλύ-
ψουσι τὰς ἐαυτῶν αἰσχύνas.

2. Ἄκουσον γὰρ τί καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν περιζωμάτων γίνεται ἐνδυσιν.
250 Οἱ γὰρ τὸ πρὶν παρακούσαντες τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ
πρὸ τοῦ δειλινου τῶν χρόνων μήπω ἐπιδημήσαντος καὶ μὴ πλησιάσαν-
τος ἡμῖν διὰ σαρκός, καὶ οὕτω περιπατούντος τοῦ κηρύγματος τότ' ὅτε
εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτοῦ λέγοντος· Μετανοεῖτε,
ἡγγικε γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὅτε ἡ φωνὴ Κυρίου γέγονεν ἐπὶ
255 τῶν ὑδάτων, ὅτε ἡ βροντὴ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς φωνῆς γέγονεν ἐν τῷ
τροχῷ τοῦ κόσμου, ἤκουσαν τῆς φωνῆς Κυρίου τοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Τὰ ἐμὰ
πρόβατα τῆς φωνῆς μου ἀκούει, ἤκουσαν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ περι-
πατούντος ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν ἀγριελαίων ἐθνῶν καὶ
λέγοντος· Δεῦτε πρὸς με πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες, ἐπειδήπερ ὑλοτομεῖτε
260 ξύλα ὀρῶν εἰς θεῶν ματαίων καταγλυφὴν, καὶ πεφορτισμένοι ταῦτα, ἵνα
ἄξητε πρὸς ναοὺς ὑμῶν μιαιρούς, κἀγὼ ἀπὸ τούτων πάντων ἀναπαύσω
ὑμᾶς. Καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν τὸν Κύριον οἱ πρὶν αὐτὸν μὴ φοβούμενοι.
Ἐφοβήθησαν ὅτι μὴ εἶχον ἐνδυμα γάμου, οὕτω γὰρ εἰς Χριστόν

Calvary.¹ And the flight. He also fled into Egypt as part of the
dispensation.² And when he was hidden in Egypt, the Lord God called
him.³ For this reason he said: "I called my Son out of Egypt."⁴ And if you
want to see Christ voluntarily afraid for his Church, then listen to the
Evangelist when he says about him: *And being in agony, he prayed more*
*earnestly.*⁵ While healing the grief of his bride, he became grieved to the
point of death.⁶ And on her behalf, he was led to suffer the Passion.⁷

IV 1. In the Patristic tradition, the evening of the day⁸ represents the
age of the advent of God the Word. We have already put this forward.
Now it is necessary to see how the mysteries of Paradise in this passage
were described and their relationship to the common person⁹—as if
being an Adam—and to Christ's spouse the Church. We must also see
how these mysteries have received their fulfillment in us.

When the said woman ate from impiety's evil fruit, she was standing
near the serpent, as if she were his spouse.¹⁰ Then she left—as we have
already said—and returned to her man.¹¹ We do not find her speaking to
the serpent or even near it again. Indeed, one should consider all the
things after her return to Adam—that is, to Christ¹²—as good and as
early types of the beneficence shown to the Church and every person of
human birth. The new vision of the eyes is the recognition of the true
light of Christ.¹³ The concealment of her nudity is her growing
awareness and movement toward correction,¹⁴ for it is said that the wise
will hide their shame.

2. Listen now to what happens after they put on their clothes.
Earlier, they had disobeyed the voice and the command of God.¹⁵ God
had not yet visited at the evening of time and approached us through his
Incarnation.¹⁶ And his proclamation had not yet spread abroad.¹⁷ But
when his voice came out to all the earth and said: "Repent, for the
kingdom of the heavens is near";¹⁸ when the voice of the Lord arose upon
the waters;¹⁹ and when the evangelical voice²⁰ thundered through the
wheel of the world;²¹ then they heard the voice of the Lord say: "My
sheep hear my voice."²² Then they heard the sound of him walking in the
Paradise of the Church, the wild olives, the nations.²³ And he said:
"Come to me, all you who labor, you who cut the trees of the hills to
carve false gods²⁴ and are heavily burdened with these things, as you
drag them to your bloody shrines. And from all these things I will give
you rest."²⁵

And they, who did not fear him before, now feared the Lord. They
were afraid because they did not have their wedding clothes.²⁶ They had

227 ἔφυγε] om. M 241 ἤδη] add. ὑπαρχούσης N^{1. com.} 242 συλλαλήσασαν M οὐκ ἂν P
243 τὴν] τῆς M 244 χρῆ] χρὸι M^{1. com.} εὐεργεσίας P 245 τὴν] add. ἀπὸ M
247/8 καλύψωσι P 249 γὰρ τι] scripsi om. M γὰρ τίς N γὰρ τί P 249/50 καὶ μετὰ -
ἐνδυσιν. οἱ] om. M 251/2 πλησιάσαντος P 252 ἡμῶν N διὰ σαρκός] διασὺν κόσ. M
255 φωνῆς] om. N 256 κόσμου] add. καὶ P 257 ἀκούει P 260 ὀρῶν] scripsi ὀρῶν MNP
montium Hv.

¹ Cf Ps 21(22):19; Mt 27:35; Mk 15:24; Lk 23:34; Jn 19:23-24. ² Cf Mt 2:13-21.
³ Cf Mt 2:19-20. ⁴ Mt 2:15. Cf Hos 11:1. ⁵ Lk 22:44. ⁶ Cf Mt 26:38. ⁷ Cf Eph 5:25.
⁸ Cf Gen 3:8. ⁹ Cf Ps 8:5; Dan 7:13; Mt 16:27; 24:30; 26:64; Rev 1:13. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 3:6.
¹¹ Cf Gen 3:7. ¹² Cf Rom 5:14; 1 Cor 15:45-47. ¹³ Cf Gen 3:7; Mt 4:16; Jn 1:4, 9; 8:12;
Rom 2:19; 1 Jn 2:8. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 3:7; Pr 13:18. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 2:17; 3:6. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 3:8.
¹⁷ Cf Mt 3:1; Mk 1:4; Lk 3:3. ¹⁸ Mt 3:2; 4:17. Cf Mt 10:7; Mk 1:15. ¹⁹ Cf Mt 3:16-17;
Mk 1:10-11; Lk 3:21-22. ²⁰ Cf Jn 12:28-31; Heb 12:25-26; Rev 4:5; 6:1; 10:3; 14:2.
²¹ Cf Jas 3:6. ²² Jn 10:27. ²³ Cf Gen 3:8, Lk 22:39; Jn 18:1-2. ²⁴ Cf Jer 2:20; Hos 5:11-
13. ²⁵ Mt 11:28. ²⁶ Cf Mt 22:11.

265 ἐβαπτίσθησαν, ἵνα Χριστὸν ἐνδυθῶσι. Γυμνοὶ ἦσαν ἀποδυσάμενοι τὴν
 270 προτέραν ἐνδυσιν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἀλλ' ὅτε ἤκουσαν τῆς
 φωνῆς τοῦ ζητοῦντος τὸ πρόβατον τὸ ἀπολωλός, ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ
 ἔφυγον ὑπὸ τὸ δένδρον καὶ τὴν σκέπην τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς Χριστοῦ τοῦ
 λέγοντος διὰ τοῦ προφήτου περὶ ἡμῶν· *Ἐν σκέπῃ τῶν πτερύγων σου*
 275 *σκεπάσεις ἡμᾶς ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ γενομένους τοῦ προσώπου σου.* "Ὅθεν καὶ
 δεξάμενος τὸν ἄσωτον, τοῦτον γυμνὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔξωθεν, ἔσωθεν καλῶς
 εἰσελθόντα, ἐσκέπασε λέγων· *Ἐξενέγκατε τὴν πρώτην στολὴν*, ἣν ἐφόρει
 τὸ πρότερον οὗτος, τὸ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἐνδυμα, καὶ ἐνδύσατε αὐτόν.
 Οὐκοῦν, ὅταν ἀκούεις περὶ Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ παρουσιάζοντος καὶ λέγον-
 275 τος· *Ἀδάμ, ποῦ εἶ;* ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ταύτην τὴν κλήσιν νόησον, ὃν γὰρ ἐπιζητεῖ
 καὶ καλεῖ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός, πρόδηλον ὅτι τοῦ μὲν πονηροῦ ἀφίσταται,
 σὺν Θεῷ δὲ εὐρίσκεται.

3. Εἰ δὲ μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ θυμοῦ, καθάτινες οἶονται, παραγέγονεν ὁ Θεός
 πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ τὴν Εὐάν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ πρὸς τὸ κολάσαι καὶ
 τιμωρήσασθαι αὐτούς, ἐχρῆν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὐθέως τὸν ὄφιν χωρῆσαι καὶ
 280 κολάσαι τὸν αἰτίον τῶν κακῶν. Ἐχρῆν τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν ἐπίβουλον τοῦ
 ἀνδρὸς κατακρίναι καὶ ἐξορίσαι τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ τῇ κατάρᾳ καὶ τῷ
 θανάτῳ ὑποβαλλεῖν. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὸ ἐναντίον γίνεται. Πρόσχευς γάρ· οὐ
 καταράται ταύτην, οὔτε ἐγκαλεῖ, οὔτε θανάτῳ κατακρίνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 χωρίζει καὶ λυτροῦται τοῦ ἐπιβούλου αὐτῆς ὀφείας λέγων αὐτῷ ὅτι
 285 *Ἐχθραν θήσω καὶ οἶονεῖ ῥεπούδιον θήσω ἀνά μέσον σου καὶ ἀνά μέσον*
τῆς γυναικὸς ἀπαλλάττων αὐτὴν ἀπὸ σου καὶ προσκολλῶν ταύτην ἐμοί
τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ Κυρίῳ αὐτῆς, εἴτα καὶ ἐνδύων αὐτὴν χιτῶνα, ἐμὲ τὸν ἐκ
τῶν ἄνωθεν ὑφαντόν, γεγύμνωτο γὰρ ὑπὸ σοῦ, καὶ μετονομάζω αὐτὴν
ζωὴν ὡς θανατωθεῖσαν παρὰ σοῦ. Ἰ Ταῦτα πάντα οὐκ ἀγανακτοῦντος
 290 δικαστοῦ εἰσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀκολουθῶν τῆς ἱστορίας. Εἰπόντος γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ
 πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ· *Τίς ἀνήγγειλέ σοι ὅτι γυμνός εἶ, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, οὐ*
ἐνετειλάμην σοι μὴ φαγεῖν, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔφαγες; ὅρα ὅτι ὁ Ἀδὰμ
 ἀποκρίνεται τῷ Θεῷ λέγων· *Ἡ γυνή, ἣν δέδωκάς μοι μετ' ἐμοῦ, αὕτη μοι*
ἔδωκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, καὶ ἔφαγον.

4. Ἠκηκόεις πῶς ἀναμάρτητος ἦν ὁ Ἀδὰμ μὴ ἀπατηθεῖς. Οὐ γὰρ
 λέγει ὅτι Ἠπάτησέ με ἡ γυνή· οὐ λέγει ὅτι Ἐπτέρνισεν ἡ ὅτι Αὕτη μοι τῆς
 ἁμαρτίας πρόξενος γέγονεν, ἵνα μὴ εἰς τὸν Θεὸν τὸν δόντα αὐτῷ ταύτην
 ἐπαγάγῃ τὴν αἰτίαν ὡς ἁμαρτίαν αὐτῷ δι' αὐτῆς προξενήσαντα.
 Ἠδύνατο γὰρ ἀντιδικάσασθαι πρὸς Θεὸν λέγων ὅτι Καλῶς εἶχον μόνος
 300 ὢν τὸ πρὶν, ἀλλ' ἡ βοήθης, ἣν μοι δέδωκας, οὐκ ἦν βοήθης, ἀλλ' ἐχθρὰ
 καὶ ἐπίβουλος. Οὐδὲν δὲ τοιοῦτον λέγει οὐτ' ἐννοεῖ. Διό φησιν·

267 τὸν τὸν Μ 269 σκεπάσας P^{corr.} γενομέ|μένους Ν γενομένου Ρ σου] om. Μ
 272 τὸν] σύ Μ 273 τοῦ Θεοῦ] om. Ν 274 σου Μ 275 καὶ] add. καὶ Μ 277 μετ'] με' Ρ
 283 οὐ] πῶς Ρ 284 λέγω Μ^{corr.} 285 ἀνά μέσον] ἀναμέσων Μ^{corr.} ἀναμέσον Μ^{p^{corr.}}
 292 ὅρα] om. Μ^{corr.} 293 ἔδωκάς Ρ 298 ἁμαρτίαν] ἁμοιστίαν Μ 299 ἡδύνατον Μ

not yet been baptized in Christ, so that they might put on Christ.¹ They
 were naked, having removed their former covering of incorruptibility
 and immortality.² So when they heard the sound of the one seeking the
 sheep that had been lost,³ they were afraid. They fled beneath the
 branch and the shelter of the Tree of Life of Christ,⁴ who says about us
 through the prophet: *"In the shelter of your wings you will shelter us,"*⁵ we
 who have come to the hiding place of your face."⁶

For which reason, God received the prodigal,⁷ that naked man from
 outside. He happily entered within. God sheltered him and said: *"Take*
off the first mantle,"—which he had been wearing earlier, the clothes of
 incorruptibility⁸—*"and put this on."*⁹

Therefore, when you hear about the Lord God coming and saying:
*"Adam, where are you,"*¹⁰ consider this an invitation for good, to a person
 whom God was seeking and calling to himself. He had left off evil and
 was now found with God.

3. If God in passionate anger—as some believe—had appeared to
 Adam and Eve in Paradise in order to take vengeance and punish them,
 he should have gone straight to the serpent and punished the cause of
 evil.¹¹ He should have condemned the woman, who had conspired
 against her husband.¹² He should have barred her from Paradise, and
 subjected her to the curse and death.¹³

But here the opposite occurs. Look at this: he does not curse her, he
 does not accuse her, he does not condemn her to death. Rather, he
 separates and releases her from the insidious serpent. He says to it: *"I*
will place enmity—indeed like a divorce—*between you and the woman,*¹⁴
 releasing her from you and fastening her to me, as her husband and her
 Lord. And since you stripped her naked,¹⁵ I will dress her in a
 garment¹⁶—in me,¹⁷ who have been woven from things above.¹⁸ And she,
 who was murdered by you, will have her name changed by me to Life."¹⁹

These things are not said by an irate judge, from what follows in the
 story. God says to Adam: *"Who told you that you are naked, unless you*
*ate from that tree, from which I commanded you not to eat?"*²⁰ And see
 what Adam answers to God: *"The woman whom you gave to me to be*
*with me, she gave to me from the tree and I ate."*²¹

4. You have heard how Adam was blameless, he was not deceived,²²
 for he did not say: "The woman deceived me." He also did not say: "She
 tripped me up;" nor: "She was the patron of my sin." He did not want to
 pass onto God, who had given her to him, the blame of having
 introduced sin to him through her,²³ because he could not contradict God
 by saying: "I had it good before, when I was alone. For the helper that
 you gave to me²⁴ was not a helper. She was an insidious enemy." He
 neither said nor thought such a thing. He said: "The helper, whom you

¹ Cf Rom 13:14; Gal 3:27. ² Cf 1 Cor 15:53, 54. ³ Cf Mt 10:6; 15:24; 18:12; Lk 15:4;
 19:10; 1 Pet 2:25. ⁴ Cf Gen 2:9; 3:22, 24; Ez 47:12; Rev 2:7; 22:2, 14. ⁵ Ps 16(17):8.
 Cf Ps 36(37):7; 57(58):1; 61(62):4; 63(64):7; 90(91):4. ⁶ Ps 30(31):21. Cf Ps 26(27):5.
⁷ Cf Lk 15:13. ⁸ Cf 1 Cor 15:53, 54. ⁹ Lk 15:22. ¹⁰ Gen 3:9. ¹¹ Cf Gen 3:13-14.
¹² Cf Gen 3:12-13. ¹³ Cf Gen 3:17-19, 23-24. ¹⁴ Gen 3:15. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 3:7.
¹⁶ Cf Gen 3:21. ¹⁷ Cf Rom 13:14; Gal 3:27. ¹⁸ Cf Jn 19:23. ¹⁹ Cf Gen 3:20.
²⁰ Gen 3:11. ²¹ Gen 3:12. ²² Cf 1 Tim 2:14. ²³ Cf Jn 8:46; 1 Jn 3:5-6. ²⁴ Cf Gen 2:18.

Ἡ γυνή, ἣν δέδωκάς μοι εἰς τὸ σῶσαι καὶ ρύσασθαι καὶ ἀντιλαβέσθαι μου, αὕτη μοι δέδωκε τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς θάνατον, τὸν τοῦ ξύλου καρπὸν, καὶ προθύμως ἔφαγον μήτε ἀντειπὼν πρὸς αὐτὴν μήτε ὅλως παραιτησά-
 305 μενος. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ Ἀδὰμ οὐδὲ μίαν ποιεῖται ὅλως τούτων μνήμην πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν διαλεγόμενος, ὡς μήτε ἀπειθῆς μήτε ὅλως τινὰ προσβολὴν δεξάμενος ἐκ τοῦ ὄφεως μηδὲ ὅλως ἐγγίσας αὐτῷ, ὡς περ οὐδὲ ὁ Χριστὸς οὐδὲ πάλιν ὁ Θεὸς φαίνεται ἐν τῇ φοβερᾷ κατάρᾳ, ἐκείνῃ τῇ πρὸς τὸν ὄφιν, ὅλως ἐγκαλέσας αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἢ μνεῖαν
 310 τινὰ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ πρὸς αὐτὸν ποιησάμενος, ἀλλ' ἄνω καὶ κάτω περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦτον καταρᾶται καὶ ἀπορρίπτει τὴν ἀνεξέγερτον αὐτοῦ πτῶσιν ποιησάμενος καὶ αἰωνίῳ κατακρίνας καταδικῇ, ὅτι τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκκλησίαν μόνην, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν Ἀδὰμ Χριστὸν ἐξηπάτησε, *Νῦν γὰρ φησιν ὁ ἀρχὼν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἔρχεται, καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ εὐρίσκει οὐδέν.*

5. Ὁθεν καὶ ἀποδεξάμενος ὁ Θεὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀναιτίου Ἀδὰμ ἀπολογίαν εἰς τύπον τοῦ ἀναμαρτήτου Χριστοῦ, εἰπόντος ὅτι Ἡ γυνή, ἣν δέδωκάς μετ' ἐμοῦ, αὕτη μοι δέδωκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, καὶ ἔφαγον, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐρωτᾷ τοῦτον, ἀλλ' εὐθέως ἐπὶ ταύτην χωρεῖ. Φησὶν ὁ Μωϋσῆς ὅτι *Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ Θεός· Τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας; Καὶ εἶπεν ἡ γυνή· Ὁ ὄφεις ἡπάτησέ με, καὶ ἔφαγον.* Πῶς δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐγκαλουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐ περὶ ἐκείνου ἀπολογεῖται, ἀλλὰ περὶ αὐτῆς; Ἡ δὴλον ὅτι δεικνύουσα τὸ ἀναμάρτητον τοῦ Ἀδάμ, ὡσανεὶ λέγουσα τῷ Θεῷ· Ἀθῶς ὁ Ἀδάμ. Ἐγὼ μόνῃ παρήκουσά σου, τοῦ ἐμοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀθετήσασα τὰς πρὸς σέ συνθήκας. Ἐπλανήθην ὡς πρόβατον ἀπολωλός,
 320 πλανῆτις καὶ λάτρις γενομένη καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη καὶ τοὺς βουνοὺς γυμνῇ πελαζομένη καὶ τοῖς ρυπαροῖς μου αἵμασι τῶν θυσιῶν μολυνομένη, ὅτι ὁ ὄφεις ὁ πανοῦργος ἡπάτησέ με ὡς ἀπειρόν τινα νεάνιδα πτερνίσας καὶ ἀποπλανήσας.

6. Ταῦτα δὲ μονονουχὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐξομολογουμένης πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν· Ὁ ὄφεις ἡπάτησέ με, ὡς οἷα ἐνδειξαμένης αὐτῆς μετάνοιαν καὶ συγχωρηθείσης, μετέρχεται λοιπὸν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸν πονηρὸν δράκοντα, τὸν ἀποστάτην ὄφιν, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας; Ἀλλ' ὅτι
 330 ἐποίησας τοῦτο καὶ ἐτόλμησας εὐθέως τὸ πρωτοῦργον πλάσμα τῶν χειρῶν μου τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ἐμὴν ἀπατήσαι, ἐπικατάρματος εἶ
 335 ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Ἐπικατάρματος σὺ καὶ μόνος, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ Ἀδάμ· σὺ μόνος, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡ γυνή. Ἀλλ' ἐπικατάρματος σὺ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων μου τῶν ὄντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, οὐ τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ. Οἱ γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἄγγελοί μου ὑψόγηται, ὅτι εὐλογοῦσι με εἰς λειτουργικὰς διακονίας ἀποστελλόμενοι. Σὺ μὲν γὰρ προσεδόκησας ἁμαρτησάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων

gave me to save, protect, and support me¹—it was she who gave to me her death, the fruit of the tree.² And eagerly I ate, neither speaking against her nor declining.”

On account of this, Adam made no mention at all, in his talk with God, that he was not disobedient, that he was not attacked by the serpent, and that he did not even come close to it. And in the fearful curse directed against the serpent, neither Christ nor God seemed to accuse it with respect to the man: they made no mention of Adam to it. But from one end to the other God condemned the serpent on account of the woman, and then cast it out.³ He created a fall from which it could not rise. He condemned it to an eternal sentence, because it had deceived the woman alone, the Church,⁴ but not Adam, the Christ; for Christ said: “*Now the prince of this world is approaching, but he finds nothing in me.*”⁵

5. God accepted the excuse of the innocent Adam, since he was a type of the blameless Christ,⁶ when he said: “*The woman whom you gave to be with me, she gave to me from the tree, and I ate.*”⁷ God asked him nothing more. But immediately he went to her. Moses says: *And God said to her: “Why did you do this?” And the woman said: “The serpent deceived me, and I ate.”*⁸

Why is it that, when God accused her about Adam, she did not speak in defense of him, but only of herself? Surely it was obvious that she was indicating the blamelessness of Adam, as if she had said: “Adam is guiltless. I alone disobeyed you, my God. I broke faith in my pacts to you. I strayed like a lost sheep.⁹ I became a wandering worshipper, nakedly approaching the mountains and hills,¹⁰ where I defiled myself with the sordid blood of my sacrifices.¹¹ The serpent, that troublemaker, deceived me. I was a young girl and naive. He tripped me up and led me astray.”

6. The woman well nigh confessed these things when she said to God: “*The serpent deceived me.*”¹² Then, as if she had indicated repentance and her statement had been accepted, God turned to the evil snake, the apostate serpent. He said to it: “*Why did you do this? But since you have done this*¹³ and dared to mislead the first work of my hands,¹⁴ formed according to my image and likeness,¹⁵ *you from all the cattle and all the beasts upon the earth are accursed.*¹⁶ You and you alone are accursed, and not Adam. You alone, and not the woman. You of all my creatures upon the earth are accursed. You are not one of those in heaven.¹⁷ My angels in that place are blessed, because when they are sent to serve as ministers, they bless me. But you expected, once the humans had

¹ Cf Jn 17:12, 24. ² Cf Rom 6:16, 23. ³ Cf Gen 3:14. ⁴ Cf Rev 20:2-3, 10. ⁵ Jn 14:30.

⁶ Cf Rom 5:14; 1 Cor 15:45-47. ⁷ Gen 3:12. ⁸ Gen 3:13. ⁹ Cf Jer 27(50):6; Mt 10:6; 15:24; 18:12; Lk 15:4-6; 1 Pet 2:25. ¹⁰ Cf Jer 3:23; Hos 4:13. ¹¹ Cf Ez 16:22.

¹² Gen 3:13. ¹³ Gen 3:14. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 2:7; Job 10:8-9; Ps 118(119):73. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 1:26-27.

¹⁶ Gen 3:14. ¹⁷ Cf Heb 1:14.

302 ρύσασθαι P 304 ἀντιπῶν P 306 μνήμην] μὴν N 317 πλέον] *add.* καὶ P
 325 γνιμένη P 326 θυσιῶν] *add.* μου P 327 ὁ] *om.* M πανοῦργος] πανοῦρ P
 334/5 ἐπικατάρματος N 336 ἐπὶ κατάρματος N 339 λειτουργικὰς M 340 προσ-
 ἐδόκησας] *scripsi* προσεδόκας MP προσέδοκας N ἁμαρτησάντων P⁴-*corr.*

345 βασιλεὺς ἀντ' αὐτῶν παντῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς γενέσθαι λέγων ὅτι Ἔσομαι ὁμοῖος τῷ ὑμίστῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπεύσθης τῆς ἐλπίδος. Αὐτοῖς γὰρ διδωμι πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφρων καὶ σκορπίων καὶ τοῦ σοῦ τραχήλου. Εἶτα ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Θεὸς προλέγει αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἀμετανόητον αὐτοῦ
350 κακίαν καὶ γνώμην φάσκων οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτικῶς, ἀλλὰ προφητικῶς ὅτι Ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει σου καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ, τουτέστιν ἐπὶ τῷ θυμῷ σου καὶ τῇ ἡδονῇ σου, πορεύσῃ ἀμετανόητος καὶ γῆν φάγῃ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου, τουτέστιν ἐκπεσὼν τῆς οὐρανόθεν σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως τῆς θείας, γήινα καὶ ὑλικά τιθεὶς νοήματα, περὶ ταῦτα ἰλυσπώμενος τὰ νοήματα καὶ
355 περιειλούμενος ἔσῃ, καὶ ἔχθραν θήσω ἀνὰ μέσον σου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς γυναικός, ἥς ἐπλάνησας, τουτέστι τῆς ἐμῆς ἐκκλησίας.

7. Εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῇ ἀφάτῳ καὶ ἀνεκδιηγῆτῳ σου εὐσπλαγχνίᾳ, Χριστέ ὁ Θεός, τῷ λυτρωσαμένῳ καὶ χωρίσαντι ἡμᾶς τῆς κοινωνίας καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ ἐνώσεως καὶ φιλίας τοῦ πονηροῦ διαβόλου ὁφειν. Σὺ εἶ ὁ
355 Θεὸς ὁ ποιῶν μόνος μεγάλα θαυμάσια, ὁ διὰ τῆς σῆς πρὸς τὴν σὴν νύμφην ἐκκλησίαν ἀγάπης θέμενος ἔχθραν ἀνὰ μέσον ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ τοῦ μηκέτι δουλεύειν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἡ σοὶ τῷ μόνῳ ζῶντι Θεῷ ἀληθινῶς τῷ λέγοντι πρὸς τὸν ἐπίβουλον ταύτης σου τῆς συζύγου νύμφης γυναικός ὅτι Ἐχθραν θήσω ἀνὰ μέσον σου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς
360 γυναικός. Ἐχθραν θήσω μέλλοντος πράγματος καὶ ἔχθρας τεθησομένης. Τό· θήσω σημαντικόν δεικνύντος, τοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων θήσω ἔχθραν ἀνὰ μέσον σου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Νῦν μὲν γὰρ φίλη σοὶ κατέστηκεν ἡ γυνή· νῦν σύζυγός σοι ἐστίν· νῦν ἡχημαλώ-
365 τευσας αὐτήν· νῦν σοὶ δουλεύει· σοὶ ὑπόκειται· σοὶ λατρεύει θύουσα τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς σοὶ καὶ τοῖς δαιμονίοις σου. Ἀλλὰ δὴ μὴ κανχῶ μήτε ἐπαίρου. Μὴ ἀλαζονεύου ἐν τούτοις, ὅτι ἔρχεται ὥρα καὶ νῦν ἐστίν, ὅτε ἐλεύσομαι ἐπισκεπτόμενος αὐτήν τῷ δειλινῷ τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ ποιήσω τὴν ἐκδίκησιν αὐτῆς, καὶ ἔχθραν θήσω φοβερὰν καὶ ἀνειρήνευτον ἀνὰ μέσον σου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς γυναικός ἐκκλησίας. Οὐκ
370 ἔρχομαι γὰρ τότε βαλεῖν μετὰ σοῦ καὶ αὐτῆς εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν εὐαγγελικὴν διχᾶσαι καὶ διαχωρίσαι σὲ τὸν πονηρὸν καὶ μοιχὸν ἄνδρα ὄφιν ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικός, ἥς ἥρπασας ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἵνα, ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ πάσας τὰς ἄλλας γυναικας συναγωγὰς Περσῶν, Ἰνδῶν, Ἀρ[ρ]άβων, Ἰσμηλιτῶν ἡγάπησέ σε, οὕτως ὑπὲρ πάσας μισήσῃ σε. Μᾶλλον δὲ
375 πᾶσαι εἰπεῖν μισήσωσί σε. Μὴ γὰρ Ἰουδαίων μόνων εἰμὶ Θεός; Οὐχὶ καὶ ἐθνῶν; Ναὶ καὶ ἐθνῶν. Καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν κατὰ σοῦ ὀπλιζομένη καὶ ἀνθισταμένη ἀνέλῃ σε.

341 τῆς] *om.* MP 342 διδωμι 343 καὶ σκορπίων] *om.* P 344 εἶπεν N 352 σου] *om.* MN 354 εἰ] *om.* P 356 ἀναμέσων P ἀλὰ μέσον N^{a.corr.} 360 καὶ] αὶ *ad initium lineae* P, κ *minuscule in margine sinistro* τεθησομένης N 362 ἀνὰ μέσον] ἀνὰ μέσων M^{a.corr.} 363 ἐστὶν M ἐστὶ N 365 αὐτῆς] *om.* P 367 ἐλεύσομεν M^{a.corr.} ἐπισκεπτόμενος N^{p.corr.} 368 ἐκδίκησον P 369 ἀνὰ μέσον] ἀναμέσων P 371 διαχωρήσαι P 373 ἀράβων] *scriptis* ἀρράβων MN^{p.corr.} ἀρράγων N^{a.corr.} ἄρραβων P

sinned, that you would become king over all the earth instead of them.¹ You said: *"I will be equal to the highest."*² But you have been disappointed in your hope. For I give them complete authority to trample on serpents and scorpions—and on your neck."³

When God said these things, God made a prediction. It was not a command, but a prophecy revealing the serpent's unrepentant resolve to do evil. God said: *"Unrepentant you will crawl upon your chest and belly—that is, with your passion and your pleasure—and eat the earth all the days of your life."*⁴ Having fallen from heavenly wisdom and divine knowledge, you make earthly and materialistic plans. Therefore, you will crawl like a worm around these thoughts and you will become wrapped up in them. *And I will place enmity between you and the woman,*⁵ my Church, whom you misled."

7. We thank you, Christ our God, for your compassion, unutterable and indescribable, which ransomed and removed us from any association, friendship, unity, or love of the serpent, that evil slanderer. For you are God, who alone does great wonders.⁶ In your love for your bride, the Church, you placed enmity between the enemy and us, so that we will no longer serve him but you alone, the living and true God. You said to him, who was plotting against her, your mate, your bride, your wife: *"I will place enmity between you and the woman."*⁷

I will place enmity: a future action, an enmity about to be placed. The *I will place* is indicative of one pointing ahead, of one saying:

"At the end of time, I will place enmity between you and the Church. For now, the woman has become a friend of yours; now she is your wife; now you have captured her; now she serves you; she lies beneath you;⁸ she ministers to you and sacrifices her sons and daughters to you and your demons.⁹

"But do not boast nor be elated. Do not brag about these things, because the hour is coming and is now here, when I will come to visit her at the evening of the day. And I will avenge her. I will place hatred, fearful and implacable, between you and the woman, the Church. I am not coming then to throw peace between you and her, but an evangelical sword to separate¹⁰ and divide you, like an evil and idolatrous man, a serpent, from my woman. You took her from me. So, just as you were loved by her more than by all other women—the congregations of Persians, Indians, Arabians, and Ishmaelites—so she will come to hate you more than all. But all will hate you. For I am not God of the Jews alone, am I? Am I not God of the nations too? Yes, also of the nations. Armed against you and opposing you night and day, she will destroy you."¹¹

¹ Cf Gen 1:28; 9:1-2. ² Is 14:14. ³ Cf Lk 10:18-19. ⁴ Gen 3:14. ⁵ Gen 3:15.

⁶ Cf Ps 71(72):18; 76(77):15; ⁷ Gen 3:15. ⁸ Cf Jer 3:20; Ez 16:32; Hos 3:1.

⁹ Cf Lev 18:21; 20:2-5; 2 Kg 2:10; Jer 32:35; Ez 16:20-21; Ez 23:37. ¹⁰ Cf Mt 10:34; Lk 12:51; Eph 6:17. ¹¹ Cf Eph 6:11-18.

8. Εἰ γοῦν μὴ οὕτω ταῦτα σημαίνει, ἔδει οὕτως εἰπεῖν τὸν Θεὸν πρὸς
 τὸν ὄφιν· Καὶ ἰδοὺ | ἐχθρα κείσθω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀνὰ μέσον σοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ
 380 μέσον τῆς γυναικός. "Ἰνα τί γὰρ τοῦ πταίσματος πεπραγμένου ἔδει τῷ
 τοῦτο πεπραχότι ἐσύτερον ἀμυνεῖσθαι; 'Ἄλλ' οὐ πείθεται τούτοις τοῖς
 λόγοις ὁ 'Ιουδαῖος τῷ γράμματι μόνῳ προσέχων. Εἴτα οὐχ ὄρᾳς, εἶπέ
 μοι, (αὐτῷ ἐρῶ) τὴν φοβερὰν ἐχθραν ταύτης τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ γυναικός
 ἐκκλησίας, ἣν κατὰ τοῦ ὄφεως ἔχει; Οὐχ ὄρᾳς τὴν ἐνστασιν; Οὐχ ὄρᾳς
 385 τὸν ἀγῶνα, καὶ ταῦτα σὺ μᾶλλον πρῶτος πείρα μαθὼν; Τί γὰρ οὐ
 συσκευάζεις; Ποῖον δ' εἶδος μάχης οὐκ ἀναρριπίζεις; Ὁπόσῃν δὲ χεῖρα οὐκ
 ἐξοπλίζεις ὡς ταύτην ἀπογοισ[σ]ῶσαι; 'Ἄλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐδραία ἴσταται,
 καὶ χωροῦσα κατὰ ξιφῶν οὐκ ἀρνεῖται Χριστόν. Καὶ ἐν τούτοις πᾶσιν
 390 *δυνατοῦ Θεοῦ ἡκονημένα*, δι' ὧν κατὰ τοῦ ὄφεως ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως
 καὶ τῆς μάχης ἐν ὀπλῳ ἴσταται περιπεφραγμένη τῇ παντευχείᾳ καὶ περι-
 εξωσμένη τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ Πνεύματος, τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τῆς ἐλπίδος,
 τὸν θώρακα τῆς πίστεως, τὸν θυρεὸν τοῦ βαπτίσματος; Οὐχ ὄρᾳς τὰ
 ἀήττητα καὶ τὰ ἄθραυστα ὅπλα, ἐν οἷς συντρίβει καὶ ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν
 395 κεφαλὴν τοῦ ὄφεως, λέγω δὴ τὸν σταυρόν, τὸ σῶμα, τὸ αἷμα τοῦ 'Ιησοῦ,
 τὰς εὐχάς, τὰς δεήσεις, τὰς ἀγρυπνίας, τὰ ἄλλα, ἃ κατὰ τοῦ ὄφεως
 μηχανᾶται καὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ παρατάττεται διὰ τὸ μηκέτι τούτῳ δουλεύειν;
 "Ὅθεν ἐχθραίνουσα τούτῳ λοιπὸν καὶ ἐπιστραφεῖσα πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον αὐτῆς
 ἄνδρα Χριστόν καθ' ἡμέραν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τοῦ ὄφεως πολεμεῖ-
 400 ται, διώκεται, τύπτεται, ἐξετάζεται, σφάττεται, δεσμεῖται, ἀδικεῖται
 λιμώττουσα, γυμνητεύουσα, δουλεύουσα, διψῶσα, ἡτεκνωμένη, μελιζο-
 μένη, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὄφιν μηκέτι διαλλαττομένη οὔτε μὴν φιλιουμένη, ἀλλὰ,
 κἂν δέη μυρίους θανάτους ὑπομεῖναι, προθύμως τὰ ἑαυτῆς μέλη καὶ τέκνα
 πυρὶ καὶ ξίφει καὶ αἰκισμοῖς παραδίδωσιν ἢ σπονδὰς καὶ ὁμήρους ἀγάπης
 405 θεῖναι μετὰ τοῦ ὄφεως.

9. Καὶ μάρτυρες τῶν νῦν λεγομένων ἡμεῖς οἱ τοῦ λόγου ἀκούοντες καὶ
 καθ' ἡμέραν ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ταύτης τῆς Χριστοῦ γυναικός κινδυνεύ-
 οντες, τῷ δὲ ὄφει μὴ ὑπακούοντες. Μάρτυρες τῆς ἐχθρας οἱ ἐν ἐρήμοις καὶ
 ὄρεσι καὶ σπηλαίοις ἀγωνιζόμενοι κατὰ τοῦ ὄφεως. Μάρτυρες τῆς ἐχθρας
 410 τῆς γυναικός ταύτης οἱ ποιμένες οἱ ταύτην καλῶς διδάσκοντες καθ'
 ἡμέραν λέγειν· 'Ἀποτάσσομαι τῷ σατανᾷ ὄφει τῷ πονηρῷ, καὶ τῇ
 λατρείᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῇ πλάνῃ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς
 θυσίαις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῇ δουλείᾳ αὐτοῦ.

8. If indeed these things were not meant, it would have been
 necessary for God to say to the serpent: "Look, let enmity be placed from
 now on between you and the woman." Since her fall had already
 happened, why was it necessary hereafter to ward off the snake that had
 already done it?

But the Jew that pays attention only to the letter¹ is not persuaded
 by these arguments. So I ask him:

Do you not see, tell me, the frightening hate that the wife of Christ,²
 the Church, holds against the serpent?³ Do you not see the antagonism?
 Do you not see the struggle, especially as you are the first to have
 learned by experience these things? Oh, what are you not contriving?
 What kind of fight do you not try to ignite? Which hand do you not arm,
 so that you may level this Church to the ground? Yet nevertheless, the
 Church stands more firmly established. And when she moves against
 the swords, she does not deny Christ. And in all these things, we are
 more than conquerors,⁴ as Paul said. Do you not see the sharpened
 swords and the arrows of our powerful God,⁵ with which the Church
 stands armed against the serpent on the battle line and in the foray?
 She is fortified by full armor: the helmet of hope, the breastplate of faith,
 and the shield of Baptism.⁶ She is girded with the sword of the Spirit. Do
 you not see these weapons, unconquerable and unbreakable, with which
 she shatters and removes the head of the serpent? I am speaking of the
 cross, the body, the blood of Jesus, and the vows, prayers, vigils, and
 other weapons that fight against the serpent.⁷ They are deployed against
 it, so that she no longer has to serve it.

Therefore she hates the serpent and has returned to her own man,
 who is Christ, the serpent's cohorts attack her each day: she is pursued,
 clubbed, interrogated, and has her throat slit. Since she no longer is
 reconciled to the serpent nor is friends with it, she is bound then injured
 by starvation, exposure, slavery, and thirst. She is deprived of children
 and cut to pieces. Yet if it were necessary to endure a myriad of deaths,
 she would eagerly hand over her own limbs and her children to the fire
 and sword and torture, rather than come to terms and give pledges of
 love to the snake.⁸

9. We are witnesses to the things that we have just recounted.⁹ We
 hear the Word¹⁰ and do not obey the serpent. But on behalf of the faith
 of the wife of Christ, we put ourselves at risk each day.¹¹ Witnesses to
 the enmity are those who in the deserts and mountains and caves
 struggle against the serpent.¹² Witnesses to the enmity of this woman
 are those shepherds who teach her well each day to say: "I renounce
 Satan, the evil serpent, and his worship, his error, his idols, ceremonies,
 libations, and slavery."¹³

379 κείσθαι M 381 ἀμνηεῖσθαι M ἀναμνηεῖσθαι P 382 γράματι M^{corr.} 383 τῆς] om. N
 384 ἐνστασιν:] NP ἐνστασιν, M 385 μαθὼν M^{corr.} 387 ἀπογοισῶσαι] scripsi
 ἀπογοισῶσαι MNP ἴσταται M 390 ἡκονημένα:] scripsi ἡκονημένα (spatium ad finem
 lineae) M ἡκονημένα; NP 392 περικεφαλαία M^{corr.} 397 καὶ] om. P παραττεται M^{corr.}
 398 αὐτῆς] om. N 401 δουλεύουσα M ἡτεκνωμένη MN 404 σπονδὰς M
 407 ταύτης τῆς] τῆς τοῦ M 412 αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῦ M

¹ Cf Rom 2:29; 7:6; 2 Cor 3:6. ² Cf 2 Cor 11:2; 11:3; Eph 5:22-33; Rev 19:7, 9; 21:2, 9;
 22:17. ³ Cf Mt 13:39; Lk 1:74; 10:19; Acts 13:10; Rom 12:28. ⁴ Rom 8:37.
⁵ Ps 119(120):4. ⁶ Cf Eph 6:14-17; 1 Th 5:8. ⁷ Cf Mk 9:29; Eph 6:18; 1 Ti 5:5.
⁸ Cf 2 Macc 7:1-42. ⁹ Cf Acts 5:32. ¹⁰ Cf Mt 13:23; Mk 4:20; Lk 8:15. ¹¹ Cf 2 Cor
 11:23-28. ¹² Cf Heb 11:38. ¹³ Cf Rev 20:2-3, 10.

Μαρτυρεῖ τῇ θεοσδότῳ ἔχθρᾳ τῆς θεοσεβοῦς ταύτης γυναικός, ἣν πρὸς
 415 τὸν ὄφιν ἐκτίσαστο, ἡ τῶν εἰδώλων καθαίρεισι, ἡ τῶν ναῶν αὐτῶν
 κατὰλυσις, ἡ τῶν ξοάνων σύντριψις, ἡ τῶν στηλῶν ἐξάλειψις, ἡ τῶν
 ἐκκλησιῶν ἑγερσις, ἡ τῶν ἐθνῶν πρὸς Θεὸν ἐπίγνωσις τὸν ταύτην τὴν
 ἀγαθὴν ἔχθραν προορίσαντα καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὄφιν λέξαντα ὅτι *Ἐχθραν*
θήσω ἀνὰ μέσον σου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς γυναικός. Καὶ διὰ τί τῆς γυναικός,
 420 καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἀνδρός; Κεφαλὴ γὰρ τῆς γυναικός ὁ ἀνὴρ, καὶ ἐχρῆν
 αὐτὸν κεφαλὴν ὄντα τῇ κεφαλῇ πολεμεῖν τοῦ ὄφεως. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν
 τοιοῦτον λέγει, ἐπειδὴ οὐδὲν κοινὸν τῷ ὄφει πρὸς τὸν πνευματικὸν Ἀδάμ,
 τουτέστι Χριστόν. Διὸ φησιν ὅτι *Ἐχθραν θήσω ἀνὰ μέσον σου καὶ ἀνὰ*
μέσον τῆς γυναικός.

425 10. Εἰ δὲ σωματικῶς τὰ πρὸς τὸν ὄφιν ῥήματα τοῦ Θεοῦ νοεῖς, ἴ ὅρα 1033A
 πόσαις ἀτοπίαις περιπίπτεις οὕτω ταῦτα νοῶν. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι
 ἀδίκως κατηράσατο τοῦτον ὁ Θεός. Ἄλογος γὰρ καὶ ἄνους ὢν ἀκουσί-
 ως γέγονεν ὄργανον τοῦ διαβόλου, καὶ οὐκ ἔχρην τῷ ἀλόγῳ ὀργάνῳ
 ὀργισθῆναι. Δεύτερον ὅτι, ἐὰν τὴν γυναικὰ μόνην βούλεται ἔχθραίνειν τῷ
 430 πονηρῷ, πρόδηλον ὅτι τὸν ἄνδρα ἀγαπητὸν αὐτοῦ κελεύει εἶναι. Τρίτον
 ὅτι, ἐὰν μεταξὺ τούτου τοῦ σωματικοῦ ὄφεως καὶ τῆς σαρκικῆς ἡμῶν
 γυναικός τέθεικεν ἔχθραν ὁ Θεός, ἐν μιᾷ καιροῦ ῥοπή ἀνὴλίσκον οἱ ὄφεις
 ὅλας τὰς γυναικὰς, καὶ μᾶλλον τὰς οὐκ ἐν πόλεσιν, ἐν τῷ καθεύδειν
 αὐτάς. Τέταρτον ὅτι καὶ ἕτερα πλείστα θηρία ἔχθραίνουσιν ἡμῖν. Πλὴν
 435 ὅτι οὔτε γῆν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐσθίει ὁ ὄφις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτέρας σαρκῶν βρώσεις.
 Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ νοητὸς ὄφις ἀθάνατος ὢν γῆν ἐσθίει πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς
 ζωῆς αὐτοῦ πυρὶ αἰώνιῳ παραπεμπόμενος. Ὅμως περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
 νοητοῦ ὄφεως καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας νόησον τὸ θεῖον λόγιον τὸ φάσκον ὅτι
Ἐχθραν θήσω ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς γυναικός.

440 11. Οὐκοῦν μακαρία ἐν γυναιξὶ μόνῃ αὕτη ἡ γυνή. Ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ μαν-
 θάνομεν δόγμα μέγα περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν οὐρανῶν ὑψηλότερον
 καὶ τιμώτερον. Ποῖον δὲ τοῦτο; Λέγω δὲ ὅτι μόνῃ ἡ τῶν Χριστιανῶν
 ἐκκλησία Χριστοῦ τυγχάνει ἔχθρᾳ καὶ πολέμιος πρὸς τὸν ὄφιν, αἱ δὲ
 445 λοιπαὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ἐν κόσμῳ θρησκεῖαι καὶ πίστεις ἐθνῶν τε καὶ Ἰουδαίων
 καὶ βαρβάρων φίλαι καὶ σύμβιοι καὶ σύζυγοι καὶ ἴδιοι τοῦ διαβόλου
 ὄφεως ὑπάρχουσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τεχθεῖσαι καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸν πονηρὸν σπόρον
 τῶν μιαρῶν δογμάτων συλλαβοῦσαι, ὥς εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν αὐταῖς καὶ
 πατέρα καὶ ἄνδρα τὸν τὴν ἀλληλοφθορίαν μιαρὰν ἐπεισάξαντα. Τοῦτο
 γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ὄφιν σημαίνουν ῥήματα.
 450 Εἰπὼν γὰρ ὅτι *Ἐχθραν θήσω ἀνὰ μέσον σου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς γυναικός*
ἐπήγαγε λέγων· Καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῆς. Καὶ μὴν· Καὶ ἀνὰ
 μέσον τοῦ γεννήματος αὐτῆς εἰπεῖν ὀφείλεν, εἰ πρὸς σωματικὸν ὄφιν καὶ

Here is evidence of the God-given hatred this pious woman has
 gained against the serpent: she removes the idols, she destroys their
 sanctuaries, she crushes the statues, she obliterates the monuments,¹
 she raises the churches,² and the nations acknowledge God.³ God
 predicted this good hatred when he said to the serpent: *"I will place*
*enmity between you and the woman."*⁴

And why the woman and not the man? The man is the head of the
 woman,⁵ and being the head, he should have made war against the head
 of the serpent. But God said no such thing, because there is nothing in
 common between the serpent and the spiritual Adam, who is Christ.⁶ So
 God said: *"I will place enmity between you and the woman."*⁷

10. If you consider the statements by God to the serpent in a literal
 fashion, see how many absurdities you stumble over thinking in that
 way? First: God would have condemned the serpent unjustly. For it,
 incapable of reasoning and speech, became an organ of the devil
 involuntarily, and God should not have been angry with an illogical tool.
 Second: if he had wanted only the woman to hate the evil one, he was
 obviously inviting the man to be the serpent's friend. Third: if God had
 placed enmity between the physical snake and our corporal woman, then
 in a moment's time, the serpents would have destroyed all women—and
 especially those not in cities, while they were sleeping. Fourth: many
 other beasts would have been hostile to us. And finally, it is obvious that
 the serpent does not eat earth every day:⁸ it also eats meat. But not even
 the rational serpent, being deathless, eats dirt all the days of his life,
 having been sent to the eternal fire.⁹ However, consider this divine
 statement: *"I will place enmity between the devil and the woman,"*¹⁰ as
 about the spiritual serpent and the Church.

11. Surely then, this woman is uniquely blessed among women.¹¹ And
 from this statement we learn a great lesson about her—one that is
 higher than the heavens themselves and quite valuable.¹² What is it? I
 say that only Christ's Church, the Church of Christians, is an enemy
 and is fighting against the serpent.¹³ All the rest in the world—the other
 religions and faiths of Gentiles, Jews, and heathens—are friends,
 comrades, spouses, and family of the diabolical serpent. They were born
 from it, and they received from it their evil seed of bloody dogmas.¹⁴ The
 same serpent is both their father and husband, and he has also added
 the accursed mutual corruption of one another.¹⁵

The next words by God to the same serpent signify this. He said: *"I*
will place enmity between you and the woman." Then he added: *"And*
*between her seed."*¹⁶ Doubtless, it would have been necessary to say:
"And her offspring," if these things were said to the corporal snake and

415 αὼν M^a.corr. 419 διατὶ M 422 λέγειν P 423 ἔχθραν P 428 ὀργάνῳ om. N
 429 ἐχθαίνειν N 432 τέθηκεν P ἀνελίσκον MNP^a.corr. pa^a.corr. 433 καὶ αἱ P 436 ἐσθίει
 N^a.corr. 439 ἀναμέσων M^a.corr. ἀναμέσον M^b.corr. 441 αὐτῆς M 443 τυγχάνη P
 444 πίστις M 448 ἐπισάξαντα M 449 αὐτὸν αὐτό M

¹ Cf Ez 6:2-7. ² Cf Mt 24:42; Lk 22:31-32; Rev 3:2; 16:15. ³ Cf Acts 8:14-17; 10:34-48;
 11:15-18; 15:6-21. ⁴ Gen 3:15. ⁵ Cf Eph 5:23. ⁶ Cf Rom 5:14; 1 Cor 15:45-47.
⁷ Gen 3:15. ⁸ Cf Gen 3:14. ⁹ Cf Mt 25:41; Rev 20:10. ¹⁰ Gen 3:15. ¹¹ Cf Jg 5:24;
 Jdt 13:18; Lk 1:42. ¹² Cf Heb 7:26. ¹³ Cf Rev 12:17; 13:11; 18:14. ¹⁴ Cf Jn 8:44;
 1 Jn 3:8-10. ¹⁵ Cf Rev 18:15-18. ¹⁶ Gen 2:15.

γυναικα σωματικὴν μόνην ἦσαν τὰ λεγόμενα. Γυνή γάρ οὐ τίθησι
σπέρμα, ἀλλὰ λαβοῦσα τίκει κύημα. Σπέρματα γοῦν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὰ
455 εὐσεβῆ τυγχάνουσι δόγματα καὶ μαθήματα, ἅπερ κατέσπειρεν ὁ γεωρ-
γὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ λέγων ὅτι Ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείραι. Πάλιν τοῦ
ὄφως σπέρματα τυγχάνουσι τὰ πονηρὰ καὶ δυσσεβῆ αἵρεσιώδη ζιζάνια
καὶ κηρύγματα, ἅπερ θεωρῶν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ σίτου βλαστήσαντα ὁ
Χριστὸς ἔλεγεν· Ἐχθρὸς ἀνθρώπος ταῦτα ἐσπείρει, τουτέστιν ὁ πονηρὸς
460 ὄφις. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὡς πρὸς ἐχθρὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας διαλεγόμενος ἔλεγεν
αὐτῷ ὅτι Ἐχθραν θήσω ἀνὰ μέσον σου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ
ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σπέρματός σου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῆς·
αὐτὸς τηρήσει σου κεφαλὴν, καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ πτέρναν.

12. Περὶ γυναικὸς λέγων καὶ περὶ σπέρματος αὐτῆς πῶς εἰς ἄρρενα
465 μετήγαγε τὸν λόγον λέγων· Αὐτὸς σου τηρήσει κεφαλὴν, καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις
αὐτοῦ πτέρναν· Αὐτοῦ τίνος; Ἄρα τῆς γυναικὸς; Ἄπαγε. Οὐκ ἔχει γὰρ
νοῦν τὸ εἰρημένον. Διαπρίομαι καὶ ἐκπλήττομαι (πρὸς σὲ πάλιν λέγω τὸν
Ἰουδαῖον), πῶς ἐπὶ μυρίους χρόνους ταῦτα καθ' ὥραν ἀναγινώσκων
οὐπω ἔγνωσ τὴν ἐν τούτοις ἀλήθειαν, ὀφείλων μᾶλλον σὺ με φωτίζειν ἐν
470 τούτοις, ὡς σὺ ταῦτα παρὰ Θεοῦ δεξάμενος καὶ πιστευθεὶς. Λοιπὸν δεῦρο
παρ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ βαρβάρου καὶ θηρὸς διδάχθητι τῶν σῶν νόμων τὴν
ἐννοιαν. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐχθραίνειν τῷ πονηρῷ ὄφει καὶ μὴ ὑπακούειν αὐτοῦ
τῇ γυναικὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ δέδωκεν ὁ Θεός, τὴν δὲ τήρησιν ἡγουν μετ' ἐνέδρας
συντριβὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ κεφαλῆς ἀδυνάτως ἔχει ἡ ἐκκλησία. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
475 ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπου ἡγουν τὸν Χριστὸν μετήγαγεν ὁ
Θεὸς τὸν λόγον λέγων τῷ ὄφει ὅτι Αὐτὸς σου τηρήσει κεφαλὴν συν-
τριβὼν σε μετ' ἐνέδρας, καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ πτέρναν, τουτέστι τὰ
ἐσχάτα παντὸς τοῦ σώματος Χριστοῦ (τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκκλησία), ἐν
καιροῖς ἐσχάτοις αὐτὴν σινιάσων. Πτέρνα δ' αὐτῆς καὶ ἐσχάτα ἢ ἐν
480 ὑστέροις καιροῖς τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου παρουσία, αὐτοῦ γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν
ἀποτηρεῖ καὶ ἐκδέχεται ὁ πονηρὸς ὄφις, ὃν χρήσεται ὡς ὄργάνῳ πρὸς τὸ
πτερνίσαι πάλιν διὰ βρώσεως τοῦ τότε ἐσομένου λιμοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν,
καθὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου ἀποδεδώκαμεν λόγῳ. Ὅτι δὲ φύλαξ τῆς
ἐκκλησίας ὁ Χριστὸς καθέστηκεν, οὐ δεήσει περὶ τούτου ἐτέρας μείζονος
485 ἀποδείξεως, ἀλλ' ἡ μόνης ἐκείνης τῆς λεγούσης εἰς πρόσωπον Χριστοῦ
ὅτι Καὶ ἔλαβε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ
ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ φυλάττειν. Διὸ καὶ Χερουβὶμ ἔταξεν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ
φλογίνην ῥομφαίαν στρεφομένην κύκλῳ περιφρουροῦσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
διὰ τὸ μὴ παρεισδύναι ἔσω τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ὄφως. Ἰσως δὲ πάλιν καὶ
490 τούτου χάριν ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρα τὴν λέξιν μετήγαγεν ὁ

the bodily woman alone. For the woman does not plant the seed
(σπέρμα); but receiving it, she produces the fetus. The seeds of the
Church are the pious dogmas and teachings that the farmer planted, the
one who said: "The sower has gone out to sow."¹ But those of the serpent
are the impious and evil seeds, the heretical weeds and declarations.²
Christ, seeing them sprout in the middle of the grain, said: "A hostile
enemy has sown these."³ That is, the evil serpent. And on account of this,
as if he were speaking against the enemy of the Church, he said to it: "I
will place enmity between you and the woman, and between your seed
and her seed. He will watch out for your head, and you will watch out for
his heel."⁴

12. And speaking about the woman and her seed, why did God
transfer the statement to the masculine gender when he said: "He will
watch out for your head, and you will watch out for his heel"?⁵ Whose
heel? Of the woman? Come now. This sentence makes no sense.

I am shocked and amazed—again, I am speaking to you, the Jew—that for a myriad of ages you have read these things, hourly, and still do not know their truth. In these matters, you ought to be illuminating me, since you received them from God and you believe them. But come and learn from me, the barbarian beast, about the meaning of your Laws.

God directed the woman, the Church, to hate the evil serpent and not obey him.⁶ But the Church is not able to watch—or more precisely, to ambush and crush—his head. And on account of this, God transferred the statement from the woman to the man—or more precisely, to Christ. God said to the serpent: "He will watch out for your head. In an ambush, he will crush you."⁷ And you will watch out for his heel, which is the extremity of the whole body of Christ, the Church,⁸ after he in the final seasons winnows her.⁹ Her heel, the extremity, is the presence of the Antichrist in the final seasons.¹⁰ The evil serpent awaits and watches for his season, because the serpent will use the Antichrist as a tool to step on the Church.¹¹ And again it will be through food, since there will be a famine then.¹² This is in accordance with what we explained in the previous chapter.

Christ was appointed as the guardian of the Church.¹³ There is no need of other, better proof of this than the statement about the person of Christ: *And the Lord God took Adam and placed him in Paradise to work it and guard it.*¹⁴ And on account of this, Christ stationed the Cherubim and the flaming sword, which encircles and guards the Church on all sides:¹⁵ to prevent the head of the serpent from penetrating inside.

¹ Lk 8:5. ² Cf Gal 5:19-20. ³ Mt 13:28. ⁴ Gen 3:15. ⁵ Gen 3:15. ⁶ Gen 3:15.

⁷ Cf Rom 16:20. ⁸ Cf Rom 12:5; 1 Cor 12:27; Eph 4:25.

⁹ Cf Am 9:9; Lk 22:31. ¹⁰ Cf 1 Jn 2:18, 22; 4:3; 2 Jn 7. ¹¹ Cf Rev 13:11-18; 20:10. ¹² Cf Rev 6:8; 18:8; Bel 27.

¹³ Cf Jn 6:37-39; 17:12. ¹⁴ Gen 2:15. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 3:24.

458 βλαστήσαντα P^{2a.corr.} 460 ἐχθρὸς M^{1.corr.} 461 ἀνὰ μέσον¹] ἀνὰ μέσων M^{1.corr.} 462 ἀνὰ μέσον²] ἀνὰ μέσων N^{2a.corr.} 464/6 Περὶ γυναικὸς - αὐτοῦ πτέρναν;] om. P 467 νοοῦν N^{2a.corr.} 470 δεῦρον N 477 τηρήσης P 479 καὶ] om. N ἐσχάτη N 480 καιρὸν] add. in margine dextro περὶ αντιχρίστου M¹ 481 ὄργαια P^{2a.corr.} 481/2 πρὸς τὸν πτερνίσαι M προσπτερνίσαι P 488 κύλλω N^{2a.corr.} 489 παρεισδύναι N^{2a.corr.}

Θεός λέγων τῷ ὄφει περὶ Χριστοῦ ὅτι Αὐτός σου τηρήσει κεφαλὴν δι' ἐκείνην τὴν φωνὴν τὴν κοινωνικὴν ἀμφοτέρων τὴν λέγουσαν ὅτι Ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν, ὅπως διὰ τῆς θηλανδρικῆς φωνῆς τὸ ἀδιαίρετον καὶ ταυτοφυὲς καὶ ὁμόσαρκον καὶ σύσσωμον καὶ μονανδρικὸν Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡμᾶς διδάξη.

13. Φύλαττέ μοι, ὦ πιστὸν καὶ ἱερὸν σύστημα, ταῦτα εἰς ἀληκτον μνήμην, λέγω δὴ τὰ περὶ τῆς θείας φωνῆς τῆς λεγούσης τῷ ὄφει ὅτι Ἐχθραν θήσω ἀνὰ μέσον σου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς γυναικὸς μιᾶς καὶ μόνης. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ λέγει· Ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν γυναικῶν, ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ λοιπαὶ πίστεις αἱ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ φίλαι τοῦ ὄφεως εἰσι χωρὶς τῆς μιᾶς καὶ μόνης ταύτης Χριστοῦ καὶ Χριστιανῶν γυναικὸς ἐκκλησίας. Λοιπὸν, ὅτε ἴδῃς τὰς λοιπὰς γυναικὰς καὶ πίστεις, Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ βαρβάρων συναγωγὰς, ψαλλούσας, κραζούσας, ἐορτὰς ἐπιτελούσας, ἀγρυπνούσας, νηστευούσας, θυούσας, προσκυνούσας, θεὸν ὀνομαζούσας, πίστιν κηρυττούσας, δογμα-
500 τιζούσας, γραφὰς ἀναγιγνωσκούσας, τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν «Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ» μὴ ὁμολογούσας, μάνθανε ἀκριβῶς ὅτι πᾶσαι ἐκείναι φίλαι εἰσὶ τοῦ διαβόλου ὄφεως, καὶ οὐδὲ μία αὐτῶν ἐχθρα καὶ ἀλλοτρία τούτου τυγχάνει, εἰ μὴ αὕτη καὶ μόνη ἡ ἐκκλησία Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῆς. Ἐκείναι γὰρ πᾶσαι πορνάδες καὶ μοιχαλίδες ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος
510 τοῦ ὄφεως καὶ συλ|λαμβάνουσαι καὶ τίκτουνσαι, τάχα δὲ καὶ χεῖρον τοῦ ὄφεως οἰκείον καὶ ἐμφυτον σπέρμα ἔχουσαι, ἐκεῖνος γὰρ πολλάκις καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ δαίμονες ὠμολόγησαν καὶ ἐκήρυξαν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου τὸν Χριστόν.

14. Ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τῷ πειρασμῷ ὁ ὄφης ὡς Υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ·
515 Εἰπέ ἵνα οἱ λίθοι ἄρτοι γένωνται. Καὶ ὡς Υἱῷ Θεοῦ ἔλεγεν ὅτι Βάλε σεαυτὸν κάτω ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. Καὶ ὡς Θεὸν παρεκάλουν ὅλοι, ἵνα μὴ παραπέμψῃ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀβύσσῳ. Καὶ ὡς Θεὸν καὶ δεσπότην πάντων ἐδυσώπουν Χριστὸν ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτοὺς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τοὺς χοίρους. Καὶ ὡς Θεὸν ἐξώρκιζεν αὐτὸν τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἵνα μὴ αὐτὸ βασανίσῃ. Οὐδενὶ γὰρ
520 τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος δικαίων τοιαύτας δεήσεις τρέμοντες ἐφθέγγαντο οἱ δαίμονες, εἰ μὴ μόνῳ Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ. Ἐγίνωσκον γὰρ, ἐξ ὧν ἐπασχον, ὅτι ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ καὶ ἀπωλείᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιδράκοντος αὐτῶν ἦλθεν ὁ κριτὴς πρὸς τὴν γυναικα καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοὺς ἀμαρτήσαντας, οὐχ ἵνα κρίνῃ ἢ κατακρίνῃ αὐτοὺς ἢ καταράσῃται, ἀλλ' ἵνα σώσῃ, καθὼς
525 αὐτὸς ὁ σωτὴρ λέγει ὅτι Οὐκ ἦλθον ἵνα κρίνω τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' ἵνα σώσω. Ἦλθε γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ζητῆσαι καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολω-
λός. Οὐ γὰρ ἦλθε καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἀμαρτωλοὺς, ὅτι οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ὑγιαίνοντες ἰατροῦ, ἀλλ' οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες.

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Perhaps for this reason, when he said to the serpent about Christ: "He will watch out for your head,"¹ God changed the statement from the woman to the man because of the previous statement, which was common to both: "The two will be as one flesh."² Through this masculine-feminine phrasing, he taught us that Christ and the Church are inseparable.³ They have the same nature, one flesh, one body.⁴ They are mono-gamous.⁵

13. Guard for me, O faithful and sacred hierarchy, these things as a perpetual reminder. I am speaking of the things about the divine statement to the serpent: "I will place enmity between you and the woman."⁶ The one and only woman. God did not say: "Between you and the women." All the other faiths in the world are friends of the serpent,⁷ except for the one and only, the wife of Christ, the Church of Christians.⁸ You will see the other women and faiths—the congregations of Jews and barbarians—singing to their instruments, shrieking, celebrating their festivals, keeping vigils, fasting, sacrificing, bowing, naming a god, proclaiming their faith, establishing dogmas, reading their scriptures—and not confessing Christ,⁹ "true God from true God."¹⁰ Then know this for certain: all of them are friends of the diabolical serpent. Not a single one of them is an enemy against him. All of them belong to him. With one exception: the Church of Christ, and her seed.¹¹ All of the rest are whores and adulteresses, conceiving from the seed of the serpent and giving birth with it. And they also have a seed within, their own innate seed, which is perhaps worse than that of the serpent. For often the serpent and his demons have confessed and proclaimed Christ as the Son of God the Highest.¹²

14. Thus, during the Temptation, the serpent said to him as Son of God: "Speak so that the stones might become bread."¹³ And again he said to him as Son of God: "Throw yourself down from the Temple."¹⁴ And they all petitioned him, as God, not to send them to the abyss.¹⁵ And as God and King of all, they entreated Christ to command them to enter the swine.¹⁶ And the demonic made him promise, as God, not to torture him.¹⁷

Demons never uttered such trembling petitions to any righteous person of this age: but only to Christ the God. They realized, from what they were suffering, that the judge had come for the ruin and destruction of them¹⁸ and of the archdragon.¹⁹ He did not come to judge or condemn or curse the man and woman that had sinned, but rather to save them. Accordingly, the Savior himself said: "I did not come to judge the world, but to save it."²⁰ The Son of Man has come to seek and save what was destroyed.²¹ And he did not come to call the just, but the sinners.²² For the healthy have no need of a doctor, but rather they who are ill."²³

495 καὶ τῆς] *om.* M 498 καὶ] *om.* P 499 ὅτι] *τι* P *ad initium lineae* 500 ταύτης] *om.* P 508 τυγχάνει] *add.* καὶ P 509 ἐκείναι] *M¹corr.* NP ἐκεῖνα *MP^{corr.}* 510/1 καὶ συλλαμβάνουσαι - τοῦ ὄφεως] *om.* P 511 ἔχασαι *P^acorr.* 512 δέμονες P ὁμολόγησαν P 515 γένονται P 518 δυσώπουν *N^acorr.* 518 ἐπitrέψαν M αὐτοὺς] αὐτοῖς M 519 ἐξ-ώρκιζον P αὐτὸ|αὐτόν P 521 ἐγίνωσκον P 523 κρητὴς P 525 σωτήρ] *om.* M^acorr.

¹ Gen 3:15. ² Gen 2:24; Mt 19:5; Mk 10:8; 1 Cor 6:16; Eph 5:31. ³ Cf Eph 5:32.

⁴ Cf Mk 10:8; 1 Cor 6:15; Eph 5:29-30. ⁵ Cf Mt 19:6, 9; 1 Cor 6:13; 7:39. ⁶ Gen 3:15.

⁷ Cf Rev 12:9; 13:4. ⁸ Cf Mt 22:2; Rev 19:7; 21:2, 9. ⁹ Cf 1 Jn 2:22; 2 Jn 7. ¹⁰ Nicene Creed; cf Jn 17:3; 1 Th 1:9; 1 Jn 5:20.

¹¹ Cf Mt 12:30; Mk 9:40; Lk 11:23. ¹² Cf Mt 8:28-32; Mk 1:23-26; 5:6-13; Lk 4:33-34; 8:27-33. ¹³ Mt 4:3. Cf Lk 4:3. ¹⁴ Mt 4:6; Lk 4:9.

¹⁵ Cf Lk 8:31. ¹⁶ Cf Mt 8:31; Mk 5:12. ¹⁷ Cf Mt 8:29; Mk 5:7; Lk 8:28. ¹⁸ Cf Mk 1:24.

15. Οὐκοῦν, εἰ ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπία καὶ εὐσπλαγχνία καὶ συγχωρήσει
 530 ἁμαρτιῶν παρεγένετο ἐν τῷ βίῳ ὁ Χριστός, ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ αἰῶν
 τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, ἡ δὲ παρουσία αὐτοῦ ἡ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ
 πρὸς τοὺς ἁμαρτήσαντες γενομένη τύπος ἦν ἀψευδῆς τῆς ἐπιδημίας
 αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἐποίησατο πρὸς τὴν πλανηθεῖσαν γυναῖκα Εὐάν ἐκκλησίαν
 φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην, μανθανέτω πᾶς ἄνθρωπος πιστὸς ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ τιμω-
 535 ρία οὐδὲ κολάσει οὐδὲ ἐξορία οὐδὲ κατάρρα παραγέγονε τότε ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς
 τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ τὴν Εὐάν. Τὸ γὰρ πρόβατον τὸ ἀπολωλὸς ἀντίτυπον τοῦ
 Ἀδὰμ ἦν, καὶ οὐ μετ' ὀργῆς αὐτὸ ἐζήτησεν ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
 τῶν ὤμων ἐβάστασεν, ἢ τε δραχμὴ ἢ παραπεσοῦσα ἐκ τῶν δέκα ἡ Εὐά
 ἐκκλησία ὑπῆρχε, καὶ οὐ μετὰ θυμοῦ ἐζήτησε καὶ εὔρεν αὐτὴν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ
 540 φιλανθρωπία. Καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ περιπεσὼν ταῖς λησταῖς ὁ πρωτόπλα-
 στος Ἀδὰμ ὑπῆρχε, καὶ οὐ μετὰ πινος ἀπειλῆς ἰάτρυνε καὶ ἐβάστασεν
 αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, ἔνθα καὶ τὸν σταυρόν, ὁ Ἰησοῦς. Καὶ ὁ ληστής δὲ ὁ
 εὐγνώμων τύπον ἐναργῆ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐξεκόνιζε, καὶ δῶρον τὸν παρά-
 δεισον ἡμῖν Χριστὸς δι' αὐτοῦ ἡνοιξε. Λοιπὸν μὴ ἀπιστήσης ὅτι καὶ πρὸς
 545 τοὺς ἁμαρτήσαντας πρωτοπλάστους πολλὴν τινα φιλανθρωπίαν τότε ὁ
 Θεὸς ἐνεδείξατο ἐν τοῖς νομιζομένοις ἐπιτιμίοις τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς
 αὐτούς, ἐν οἷς τὰ μὲν ῥήματα δίκην τινῶν καταρῶν ἐσκιαγράφησε πρὸς
 φόβον τοῦ μιαιοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους, ἡνίκα τὸν νόμον ἐξετίθετο, τὰ δὲ εἰσι
 προφητικῶς, ἀλλ' οὐ τιμωρητικῶς πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ τὴν Εὐάν ἐρημ-
 550 νευόμενα περὶ τῶν μελλόντων συμβήσεσθαι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἡνίκα ἐν τῇ
 πλάνῃ διῆγε πρὸς τὸν ὄφιον πρὸ τῆς ἐπιδημίας τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου | πρὸς 1036A
 αὐτὴν, ἣν προδιέγραφε σαφῶς ἡ παρουσία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ
 ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ δειλινῷ.

V 1. Ταῦτα ἀναγκάως προοιμιασάμην καὶ προησφαλισάμην τὸν
 555 ἄκροατὴν πρὸς τὸ μὴ δυσχεράναι ἢ ξένα δοκεῖν ἀκούειν, ἐφ' οἷς μέλλομεν
 εἰπεῖν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐπιτιμιῶν λόγῳ θεωρήμασιν, ὥς νέοις τισὶ καὶ ξένοις καὶ
 ἀπειθάνοις οὖσιν. Ἡ γὰρ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος χάρις οὐ παύεται ποτε
 νεαροῖς ἀνθεσι καὶ νοήμασι τὸν παράδεισον τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατακοσμοῦσα
 καὶ στεφανοῦσα. Καθὰ γὰρ ἤδη καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν εἶπον, μυρίαί
 560 αἰρέσεις γεγόναν περὶ τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ τῶν πρωτοπλάστων
 ἀκούσασαι μὲν, μηδὲν δὲ πνευματικὸν νοήσασαι ἐν αὐτοῖς. Σαμαρεῖται μὲν
 γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ λέγειν ὅτι Γῆ εἴ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύση θνητὸν ὅλον τὸν
 ἄνθρωπον διὰ τὸ χοῖκόν εἶναι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν μετὰ τοῦ σώματος
 νομίσαντες τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀπηρνήσαντο. Ὡριγένης δὲ ὁ δυστυχής (οὐκ
 565 οἶδ' ὅπως εἶναι σοφὸς λεγόμενος) ἐμωράνθη πορνεῖον ἀποφηνάμενος
 γεγονέναι τὸ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας χωρίον, τὴν συνουσίαν τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν

15. Indeed, Christ, *the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world*,¹ was present here in life for the purpose of kindness, compassion, and forgiveness of sinners.² And his visit in Paradise to those who had sinned was a true type of his later advent, when he made his presence known to the woman that had wandered, Eve, the Church, our human nature. Since this is so, then let every faithful person know that God did not visit Adam and Eve back then in order to mete out punishment, nor to chastise, exile, or curse.³ For the lamb that was lost was an image of Adam the type.⁴ The Good Shepherd did not seek it out in anger;⁵ but carried it back upon his shoulders.⁶ And the one drachma that strayed from the ten was Eve, the Church.⁷ Not with hatred did the kindness of God seek it out and find it. And the man that fell among the thieves was the first-formed Adam.⁸ Not with a threat did Jesus take care of him and carry him upon his shoulders⁹—and later also the cross.¹⁰ And the thief, the sensible one, was also an impression from the active type of Adam: through him, Christ opened up for us the gift of Paradise.¹¹

Then do not doubt any longer that God showed considerable kindness then in the penalties he gave to the first-formed, who had sinned. On the one hand, yes, those punishments were phrased approximately in the style of curses.¹² This was to cause fear among the wretched nation of Jews, since God was establishing their Law. On the other hand, the phrases were prophetic. They were not about revenge on Adam and Eve, but about the things that were going to happen to the Church, when in error she had spent time with the serpent before the advent of God the Word to her—which was clearly described beforehand by God's visit in the garden that evening.¹³

V 1. It was necessary for me to say these things by way of preface in order to protect the listener from feeling uneasy or thinking he was hearing strange things. The observations we are going to make about the penalties episode are not something new or alien or incredible. Nevertheless, the grace of the Holy Spirit does not ever cease from decorating and crowning with fresh flowers and thoughts the Paradise of the Church. And indeed, according to what I have already said in the previous sections, myriads of heresies have arisen about Paradise and the first-formed humans. These heretics heard but did not understand the spiritual message. For example, from the statement: "*You are earth and to earth you will return*,"¹⁴ the Samaritans thought that the entire human, through its clayiness, was mortal: the soul with the body. And they denied the resurrection.¹⁵ And Origen, that unfortunate one—I do not know how he is called wise—became nonsensical when he declared that the place of immortality became a brothel. He taught that the

529 εἰ] καὶ P φιλανθρωπία] φιλία N 536 τὸ'] ὁ M 538 δραχμὴ] scripsi δραχμή MNP
 545 ἁμαρτήσαντας M 549 προφητικῶς M τιμωρητικῶς MP 551 πρὸ] πρὸς M
 553 ἐκείνῳ N^{corr} 554 αὐτὰ P *ad initium lineae* προοιμιασάμην] N^{pp-corr} προοιμιασάμην M
 559 ἐμπροσθεν] N^{corr} 561 μηδὲν - Σαμαρεῖται] om. M μὲν²] om. MN 562 ἄλλον P
 564 δὺιστόχης N 566 τὴν] add. οὐσίῳ P^{corr}

Lk 4:34. ¹⁰ Cf Rev 12:3-17; 13:2-4, 11; 16:13; 20:2-3, 10. ²⁰ Jn 12:47. Cf Jn 3:17; 8:15.
²¹ Lk 19:10. Cf Mt 18:12-14; Lk 15:4-10, 32. ²² Mt 9:13. ²³ Lk 5:31. Cf Mt 9:12; Mk 2:17.
¹ Jn 1:29. ² Cf Is 53:6-7; Jn 1:29, 36; Acts 8:32; 1 Pe 1:18-19; Rev 5:6-13; 21:22-22:3.
³ Cf Gen 3:8-24. ⁴ Cf Mt 18:12; Lk 15:4. ⁵ Cf Jn 10:11, 14. ⁶ Cf Lk 15:5.
⁷ Cf Lk 15:8-10. ⁸ Cf Lk 10:30. ⁹ Cf Lk 10:34. ¹⁰ Cf Jn 19:17. ¹¹ Cf Lk 23:40-43.
¹² Cf Gen 3:16-19. ¹³ Cf Gen 3:8. ¹⁴ Gen 3:19. ¹⁵ Cf 1 Cor 15:12-22; 35-50.

ώραῖον τοῦ ξύλου τῆς παρακοῆς δογματίσας καρπὸν. Μανιχαῖος δὲ δύο
 ἐναντίας θεότητος δυνάμεις τὸν ὄφιν καὶ τὸν δημιουργὸν ὑπενόησεν
 ἀλλήλαις παραταξαμένας ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀγαθὸν Θεὸν
 570 ποιητὴν τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅστις καὶ ἔστιν ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, τὸν δὲ
 πονηρὸν θεὸν ποιητὴν εἶναι τοῦ σώματος τοῦ πολεμοῦντος τὴν ψυχὴν,
 περὶ οὗ καὶ γέγραπται, φασίν, ὅτι *Καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον*
χοῦν λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. Ἡ δὲ λεγομένη αἵρεσις τῶν Ἐγκρατητῶν
 ἀπέχεται γάμου καὶ γυναικὸς ὡς πονηροῦ πράγματος καὶ ἐπιβούλου,
 575 ὡσαύτως καὶ τῶν ἀκροδρύων καρπῶν ὡς ἀμαρτίας ποιητικῶν διὰ τὸ
 λεγόμενον δένδρον τῆς παρακοῆς. Οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τινες πλείστοι
 τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰς ἀνοσίους περὶ Θεοῦ τρέπονται τὰς ἐννοίας
 σωματικῶς καὶ παχυτέρως ἀκούοντες τῶν ἐν παραδείσῳ. Εἰ γὰρ
 προεγίνωσκε, φασίν, ὁ Θεὸς τὸ μέλλον συμβῆσθαι, αὐτὸς τούτου
 580 τυγχάνει αἴτιος ὡς συγχωρήσας τῷ ὄφει εὐθέως τὸ προωτόκτιστον
 ἔργον τῶν θείων χειρῶν διαφθεῖραι. Τίς γὰρ ὅλως ἦν χρεῖα τὸν δαίμονα
 ἐκεῖνον συνδίδαιτον αὐτοῖς εἶναι ἐν παραδείσῳ; Καὶ ἑτέραις δὲ ἀτοπωτέ-
 ραις τινὲς περιτίπτουσιν ἐννοίαις, ἃς διὰ τὴν βλάβην τῶν ἀπλουστέρων
 οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον λέγειν. Ὅθεν καὶ λύων ταύτας ὁ μέγας Ἀμβρόσιος οὐ
 585 κατ' ἐξουσίαν δαιμονικὴν, ἀλλὰ κατ' οἰκονομίαν τινὰ μυστικὴν τὰ λεγόμε-
 να περὶ παρακοῆς καὶ παραδείσου καὶ ξύλων καὶ ἐπιτιμῶν καὶ θανάτων
 ἤκουσε.

2. Καίρως δ' ἂν εἴη λοιπὸν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ ὑπὸ
 Θεοῦ ῥηθέντα διασκοπῆσαι ῥήματα, ἃ δὴ τινες ἀποφάσεις καὶ καταδίκας
 590 καταρῶν εἶναι νομίζουσιν. Ὑπαναμνήσκω δὲ πρὸ τῆς διαλέξεως τὸν
 ἀκροατὴν, ὅπερ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ διαλεγόμενοι περὶ τῆς
 εὐλογίας τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰρήκαμεν φήσαντες ὅτι | διὰ 1037A
 τὸν ὄφιν καὶ τὴν κατάραν, ἣν ἐμελλε κομίζεσθαι, τούτου χάριν οὐ μετέ-
 δωκε τοῖς ἐκ γῆς ζώοις τῆς ἰσῆς εὐλογίας. Οὐ γὰρ εὐρήσεις ἐν πάσῃ τῇ
 595 νομικῇ γραφῇ ἐκ στόματος Θεοῦ εὐλογηθέντα τινὰ καὶ πάλιν ὑπὸ
 κατάραν παρὰ Θεοῦ γενόμενα. Καὶ τοῦτο δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ Νῶε τοῦ
 Χάμ. Ἀνομίσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ γυμνώσει τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μετὰ τὴν
 ἐξέγερσιν τοῦ ὕπνου ἐπὶ γνόντος τοῦ Νῶε τὴν ἀνομίαν τοῦ Χάμ οὐκ ἐτόλ-
 600 μησεν ὁ Νῶε καταράσασθαι τὸν υἱόν, ἐπειδὴ ἦν εὐλογηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ
 μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν σὺν τοῖς δυσὶν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφοῖς. Διὸ οὐ λέγει ὁ
 Νῶε· Ἐπικατάρατος Χάμ, ἀλλὰ· Ἐπικατάρατος Χαναάν, τοὺς ἀπογό-
 νους τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ τεχνησομένους καταρασσόμενος, καὶ οὐ τὸν Χάμ.

3. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγω κατὰ τῶν προονομασθειῶν αἱρέσεων ἰστάμενος.
 Λοιπὸν δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας προϊστάμενος ταῦτά φημι εἰς
 605 τὸ δεῖξαι ταύτην τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ καὶ βαρβάρῳ πάσης κατάρας Θεοῦ

beautiful fruit of the tree of transgression was intercourse with the
 woman.¹ And the Manichean thought that there were two antagonistic
 and powerful divinities, the serpent and the creator, who were drawn up
 in battle line against one another in the garden. The good God was the
 creator of the soul,² which was also man in the image of God.³ And the
 evil god was the creator of the body, which makes war against the soul,⁴
 about whom it was written: *And God fashioned the man, taking clay*
*from the earth.*⁵ And the heresy of the Encratites draws one away from
 marriage and women, as evil and treacherous things. They even abstain
 from the fruit of trees, as the creator of sin, because of the tree of
 transgression.⁶

In fact, many members of the Church, when they hear about the
 things of Paradise in a coarse and physical way, turn to unholy thoughts
 about God. "If God knew beforehand," they say, "what was about to
 happen, he himself must be the cause of it. He allowed the serpent to
 corrupt the first-formed work of his divine hands.⁷ Why was it necessary
 for that demon to be their companion in the garden?"⁸ And some fall into
 other, more ridiculous thoughts. But it is not necessary to repeat them
 here, for they might harm those who are rather simple-minded.

Therefore the great Ambrose, in trying to unraveling these things,
 listened to what had been written about the disobedience, Paradise,
 trees, punishments, and deaths. And he heard them as due not to
 demonic, but to some mystical dispensation.

2. It might be a good time, now, to contemplate the phrases spoken by
 God to the woman and Adam, which some consider to be curses of
 negation and condemnation.⁹ But before this discussion, let me remind
 the listener of what we said about the fifth day. Regarding God's
 blessing of the fish,¹⁰ we said that the serpent did not share with the
 animals of the earth an equal blessing, because of the curse that he was
 about to give to the serpent.¹¹ For in all the Scripture of the Law you
 will not find someone blessed by the mouth of God and then cursed by
 God.

This point can be seen with respect to the son of Noah, Ham. He
 behaved lawlessly at the nakedness of his father.¹² Yet after Noah arose
 from his sleep and learned of Ham's lawlessness,¹³ he did not dare curse
 his son, for God had blessed Ham with his two brothers after the flood.¹⁴
 On account of this, Noah did not say: "Ham is accursed." But rather:
 "*Canaan is accursed.*"¹⁵ Noah dashed to pieces the descendents who
 would be born from Ham,¹⁶ but not Ham himself.

3. I say these things because I am firmly opposed to the heresies
 named above. And I say these things because, in support of the Church
 of Christ, I want to show to the Jew and the pagan that the Church is

569 παρατρεχάμεναις P Θεὸν] om. P 571 τοῦ] om. M 572 καὶ'] om. P 581 χρεῖα] add.
 διαφθεῖραι N² corr. 584 λέγει M 589 καὶ] om. N 590 πρὸ τῆς] πρὸς M² corr. 591 πέμπτη N
 594 τοῖς] τῆς MP 598/9 ἐτόλμης M² corr. τοῦ] om. N 602 καταρασσόμενος M

¹ Cf Gen 3:16; 4:1. ² Cf Gen 1:20, 21, 24, 30; 2:7, 19. ³ Cf Gen 1:26, 27. ⁴ Cf Mt 10:28;
 Rom 8:10, 13-16; 1 Cor 9:27; 15:44-50. ⁵ Gen 2:7. ⁶ Cf Gen 3:17. ⁷ Cf Gen 3:13.
⁸ Cf Gen 3:1. ⁹ Cf Gen 3:16-19. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 1:20-22. ¹¹ Cf Gen 1:25. ¹² Cf Gen 9:22-23.
¹³ Cf Gen 9:24. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 9:1-7. ¹⁵ Gen 9:25. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 9:18-19.

ἐλευθέραν καὶ ἀγανακτήσεως ἀλλοτρίαν. Τί γάρ φησιν ἡ γραφή μετὰ τὴν
κατάραν τοῦ ὄφεως; Καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ εἶπε (δηλονότι ὁ Θεός): Πληθύνων
πληθυνῶ τὰς λύπας σου καὶ τοὺς στεναγμούς σου ἐν λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα.
Καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα σου ἡ ἀποστροφή σου, καὶ αὐτός σου κυριεύσει.

610 "Ὅπως δὲ εὐσυνοπιτοτέρως τὰ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς δοκοῦσιν εἶναι ἐπιτίμια
θεωρήσωμεν μυστήρια, ἐπισυνάψωμεν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ ῥηθέντα.
Φησὶ γὰρ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός: "Ὅτι ἤκουσας τῆς φωνῆς τῆς γυναικός
σου καὶ ἔφαγες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, οὗ ἐνετείλάμην σοι τούτου μόνου μὴ
φαγεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔφαγες, ἐπικατάρματος ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου ἐν
615 λύπαις φάγῃ αὐτὴν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου· ἀκάνθας καὶ
τριβόλους ἀνατελεῖ σοι, καὶ φάγῃ τὸν χόρτον τοῦ ἀγροῦ. Ἐν ἰδρῶτι τοῦ
προσώπου σου φάγῃ τὸν ἄρτον σου, ἕως τοῦ ἀποστρέψαι σε εἰς τὴν γῆν,
ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθης, ὅτι γῆ εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσει.

4. Ἀλλόκοτος καὶ νοὸς πάντα ὑπερβαίνων τρόπον ὁ ταῦτα σωματο-
620 φρόνως βουλόμενος σκοπεῖν καὶ ταῖς δεξιῇ κἀνταῦθα περιπεσεῖται ταῖς
ἀπορίαις. λέγω δὴ, πῶς τὸν μὲν ὄφιν μέλλων καταράσασθαι ὁ Θεὸς
προσφέρει αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν κατάρας, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπάτη
τῆς γυναικός, ὁμοίως καὶ τῷ Ἀδάμ ἐπιτιμῶν δηλοῖ αὐτῷ φάσκων: "Ὅτι
ἤκουσας τῆς γυναικός σου, πρὸς δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐν τῷ ἐπιτιμῷ ὅλως
625 παντοῖαν ἀμαρτίαν ἢ αἰτίαν οὐ προσφέρει ὁ Θεός, τουτέστιν οὐ μνήμην
ὄφεως, οὐκ ὄνομα βρώσεως, οὐ ξύλου παρακοῆς, οὐδ' ἄλλην τὴν οἰانوῦν
αἰτίαν. Καὶ ἐστὶ τὸ θαῦμα ἐκπλήξεως ἄξιον ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἀπατήσας τὴν γυ-
ναῖκα ὄφιν τοιαύτη πικρὰ καὶ δεινὴ καὶ ἀσυγχωρήτω κατάρα ὑπεβλήθη
εἰς τὸν αἰώνιον χρόνον, ἡ δὲ πλανήσασα αὐτὸν τὸν κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοί-
630 ωσιν Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον, λέγω δὴ τὸν Ἀδάμ, οὐδὲ μίαν ὕβριν παρὰ Θεοῦ
ἐδέξατο, καὶ γὰρ κατὰ σωματικούς νόμους μείζων ἡ αἰτία τοῦ ἀπατῶν-
τος βασιλεία ὑπὲρ τὸν πλανῶντα γυναῖκα. "Ὁ γὰρ ὁ ὄφιν οὐ τετόλμηκεν
οὔτε ἐπεχείρισεν οὔτε ἰσχυσεν, τοῦτο ἡ γυνὴ εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα πεποίηκε.

5. Τὰ δὲ πάσης ἐκπλήξεως πλήρη ταῦτά εἰσι, πῶς τῆς σοφῆς τοῦ
635 Χριστοῦ γλώσσης τοῦ Παύλου φασκούσης: "Ὁ Ἀδάμ οὐκ ἠπατήθη, ἡ δὲ
γυνὴ ἠπατήθη, ἐν μὲν τῷ ἐπιτιμῷ τοῦ | μὴ ἀπατηθέντος τὰ ἀνείκεστα
κεῖνται δεινά, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐπιτιμῇ τῆς ἐπιβούλου Εὕας οὐ κεῖται ὅλως οὐ
κατάρα γῆς ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῆς, οὐ βρώσις ἐπώδυνος διηνεκής, οὐ
βρώσις χόρτου, οὐκ ἐκβλάστησις ἀκανθῶν, οὐκ ἀνατολὴ τριβόλων, οὐχ
640 ἰδρώτες προσώπου, οὐκ ἀποστροφή ἐν γῇ, οὐ θάνατος, οὐκ ἐκβολὴ
παραδείσου, οὐ κώλυσις τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς, οὐ φυλακὴ Χερουβὶμ περὶ
αὐτῆς, οὐ στρεφομένη ῥομφαία κατ' αὐτῆς. Ὡφειλον γὰρ οἱ τῇ αὐτῇ
ἀμαρτίᾳ περιπεσόντες τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἴσα ἐπιτίμια δέξασθαι, καὶ πολλῶ

607 πληθύνω P 609 κυριεύσει P^{corr.} 612 φησιν M καὶ] om. M 613 μὴ] om. M
617 τὴν] om. M^{corr.} P 622 ἐστὶ N 623 τῷ] τῶν N^{corr.} 626 οὐκ ὄνομα βρώσεως] om. P
627/8 γυναικὶ] add. καὶ N 628 τοιαύτην P δεινὴ M δεινὴν P κατάρα] om. P
ὑπεβλήθη] ὑπελήφθη P 632 πλανῶν M 633 ἰσχυσε, MP 639 ἐκβλάστησις P 641 οὐκ
ῥομφαία N

free of any curse by God. She is a stranger to his wrath. For what does
Scripture say after the serpent was cursed? And he (obviously God) said
to the woman: "Multiplying I will multiply your pains and your groans.
In pain you will bear children. And you will return to your man, and he
will lord it over you."¹

So that we might see more easily the mysteries in the things that
seem to be penalties, let us also add the things that were said to Adam.
God said to him:

"Because you listened to the voice of your woman and you ate from the
tree—from which alone I ordered you not to eat, from this you ate—the
earth is accursed in your works. In pain you will eat it all the days of your
life. It will raise thorns and prickles for you, and you will eat the grass of
the field. In the sweat of your face you will eat your bread, until you return
to the earth from which you were taken, because you are earth and to earth
you will return."²

4. Strange, and transgressing every manner of reason, is the person
that wants to consider these things in a concrete frame of mind. He will
stumble into the following problems. I am speaking of how God, when he
was going to curse the serpent, presented to it the reason for the curse:
it had deceived the woman.³ Similarly, when he was going to censure
Adam, God said to him: "Because you listened to your woman."⁴ But in
God's criticism of the woman, he did not present any sin of any sort nor
a reason. That is, God did not mention the serpent, nor did he name the
food, nor did he name the tree of transgression, nor did he give any other
such reason. Here is a wonder worthy of astonishment! The serpent,
having deceived the woman, fell under such a bitter, terrible, and
merciless curse for all time.⁵ But she that had deceived him who was a
person in the image and likeness of God⁶—I am speaking of Adam—did
not receive God's outrage. According to earthly laws, to deceive a king is
a worse crime than to deceive a woman. The serpent did not dare, nor
did he try, nor would he have been strong enough. It was this that the
woman did to her husband.

5. Here is what makes it even more astonishing. Paul, the wise
tongue of Christ,⁷ said: Adam was not deceived, but his wife was
deceived.⁸ How is it, then, that there were such immense and awful
things in the punishment of the one who had not been deceived? Yet in
the censure of treacherous Eve, there was no curse upon the land under
her work; there were no meals in perpetual pain; there were no meals of
hay; no blooming thorns; no rising prickles; no sweating face; no return
to the earth; no death; no ejection from Paradise; no blockade from the
Tree of Life; no guard of Cherubim; and no sword turned against her.⁹
Those who fell into the same sin should have received the same and
equal punishments—in fact, much worse for the deceiving woman!

¹ Gen 3:16. ² Gen 3:17-19. ³ Cf Gen 3:13-14. ⁴ Gen 3:17. ⁵ Cf Gen 3:14-15.
⁶ Cf Gen 1:26-27. ⁷ Cf Rom 1:1-6; 15:18; 1 Cor 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1; 13:3; 1 Gal 1:1; Eph 1:1;
3:1-10; 4:17; 6:19 Col 1:1; 1 Tim 1:1; 2 Tim 1:1. ⁸ 1 Tim 2:14. ⁹ Cf Gen 3:17-19, 23-24.

πλέον ἢ ἀπατεῶν γυνή. Εἰ δὲ λέγεις μοι ὁ ἀκροατὴς ὅτι σύμβιος καὶ
 645 σύζυγος καὶ σύνοικος οὕσα ἡ γυνὴ σὺν τῷ Ἀδὰμ συνεκοινῶνει πάντως
 τῶν ἐπιτιμιῶν καὶ τῶν συμφορῶν τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὐκ ὀρθῶς δογματίζεις ὁ
 ταῦτα λέγων. Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἦν, τίς ὅλως χρεῖα δύο ἐπιτιμιῶν παρὰ Θεοῦ
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνομοίων καὶ πολλὴν τὴν παραλλαγὴν καὶ ἐναντίωσιν
 650 ἔχοντων. Ἐχρῆν γὰρ αὐτόν, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ ἐν ἀρχῇ, ὅτε ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν
 τῷ ἄμα, τοῖς δυοῖς δέδωκε τὴν σπερματοφαγίαν σὺν τοῖς ἀλόγοις, οὕτω
 καὶ ἐνταῦθα κοινῶς δοῦναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιτίμιον καὶ εἰπεῖν· Ἐπικατάρατος ἡ
 γῆ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ὑμῶν· ἐν λύπαις φάγεσθε αὐτήν· ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους
 ἀνατελεῖ ὑμῖν, καὶ φάγεσθε τὸν χόρτον τοῦ ἀγροῦ ἐν ἰδρώτι τοῦ
 προσώπου ὑμῶν, ἕως τοῦ ἀποστρέψαι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθητε.
 655 Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ποιεῖ ἢ λέγει ὁ Θεός. Ὅθεν εἰπὼν τῇ γυναικί· Ἐν
 λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπον λέγει, καίπερ διὰ
 πάσης τῆς γραφῆς τοὺς πατέρας ὀνομάζων γεννήτορας, ἀλλ' οὐ τὰς
 μητέρας. Πάλιν τε τὴν ἀποστροφὴν τῆς γυναικὸς πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα γίνεσ-
 θαι λέγει, τὴν δὲ ἀπέλευσιν τοῦ ἀνδρός εἰς τὴν γῆν. Καὶ πάλιν γῆν
 660 ὀνομάζων τὸν ἄνδρα οὐκ ὀνομάζει γῆν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, οὔτε δὲ δυνατόν
 ἐστὶ ταύτην γῆν προσαγορεύεσθαι πλευρὰν ζῶντος καὶ ζωτὴν οὔσαν.

6. Τοιγαροῦν τοσαύτης οὔσης ἐν τοῖς προκειμένοις ἐπιτιμίαις ἀμχανί-
 ας τε καὶ ἀπορίας, ἐκ πολλῆς τῆς ὥρας ταῦτα μου διεξερχομένου, νύττει
 μου τῇ χειρὶ τὴν πλευρὰν συχνὰ ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος πάλιν λέγων· Εἰς
 665 Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ταῦτα νόει, πρὸς ἣν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἀρχαῖς
 προλέγει προφητικῶς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγανακτικῶς τὴν μέλλουσαν αὐτῇ
 ἐπισυμβαίνειν πλάνην, εἴτα καὶ τὰς διὰ τῆς πλάνης ἐπερχομένας πρὸς τὸ
 συμφέρον παιδείας καὶ θλίψεις, λοιπὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην διὰ τῶν
 θλίψεων πρὸς Θεὸν ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν. Ὡσανεὶ γὰρ βασιλεὺς τις
 670 πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν σύζυγον ἐκπορνεῦσαι μέλλουσαν λυπηρῶς πῶς καὶ
 συμπαθητικῶς διαλεγόμενος διεξῆει λέγων τῇ Εὐά· Ἀκουσον, γύναι, τῶν
 παρ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ σοῦ Θεοῦ σοι λυπηρῶς προκαταγγελλομένων καὶ
 διαμαρτυρουμένων. Ἀθετῆσαι μέλλεις ἐμὲ Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου καὶ τῷ
 ὄφει τῷ πονηρῷ προσκυνῆσαι καὶ λατρεῦσαι. Ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ
 675 ἐπιστροφὴν ἐπιζητῶν πληθύνων πληθυνὼ τὰς λύπας σου καὶ τὰς θλίψεις
 σου καὶ τοὺς στεναγμούς σου καὶ τὰς περιστάσεις σου τοῦτο μὲν κατα-
 κλυσμόν σοι ἐπάγων, εἴτα λιμούς, λοιμούς, σεισμούς, βροχὴν πυρὸς καὶ
 θείου, ἀβροχίαν διὰ στόματος προφήτου, κινδύνους ἐκ θαλάττης, κινδύ-
 νους ἐκ πολέμων, ἐξ ἐθνῶν, ἐκ διωγμῶν καὶ παντιοίων συμφορῶν τε καὶ
 680 θλίψεων λύπης. Διὸ ἐν ταύταις ἡ ταῖς λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα πονηρά, πάσης
 ἀμαρτίας καὶ ἀσελγείας καὶ ἀνομίας καὶ εἰδωλολατρίας καὶ πορνείας

1039A

If you, the listener, say to me that the woman, by sharing her life, her marriage, and her home with Adam, took part completely in the punishments and misfortunes of her husband, then you are not expressing a correct opinion. If this had been the case, what need would there have been for two dissimilar punishments from God: punishments that had such great differences and discrepancies. In the beginning, when he had made them together, he gave to both of them the instruction to eat seeds with the irrational beasts.¹ Just so, he should now have given them a punishment in common. He should have said:

"Accursed is the land under the labor of you two; in grief you two will eat her; she will sprout thorns and prickles for you two; and you two will eat the hay of the field with sweat in your faces, until you two return to the earth, from which you two were taken."²

But God did not say nor do such things. He said to the woman: "*In pain you will give birth to children.*"³ But he said no such thing to the man—although throughout Scripture, he names the fathers as parents, and not the mothers. And again, God said that the woman would turn back to her man;⁴ but her man would return to the earth.⁵ What is more, he called the man "earth";⁶ but he did not call the woman "earth". Nor was it possible that she be called "earth": she was the rib of the living⁷ and was life.⁸

6. For these very reasons, the problem concerning the punishments is very great and difficult. And after I had gone through these things for many an hour, the divine apostle strongly nudged me in the side with his hand and said repeatedly: "*Consider these things as pertaining to Christ and the Church.*"⁹ Here in the beginning, God was speaking to the Church prophetically, not angrily, about the deception that was going to happen to the Church. He then spoke about the chastisement and oppression that, on account of the deceit, were going to come¹⁰—for her advantage. For finally and as the best: through oppression she would return to God and be saved.

Like some king sadly but sympathetically discussing it with his own wife, who was about to commit adultery,¹¹ God went through it in detail with Eve. He said:

"Listen, wife, to the things that I sadly predict for you and that I, your God, affirm. You are about to deny me, the Lord your God, and worship and serve the evil serpent. But I, seeking your return and your salvation, will multiply and multiply your pains and your sufferings and your groans and your crises. I will bring a flood upon you,¹² then famines, plagues, and earthquakes, rain of fire and brimstone,¹³ drought from the mouth of the prophet,¹⁴ hazards from the sea, and hazards from wars, from nations, from persecutions, and from all sorts of sufferings and grievous oppressions.

"And in this grief you will give birth to evil children, creators of every sin: impiety, lawlessness, idolatry, and fornication.

645 οὕσα M 648 αὐτοὺς] add. αὐτοὺς P^acorr. per *diélographiam* 649 αὐτόν] αὐτόρ N^acorr
 650 οὕτως M 652 φάγεσθαι M^acorr. P 653 ἰδρώτι] ἰδιότ(η)τ(ι) M ἰδρώτι P
 655 Ὅθεν] add. καὶ P 656 τέξει P 662/3 ἀμχανίας M^acorr. N^acorr. 663 ἐμπορίας N^acorr
 πορίας N^pcorr. 666 προλέγει προφητικῶς] om. P ἀγανακτικῶς] N ἀγανακτηκῶς M
 ἀγανακτικῶς P 669 γάρ] ὡ M τίς M 670 πῶς] om. N 671 διεξίει P 678 θεῖαν N

¹ Cf Gen 1:29-30. ² Cf Gen 3:17-19. ³ Gen 3:16. ⁴ Cf Gen 3:16. ⁵ Cf Gen 3:19.
⁶ Cf Gen 3:19. ⁷ Cf Gen 2:22. ⁸ Cf Gen 3:20. ⁹ Eph 5:32. ¹⁰ Cf Is 25:16-17.
¹¹ Cf Jer 3:6-20; Ez 16:1-63; 23:1-49; Hos 1:2-4:19. ¹² Cf Gen 6:17. ¹³ Cf Gen 19:24.
¹⁴ Cf 1 Kg 17:1.

ποιητικά. Ἀλλὰ θάρσει καὶ μὴ ἀπογνῶς σεαυτῆς, μήτε καταπέσης, μήτε
μὴν τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας συστείλῃς, ὅτι μετὰ τὰς πολλὰς ἐκείνας, ἃς ἐγὼ
προσάγω σοι, λύπας, μετὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς σου στεναγμούς, οὓς βοήσεις
685 πρὸς με μετὰ τὰς παιδείας καὶ τοὺς λιμούς καὶ τὰς ἀνάγκας, εὐαγγελίζο-
μαί σοι χαρὰν μεγάλην, ἣτις ἔσται παντὶ τῷ λαῷ σου. Μετὰ πᾶσαν γὰρ
ἀμηχανίαν καὶ ἀπορίαν πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης βοηθείας πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα
σου τὸν πνευματικὸν Ἀδὰμ Χριστὸν ἡ ἀποστροφή σου ἔσται, καὶ αὐτός
σου κυριεύσει καὶ κατακυριεύσει ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἕως θαλάσσης καὶ ἀπὸ
690 ποταμῶν ἕως περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκκλησίας Εὐας ζωῆς, σοῦ τῆς
λεγόμενης γυναικός.

7. Εὐλογοῦμεν σε, Χριστέ, τὸν καλέσαντα ἡμᾶς καὶ ποιήσαντα ἀπὸ
πλάνης πρὸς σὲ τὴν ἀποστροφήν ἡμῶν. Προσκυνοῦμεν σε τὸν κυριεύσαν-
τα ἡμῶν ὡς Κύριον τῶν κυριευόντων, ἵνα μηκέτι ἡ σύζυγός σου, αὕτη
695 γυνὴ καὶ νύμφη, κατακυριεύηται ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ ὄφεως. Ψαλλέτω σοι
λοιπὸν καὶ βοάτω μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ αὕτη ἡ ζωὴ γυνὴ μετ' ἐκείνης τῆς
γυναικὸς τῆς ὄντως ζωῆς καὶ ζωηφόρου καὶ ζωοτόκου λέγουσα·
Μεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχὴ μου τὸν κυριεύσαντά μου τῆς ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἐκκλησίας, καὶ
ἡγαλλίασε τὸ πνεῦμα μου ἐπὶ τῷ Θεῷ τῷ σωτῆρί μου, ὅτι ἐπέβλεψεν ἐπὶ
700 *τὴν ταπείνωσιν τῆς δούλης αὐτοῦ. Ἴδού γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μακαριοῦσι με*
πᾶσαι αἱ γενεαί, διότι ἐποίησε κράτος ἐν βραχίονι τῷ Υἱῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ
ἐσκόρπισεν ὑπερηφάνους Ἰουδαίους ἐκ καρδίας διανοίας αὐτῶν, καὶ
ὑμῶσεν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ταπεινοὺς. Πεινῶντας κύνας ἐθνῶν λαῶν ἐνέπλησεν
ἀγαθῶν ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς καὶ πλουτοῦντας ἐν θυσίαις καὶ σπονδαῖς
705 *ἐξαπέστειλε κενούς τοῦ μηκέτι λατρεύειν ἐν αὐταῖς ἀνорύξας τὸν ναόν.*

8. Πρήθεται καὶ σπαράττεται τούτων τῶν λόγων ἀκούων ὁ Ἰουδαῖ-
ος, ἀλλ' οὐ δύναται ψευδεῖς τούτους ἀποδείξει. Εἰ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει ἡ
τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλήθεια, ἣν ἐπὶ τῶν ῥημάτων τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν πρὸς τὴν
γυναῖκα εἰρημένων ἡρμηνεύσαμεν, λεγέτω ἡμῖν ὁ Ἰουδαῖος ποῦ ἀπελ-
710 θούσης τῆς Εὐας ἡ χωρισθείσης ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι *Πρὸς*
τὸν ἄνδρα σου ἔσται ἡ ἀποστροφή σου. Τίνος δὲ κυριεύοντος αὐτῆς λέγει
πρὸς αὐτὴν ὅτι Ὁ ἀνὴρ σου κυριεύσει; Δῆλον ὅτι ὡς ὑφ' ἐτέρου τινὸς
ἐπηρεασθείσης καὶ κυριευθείσης. Ἐκ παντὸς γὰρ τρόπου φαίνεται αὕτη ἡ
γυνὴ διαιρεθεῖσα τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ εἴθ' οὕτως πάλιν ὑποστρέψασα πρὸς
715 αὐτόν. Ὁ γὰρ ὑποστρέφων, δῆλον ὅτι ὄθεν τὸ πρότερον ἐξῆλθεν, ἐκεῖ καὶ
ὑποστρέφει. Ἐννόησον γὰρ μοι τὴν ἀδιαίρετον ἔνωσιν τοῦ ἀνδρός καὶ
τῆς γυναικός, ὅτι σῶμα καὶ μέλος καὶ πλευρὰ αὐτοῦ ἔστι. Διὸ καὶ ἔλεγε
περὶ αὐτῆς ὅτι *Τοῦτο νῦν ὅσπου ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς*
σαρκὸς μου διὰ τοῦτο ἔσμεν *οἱ δύο εἰς σὰρκα μίαν.* Πῶς οὖν μιᾶς σαρκὸς
720 κεκολλημένης καὶ ἐνὸς ὁστού ὄντων τῶν δύο ἀδιαίρετως νῦν λέγει πρὸς

"But be bold and do not despair! Do not fall and do not lower your
aspirations! For after so many torments, with which I will afflict you,
after so many groans, which you will cry to me, after your chastisements
and hunger and agony, I will announce to you a great joy, which will be
for all your people. After all your helplessness and the failure of all
human assistance, you will return to your husband, the spiritual Adam,
Christ.¹ And he will lord it over you *and will rule from sea to sea and*
*from the rivers to the boundaries of the inhabited world, the Church,*²
which is Eve,³ which is life,⁴ which is you, who are called wife."⁵

7. We praise you, Christ, who called us and guided our return from
wandering to you.⁶ We worship you, who lord it over us as Lord of Lords
so that we your spouse, your bride and wife,⁷ no longer will be lorded
over by the evil serpent.⁸ Let this life, this wife, sing psalms to you!⁹ And
let her shout in a loud voice along with that wife, the life who truly
carried and gave birth to life. Let us say:

"My soul magnifies the one who lords it over me, the Church from the
nations. And my spirit rejoices in God my savior, because he saw the
wretchedness of his servant. Look: from now on, all the generations will
call me blessed,¹⁰ because he showed the power in his arm, his Son. And
he scattered the proud Jews from their heart's design and raised us, the
humble. The hungry dogs of the nations of peoples he filled with good
things, he the Bread of Life, and those who had become rich through the
sacrifices and offerings¹¹ he sent away empty.¹² Thus they will no longer
worship with such things, as he has destroyed the temple."¹³

8. The Jew, hearing these words, rages and is furious. But he is not
able to show that they are false. Yet if the truth of these matters is not
so, the truth that we have interpreted from the sentences that God
spoke to the woman, then let the Jew answer us: "Where had Eve gone?
How had she moved away from Adam when God told her, 'You will
return to your man'?¹⁴ And who was lordling it over her when God said,
'Your man will lord it over you'?¹⁵ Obviously this was said as if she had
been lorded over and abused by someone else."

In every way this woman seems to have been separated from her
man, and then to have returned again to him. For it is manifest that she
that returns had once left where she had been earlier, and then returns
there. Now, consider for me the inseparable unity of this husband and
wife. She was his body and limb and rib.¹⁶ On account of this, he had
said about her: "This is now bone from my bones and flesh from my flesh;
on account of this, we two are as one flesh."¹⁷ Therefore, since the two
were inseparable, of one cohesive body and one bone, why did God now

¹ Cf 1 Cor 15:45-47. ² Ps 71(72):8. ³ Cf Gen 4:1; 2 Cor 11:3. ⁴ Cf Gen 3:20.

⁵ Cf Eph 5:31-32; Rev 19:7. ⁶ Cf Gen 3:16; Acts 3:26; Jas 5:19-20. ⁷ Cf Eph 5:31-32;

Rev 19:7. ⁸ Cf Rev 20:2. ⁹ Cf Jas 5:13. ¹⁰ Lk 1:46-48. ¹¹ Cf Mt 21:12-13;

Mk 11:15-17; Lk 19:45; Jn 2:14-16. ¹² Lk 1:51-53. ¹³ Cf Jn 2:19-21. ¹⁴ Gen 3:16.

¹⁵ Gen 3:16. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 2:21-22. ¹⁷ Gen 2:23-24.

687 μηχανίαν N 688 Χριστόν] om. N 693 πλάνης] παάνης N^{corr.} 697 λέγουσαι N
698 μεγάλῃ P 704 θυσας P^{corr.} σπουδαῖς M 705 ναόν] λαόν P 710 χωρισθείσης
N^{corr.} 711 ἔσται] om. P 712 ὅτι] om. MN 716 διαίρετον N^{corr.} 717 γυναῖς N
718 σάρξ] σὰρ N

τὴν γυναῖκα ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι *Πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα σου ἔσται ἡ ἀποστροφή σου, καὶ αὐτός σου κυριεύσει*; Πῶς σὰρξ καὶ ὀστοῦν αὐτοῦ οὕσα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστρέφει; Οὐκοῦν διὰ πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων μανθάνομεν ὅτι ἀπέστη ἔξω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ἡ γυνή, καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως ὑπέστρεψε πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ
 725 πάλιν γέγονεν αὐτοῦ πλευρὰ καὶ γυνή καὶ σὰρξ καὶ ὀστοῦν. Αὕτη γὰρ ἔστι | ἡ γυνή ἡ ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ Ὡση λέγουσα· *Πορεύσομαι καὶ ὑπο-* 1040A
στρέψω πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα μου τὸν πρότερον, ὅτι καλῶς μοι ἦν τότε ἢ νῦν. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φησιν ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ταύτην τὴν λεγομένην
 730 γυναῖκα, ὅτι *Καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα σου ἡ ἀποστροφή σου, καὶ αὐτός σου κυριεύσει.* Ἐντεῦθεν μανθάνομεν διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν χρό-
 νων κυρίευσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα ὅτι εὐθέως, ἡνίκα ἐφύτευσε τὸν
 παράδεισον τὸν τύπον τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὠνόμασεν ἡ γραφή Κύριον τὸν
 Θεὸν προσθεῖσα αὐτῷ τὸ *Κύριος*. Οὐ γὰρ εὐρήσεις αὐτὸν πρὸ τοῦ παρα-
 735 δέισιν ὀνομαζόμενον Κύριον καὶ Θεόν, ἀλλὰ μόνον Θεόν.
 9. Εἰ δὲ οὐ πρὸς ἄλλας ἀπ' ἄλλων ἀποδείξεις ἐπαναβαίνων κλιμα-
 κηδὸν προσκορῆς φαίνομαι τῷ ἀκροατῇ πολλὰ λέγων, δεικνυμι αὐτῷ καὶ
 τὰς ψευδεῖς ἰσοτυπίας τῆς πλάνης τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.
 Πρῶτον γὰρ καθὼς ἡ γυνή ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ συγκροτηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ
 740 ὄφως διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἔπαθε θεωρήσασα τὸ ξύλον, ὅτι καλὸν εἰς
βρῶσιν καὶ ἀρεστόν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῦ ἰδεῖν καὶ ὡραῖον τοῦ κατανοεῖν,
 καὶ δεύτερον δὲ πάθος διὰ τῆς ἀφῆς τῆς χειρὸς πέπονθε λαβοῦσα τοῦ
καρποῦ, καὶ τρίτον πάλιν διὰ τῆς βρώσεως. Οὕτως δεῦρο μοι ἀπὸ
 ταύτης λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν καθόλου τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ὅψει καὶ
 745 τὴν αὐτὴν ἐν πρώτοις τὰ αὐτὰ παθοῦσαν. Δύο γὰρ τινῶν γενεῶν οὐσῶν
 τότε ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰδικῶς γενεαλογουμένων
 καὶ ἰδιαίρετως, προτύπωσις τῶν δύο λαῶν ὄντες οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδάμ, οἱ
 δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Κάιν τοῦ φονευτοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδάμ προερχόμενοι εἰς τύπον
 τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἶχόν τινα χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐπὶ τοῦ
 προσώπου αὐτῶν τὴν καὶ δηλοῦσαν καὶ ἀφορίζουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ
 750 λαοῦ τοῦ Κάιν, καὶ μάλιστα ὁ Σήθ, ὃν ἔτεκεν Ἀδάμ κατὰ τὴν ἰδέαν αὐτοῦ
 καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ, ὡς φησιν ἡ γραφή. Διὸ καὶ θεὸν αὐτὸν οἱ κατ'
 ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν προσηγόρευον ἄνθρωποι. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ σπέρματος τοῦ
 Κάιν εἰς τύπον τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ τικτόμενοι ξένοι καὶ ἀλλότριαι
 ὑπῆρχον ἐκείνης τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου χάριτος καὶ ἐλλάμψεως ὡς
 755 ἀπόγονοι τοῦ φονευτοῦ τυγχάνοντες. Διὸ τοὺς ἐκ σπέρματος Ἀδάμ τοῦ
 τύπου τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὄντας, νιούς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὀνομαζομένους, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Κάιν
 ὄντες διὰ τὴν ἐπικειμένην αὐτοῖς τοῦ προσώπου λαμπρότητα δι-
 εφθόνουν. Οὗτοι τοίνυν οἱ λεγόμενοι υἱοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς υἱοὶ τῆς Εὐας

say to the woman: "You will return to your man, and he will lord it over you"?¹ How does she, being his flesh and bone, return to him?

Certainly we learn through all these statements that the wife had been separated out of her husband. She then returned to him and again became his rib and wife and flesh and bone, for she was the woman that said, in the book of the prophet Hosea: "I will go and I will return to my former husband, because it was better for me then than now."² Therefore God spoke to the Church, called his wife, saying: "And you will return to your man, and he will lord it over you."³

So we learn why, as soon as he had planted Paradise, a type of the Church, Scripture named God "the Lord", bestowing the title "Lord" upon him.⁴ It was because of the lordship of God over his wife at the end of time.⁵ Before Paradise you will not find him named Lord and God, but only God.

9. If I do not seem tedious to the listener—although I say many things as I ascend, as on a ladder, from one proof to another—I will point out the false similarities between the error of the woman and of the Church.

Firstly, that the serpent attacked the woman in the garden through her eyes. She felt a passion as she gazed upon the tree, because it was good to eat, and pleasing to the eyes to look upon, and attractive to think about.⁶ Next, that she felt this passion through the touch of her hand, when she took the fruit.⁷ And third, again, through the eating of it.

So come with me from her to the human Church in general, and you will see that at first this Church went through the same experience. In the beginning, there were two families of humans in the world, with their own independent and proper genealogies. This was an early type of the two groups of people. The one family was from Adam,⁸ the other from Cain the murderer.⁹ The people proceeding from Adam were a type of the people of Christ. They had some grace of the Holy Spirit on their faces, which manifestly distinguished them from the people of Cain.¹⁰ This was especially true of Seth, whom Adam bore according to his own form and image—as Scripture says.¹¹ Therefore the men at that time called him a god.¹² But the people that were born from the seed of Cain were a type of the people of Israel. And since they were offspring of the murderer,¹³ they were foreigners and strangers to that illuminating grace on their faces. On account of this, they who were from the seed of Adam, the type of Christ, were called sons of God.¹⁴ And they who were from Cain were envious, because of the brilliance on the faces of the others.

¹ Gen 3:16. ² Hos 2:9. ³ Gen 3:16. ⁴ Cf Gen 2:8. ⁵ Cf Rev 19:6-9. ⁶ Gen 3:6.

⁷ Gen 3:6. ⁸ Cf Gen 4:25-5:32. ⁹ Cf Gen 4:17-22. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 4:15; 6:2-3. ¹¹ Cf Gen 5:3.

¹² Cf Gen 5:1, 3; 6:2. ¹³ Cf Mt 23:31-35; Lk 11:48-51; Jn 8:44. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 6:2.

721 ἔσται] om. N 722 πρὸς αὐ αὐτὸν N^{acorr} 726 ἔστιν P Ὡση] scripsi ὡση MP om. N 728 τὴν] om. P^{acorr} 730 μανθάνομαι N^{acorr} 733 τό] τὸν M 734 ὀνομαζόμενον] add. καὶ P θεόν] θ(εός) P^{acorr} 739 τὸ] τὸν M 742 οὕτω P 746/7 οἱ δὲ - τοῦ Ἀδάμ] om. P 751 καὶ] add. εἰς M ἡ] add. Θεία P οἱ] om. N 755 ἐκ] add. τοῦ M 757 ἐγκειμένην M 757/8 διεφθόνησαν M 758 οὗτοι] οὗ P

760 τυγχάνοντες μητρικῶς, πρῶτον τὸ διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν πάθος ὑπέμειναν, εἴθ' οὕτως τὸ διὰ τῆς ἀφῆς καὶ τῆς γεύσεως. "Ὡς περὶ ταύτης εἴρηται ὅτι εἶδε τὸ ξύλον καλὸν εἰς βρώσιν καὶ ἀρεστὸν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῦ ἰδεῖν καὶ ὥραϊον τοῦ κατανοεῖν, οὕτω καὶ περὶ τῶν νύων αὐτῆς γέγραπται ὅτι καὶ εἶδον οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τουτέστιν οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ, τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἡγουν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κάιν, ὅτι καλαὶ εἰσι, 765 καὶ ἔλαβον ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας. Ἰδοὺ πάθος ὀράσεως καὶ ἀφῆς. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔφαγον καρπὸν πονηρόν, τὰ κρέα τῶν δαιμονικῶν θυσιαίων.

10. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰσιν ἡ παρακοὴ τῆς γυναικὸς φύσεως· λοιπὸν πρῶτη αὐτῆς λύπη καὶ στεναγμὸς γέγονεν ὁ παγκόσμιος κατακλυσμός, 770 καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων λύπαι καὶ στεναγμοὶ αἱ πρὸς μετάνοιαν αὐτὴν ἄγουσαι. 1041A Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδὲ κείται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ λύπη οὐδὲ στεναγμός, διὰ τὸ τούτου ἀμετανόητον. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐπιστροφὴ εἴρηται ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ὥς περ ἐπὶ τῆς γυναικὸς. Οὐτε δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἴρηται στεναγμός, ἀνευδεὴς γὰρ ἐστὶ μετανόας ὁ πνευματικὸς Ἀδὰμ ὡς μὴ ἀπατηθείς. "Ὁθεν οὐδὲ ἐπιστροφὴ κείται ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπλανήθη ποτέ. Ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ 775 οὔτε κυριεύεσθαι ὡς ἡ γυνὴ ὑπὸ τινος λέγεται αὐτὸς ὢν Κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων.

11. "Ὁρα δὲ πῶς καὶ οὐχ ὑποβάλλει τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐπιτιμίῳ τὸν ἀνθρώπον, ἄχρις ἂν τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν αὐτῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατο λέγων ὅτι Καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα σου ἡ ἀποστροφὴ σου, καὶ αὐτὸς σου 780 κυριεύσει. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνεργῶν ἐστίν, ὥσαντι ὑποστρεψάσης, καὶ ἐνωθέντος αὐτῇ τῇ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἐνώσει τοῦ οἰκείου ἀνδρός, μετὰ τὴν ἐνωσιν εὐθέως εἰσάγει αὐτὸν ὁ Θεὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς πάσχοντα. Λέγει γὰρ ἀκολούθως οὕτως· Καὶ τῷ Ἀδὰμ εἶπεν "Ὅτι ἡκουσας τῆς 785 φωνῆς τῆς γυναικὸς σου καὶ ἔφαγες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, οὗ ἐνετειλάμην σοι τούτου μόνου μὴ φαγεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔφαγες, ἐπικατάρατος ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου ἐν λύπαις φάγη αὐτὴν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου· ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους ἀνατελεῖ σοι, καὶ φάγη τὸν χόρτον τοῦ ἀγροῦ. Ἐν ἰδρωτί τοῦ προσώπου σου φάγη τὸν ἄρτον σου, ἕως τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι 790 σε εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθης, ὅτι γῆ εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ. Ταῦτα ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἀκούσας Ἀδὰμ εὐθέως ἐκάλεσε τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ζωήν, "Ὅτι αὕτη, φησί, μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ζώντων.

12. Τί λέγεις, ἄνθρωπε; Ἐγκλήσεις φοβεραὶ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ σὲ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα, καὶ κατάραι, καὶ ἐπιτίμια, καὶ ἀποφάσεις, καὶ θάνατος, καὶ ἐξορία, καὶ λύπαι, καὶ ἀκάνθαι, καὶ τριβόλοι, καὶ ἰδρώτες, καὶ ἀγανακτήσεις, καὶ πάντα τὰ δεινὰ, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τούτων πάντων σοι γινομένην 795 Ζωὴν προσαγορεύεις; Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν Θάνατον αὐτὴν ὀνόμασον,

These now, the ones called sons of God,¹ who maternally were sons of Eve, endured their passion first through the eyes. Then they endured it through touch and taste. For just as it was said that *she saw the tree was good to eat, and it was pleasing to the eyes to look upon, and attractive to think about*,² so also it was written about her sons. The sons of God—that is, from Adam—saw that the daughters of men—indeed, from the sons of Cain—were beautiful. And they took them as wives for themselves.³ You see: the passion of seeing and touching. Afterwards, they ate the evil fruit: the flesh of demonic sacrifices.⁴

10. But these things are the disobedience of the woman's nature.⁵ As to the rest, her first painful groan was the universal flood.⁶ And after that, her pains and groans were those leading her to repentance. On account of this, the serpent was not sentenced to pain and groaning: because he will not repent. And there was no mention of him returning, like the woman.⁷ Nor was groaning mentioned regarding the man: because the spiritual Adam did not need to repent: he had not been deceived.⁸ And there was no return incumbent upon him: for he had not ever wandered. And unlike the woman,⁹ he was not said to be lorded over by someone. For he is the Lord of lords.¹⁰

11. See how God does not subject the man to the punishment imposed on her, till after God had made her return to the man. He said: "*And you will return to your man, and he will lord it over you.*"¹¹ The word of God is effective. So, as if she had already turned back, and her own man had already joined with her in a unity of person, God then at once brings him in, after the union, as suffering on her behalf. The text says: *And to Adam he said: "Because you listened to your wife's voice and ate from the tree—from which alone I ordered you not to eat, you ate from that—the earth is cursed in your works. In pain you will eat it all the days of your life. It will produce thorns and prickles for you, and you will eat the hay of the field. In the sweat of your face you will eat your bread, until you return to the earth, from which you were taken; because you are earth and to earth you will return."*¹²

Having heard these things from God, Adam immediately changed the name of his wife to "Life" (Ζωή),¹³ "*Because she,*" he said, "*is the mother of all living things* (ζώντων)."¹⁴

12. "What are you saying, man? God has just made frightening accusations against you on account of that woman. He has given you curses, punishments, sentences, death, exile, grief, thorns, prickles, sweat, and agonies—all those awful things! And the reason that they have all befallen you: you are calling her 'Life'? You should rather call her 'Death', or 'Traitorous', or 'Betrayers', or 'Murderers' and 'Universal

759 τὸ] om. M πάθος] πένθος M 760 γεύσεως] φύσεως M 762 οὕτως N αὐτῆς] om. M^{corr} 765 ὀράσεως] φύσεως M 766 δαιμονίων N 767 λοιπὸν M^{corr} 769 στεναγμὸν N 770 οὐδὲ] om. P 781 τῇ] om. M 783 ὅτι] ὅτε N 784 σοι] σου P 785 ἔφαγες] MNP; cf. Codex Alexandrinus 788 ἀποστρέψαι N 789 τὴν] om. P ταῦτα P 792 ἀνθρώπε] ἄς P^{corr} ἀνθρώπε] P^{corr} 793 καὶ] om. M^{corr} 794 τριβόλοι M 796 ὀνόμασε N

¹ Cf Gen 6:2. ² Gen 3:6. ³ Cf Gen 6:2. ⁴ Cf Gen 6:4; Num 13:32-33. ⁵ Cf 2 Cor 11:3; 1 Tim 2:14. ⁶ Cf Gen 7:1-24. ⁷ Cf Gen 3:16. ⁸ Cf 1 Tim 2:14. ⁹ Cf Gen 3:16. ¹⁰ Cf 1 Tim 6:15; Rev 17:14. ¹¹ Gen 3:16. ¹² Gen 3:17-19 (Codex Alexandrinus) ¹³ Cf Gen 3:20. ¹⁴ Gen 3:20.

μᾶλλον Ἐπίβουλον, μᾶλλον Προδότην, μᾶλλον Φονεύτριαν καὶ Παγ-
κόσμιον Σκάνδαλον καὶ Ναυάγιον, ὡς τῶν οὐ φορητῶν κακῶν τῇ
οἰκουμένην πρόξενον, ὡς πᾶσιν ἐπιβουλεύσασαν, ὡς πάντας ἀδικήσασαν,
800 ὡς πάντας καταφθείραςαν καὶ ἀπωλέσασαν.

13. Ἐπίσχες, φησίν, ἄνθρωπε ὁ ταῦτα λέγων. Λοιπὸν Θεὸς ὁ δικαίων.
Τίς ὁ κατακρίνων; Οὐ γὰρ γέγονεν ἡ βοήθς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐχθρὸς
αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ ἔσεται ποτε. Λοιπὸν μὴ φιλοῖς τοῖς ῥήμασι πρόσεχε, ἀλλὰ
πρὸς τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπόβλεψον δύναμιν. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ φιλῆς
805 γυναικὸς ταῦτα ἐλέγετο, εἶχον ἂν λόγον αἱ παρὰ σοῦ ἐγκλήσεις.
Παρόντος δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ συνακολουθοῦντος ἀχωρίστου ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀδάμ
καὶ τῆς Εὕας λόγῳ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου Παύλου καὶ μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ βοῶν-
τος ὅτι *Τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν, ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς*
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἡμᾶς ἕως ἐνὸς ἰῶτα καὶ μιᾶς κεραίας πάντα
810 τὰ περὶ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου Ἀδάμ καὶ τῆς Εὕας εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν
ἐκκλησίαν νοεῖν.

14. Εἰ δὲ ἐναντιοῦσαι τοῖς εἰρημένοις, εἰπέ μοι σὺ πῶς ἀπὸ περιζώ-
ματος γυμνοὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξετάσει εἰσελθόντες οὗτοι οἱ πρωτόπλαστοι ἐν τῷ
δικαστηρίῳ ἐνεδύθησαν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐσκεπάσθησαν τοὺς δερματίνους
815 χιτῶνας ὀφείλοντες μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ ἐξετάσει ἀποδύεσθαι κατὰ τὴν τάξιν
τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ δικαστηρίων. Πῶς, εἰ κατὰδικος παρίσταται ὁ Ἀδὰμ ὡς
ἀπατηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς, κατακρινόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐξετάσει Ζωὴν
ὠνόμασε τὴν γυναῖκα; Πῶς ἄνθρωπος, ὡς σὺ λέγεις, ὑπὸ κατάραν
γενόμενος ἠδύνато διὰ Πνεύματος ἁγίου προφητεῦσαι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ
820 τῆς κατάρας τὰ μετὰ μυρίους γενησόμενα χρόνους λέγων περὶ τῆς
γυναικὸς ὅτι *Αὕτη ἐστὶ μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ζώντων*; Πῶς δὲ πάλιν μετὰ
τὴν ἐνδυσιν μυκτηρίζων ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ λέγων· *Ἴδού Ἀδὰμ*
γέγονεν ὡς εἰς ἐξ ἡμῶν, οὐ συνονειδίζει καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα πλείω ὡς αἰτίαν
τοῦ Ἀδάμ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ συνεξαποστέλλει ταύτην σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ παρα-
825 δείσου οὔτε λέγει πρὸς αὐτὴν ὅτι *Γῆ εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσει*, οὔτε δὲ ὅτι
Ἐπικατάρατος ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου εἶπε πρὸς αὐτήν, ὅπερ καὶ ἔδει
μᾶλλον αὐτῇ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἀδὰμ; Οὐκοῦν, εἰ πιστὸς παρὰ σοὶ κρίνεται ὁ τὸν
Χριστὸν ἐν αὐτῷ λαλοῦντα ἔχων Παῦλος λέγων ὅτι ὁ Ἀδὰμ οὐκ
ἠπατήθη, εὐδελον λοιπὸν ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐνεκλήθη· εἰ δὲ ἐνεκλήθη, πάντως ὅτι
830 ἠδικήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐγκλήματος. Εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἠδικήθη, πρόδηλον ὅτι οὐδὲ
κατηράθη, ἀλλ' ὑποστρεψάσης τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτὸς μὴ
ἀπατηθεὶς ἀνεδέξατο τὸ ἐπιτίμιον αὐτῆς, καθὰ μυριάκις περὶ τούτου
εἰρήκαμεν.

797 ἐπιβουλον· P^a corr. 799 πᾶσιν] πᾶσαν P^a corr. ὡς] καὶ P ἀδικησας N^a corr. 803 φιλοῖς]
λειλοῖς N^a corr. 804 ἀπόβλεψιν N^a corr. 807 ἱεροτάτ(ου) P 816 εἰ] ἡ N 817 ὡς] ὁ P
819 διὰ] *ad*. τοῦ P 820 τῇ ὥρᾳ] *om.* N τὰ] καὶ P 822 καὶ] *om.* P^a corr. 825 ἀπελεύσει
N^a corr. 828 αὐτῷ P 830 ὑπὸ - οὐκ ἠδικήθη] *om.* P

Scandal' and 'Shipwreck'! She is the provider of unbearable evils to the
whole inhabited world. She has plotted against us all. She has been
unjust to all. She has destroyed and obliterated us all!"

13. "Man!" he replies. "You, who are saying these things, now stop!
God is the one who justifies. Who is the one that condemns?"¹

Man's helper did not become, nor will she ever be, his enemy.² Do not
stay focused on mere words, but look to the meaning of events.³ If these
things were said about a simple woman, then yes: your accusations
would have an argument. But the very holy Paul is present with us now.
He is closely following our discussion about Adam and Eve. And he
shouts with a loud voice: "*This mystery is great, and I say it relates to*
Christ and to the Church!"⁴ Since this is so, it is absolutely necessary
that we consider everything about the first-formed Adam and Eve—all
the way to the very last stroke and dot⁵—as relating to Christ and the
Church.

14. If you, however, oppose the things that have been said, then tell
me: why did they, the first-formed,⁶ approach the questioning naked of
clothing?⁷ Then afterwards, in the court, they were clothed and covered
by God with leather garments.⁸ They should rather have been stripped
at the questioning, according to the practice of courts in the world. And
if Adam stood condemned as having been deceived by his wife, then why
did he, after he was sentenced, in the inquiry itself change the name of
his wife to "Life"?⁹ And how could a man fall under a curse, as you say,
and still be able to prophesy through the Holy Spirit—in that very hour
of the curse? He predicted what would happen to his wife after eons,
saying: "*She will be the mother of all who live.*"¹⁰

And why did God, after giving clothing, mock Adam by saying: "*Look,*
Adam has become like one of us"?¹¹ He did not insult the woman as well,
although she was the cause of what Adam did. He did not send her away
with Adam from the garden.¹² He did not say to her: "*You are earth and*
to earth you will return."¹³ Nor did he say to her: "*The earth is cursed in*
your works,"¹⁴ although this would have been more appropriate for her
than Adam. Indeed if Paul, who has Christ speaking in himself,¹⁵ is
deemed trustworthy for you when he says, *Adam was not deceived*,¹⁶
then it is obvious that Adam was not being blamed. If he were blamed, it
is clear that he was being treated unjustly by the accuser. But if he was
not treated unjustly, then it is obvious that he was not cursed. Rather,
after his wife had returned to him, he himself took on *her* punishment,
although *he* had not been deceived—as we have repeatedly said about
this.

¹ Rom 33-34. ² Cf Gen 2:18. ³ Cf Rom 7:6; 2 Cor 3:6. ⁴ Eph 5:32. ⁵ Cf Mt 5:18;
Lk 16:17. ⁶ Cf Gen 2:7, 22; 1 Tim 2:13. ⁷ Cf Gen 2:25; 3:7, 10, 11. ⁸ Cf Gen 3:21.
⁹ Cf Gen 3:20. ¹⁰ Gen 3:20. ¹¹ Gen 3:22. ¹² Cf Gen 3:23-24. ¹³ Gen 3:19.
¹⁴ Gen 3:17. ¹⁵ Cf Rom 15:18; 2 Cor 13:3. ¹⁶ 1 Tim 2:14.

15. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ πᾶς ἡμῶν σκοπὸς τοῦ λόγου κατὰ Ἰουδαίων
 835 τυγχάνει πρὸς τὸ ἀποφράξαι τὰ ἐκείνων στόματα λέγοντα ὅτι περ εἰ
 γέγονεν ὁ Χριστὸς κατάρρα, εἰς ἐπικατάρρατον Χριστὸν ἐλπίζουσι τὰ τῶν
 Χριστιανῶν πλήθη, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐκ προφητικῆς παρα-
 στάσεως δεῖξαι τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πέπονθεν ὁ Χριστός,
 840 ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἰδίων ἀμαρτιῶν. Γράφει γοῦν Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης
 καταβοῶν τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀπειθείας καὶ ἀπιστίας· Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσε τῇ
 ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν; Καὶ ὁ βραχίων Κυρίου, τουτέστιν ὁ Χριστός, τίνι
 ἀπεκαλύφθη; Ἀνηγγέλαμεν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ὡς παιδίον καὶ ὡς ῥίζα ἐν γῇ
 διψώσῃ. Καὶ εἶδομεν αὐτόν, καὶ οὐχ εἶχεν εἶδος οὐδὲ κάλλος, ἀλλὰ τὸ
 εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἄτιμον ἐκλείπον παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Καὶ τίνος
 845 οὖν χάριν ὡραίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὄντος ἐν κάλλει παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῷ πάθει τοῦ σταυροῦ μὴ ἔχειν αὐτόν εἶδος μηδὲ κάλλος
 ἀκούομεν; Ὅτι τὴν ὡραιότητα τὴν πονηρὰν ἐκείνου τοῦ ξύλου, οὐ θεά-
 σατο ἡ γυνὴ ὡραῖον εἰς ὅρασιν καὶ καλὸν τὸ εἶδος ἔχον, ἠφάνισεν ὁ
 Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ μορφῇ διὰ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ σταυροῦ, οὐ κατεδέξατο ὑπὲρ
 850 τῆς πνευματικῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς ἐκκλησίας. Ἐπήγαγε γὰρ ὁ Χριστός· καὶ
 σὺ προσέχον· ἐπήγαγε γὰρ ὁ προφήτης περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγων· Ἠτιμάσθη
 καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσθη, τουτέστιν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ παρεδόθη δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑπεβλήθη
 τῷ ἐπιτιμῷ διὰ τὴν γυναικα, καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσθη πάσχειν δι' ἑαυτόν. Αὐτὸς
 γάρ, φησί, τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνᾶται ἀκούων·
 855 Ἐπικατάρρατος ἡ γῆ, εἴτουν ἡ γῆνι σου βιοτή, παρὰ τοῖς οὕτω κρίνου-
 σιν Ἰουδαίοις ἐν τοῖς ἀρρήτοις ἔργοις σου. Κατάρρα γὰρ ὠνομάσθης παρὰ
 Μωσέως λέγοντος· Ἐπικατάρρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου. Καὶ οἱ
 Ἰουδαῖοι· Οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπικατάρρατός ἐστιν, ὅτι τὸ σάββατον οὐ
 τηρεῖ. Ἐν λύπαις φάγη αὐτήν, δηλαδὴ χωρὶς ἀμαρτίας βιώσεις, εἰ γὰρ
 860 μετὰ ταύτης τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἐβίως, ὁ κόσμος ἂν σε τὸν ἴδιον ἐφίλει καὶ οὐκ
 ἂν παρελύπει. Ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ συγχωρεῖσθαι ἀκούοντων ἡμῶν
 φησιν· Ἐλογισάμεθα αὐτόν εἶναι ἐν πόνῳ καὶ ἐν πληγῇ καὶ ἐν κακώσει,
 ὡς οἶα ὑπὲρ ἰδίων ἀμαρτιῶν τὸ ἐπιτίμιον καὶ τὸν θάνατον ὑπομείναντα.
 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐτραυματίσθη, φησί, διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν, τουτέστι τῶν ἐκ
 865 τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ μεμαλάκισται διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν
 παιδεῖα εἰρήνης ἡμῶν ἐπ' αὐτόν τῷ μώλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν. Αὐτὸς
 γὰρ ἀμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκε καὶ διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν παρεδόθη.
 Ἐχεις ἀπρητισμένην καὶ σαφεῖ τὴν ψῆφον καὶ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ὅτι γε ὑπὲρ
 τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀκούει ὁ Ἀδὰμ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ προκειμένῳ
 870 ἐπιτιμῷ ἀναμάρτητος αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων εἰς τύπον Χριστοῦ.

16. Ἰδωμεν δὲ λοιπόν, εἰ δοκεῖ, πῶς καὶ αὐτὰ ξηρὰ τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ

839 οὐχ ὑπὲρ] οὐ | πὲρ M 840 ἀπιστίας N^{acorr} 843 εἶχεν] οἶχεν N^{a.corr} εἶδος] εἰ δὲ M
 860/1 Χριστός - γὰρ ὁ] om. MN 861 ἡτοιμάσθη M 862 δι' ὑπὲρ P 865 τοῖς] τῆς M
 866 Ἰουδαίοις N^{acorr} ὀνομάσθης P 867 μωσέως N κρεμάμενος M 868 ἐστὶ N
 869 βιώσει N 860 ἐβίως] ὁ βίος N 862 πόνῳ] πείνω M 864 αὐτὸς] οὗτος N^{acorr}
 864/6 ἀνομίας - διὰ τὰς] om. P 866 παιδεῖα P 868 γε] om. M 869 τῷ] om. MN

15. The whole aim of our chapter is to stop the mouths of the Jews
 that say: "If Christ became a curse, the multitude of Christians place
 their hopes in a cursed Christ." Thus it is absolutely necessary that we
 prove to the Jew that Christ suffered on behalf of the Church, and not
 because of his own sins.¹ Our proof comes moreover from a prophetic
 manifestation. Isaiah the prophet, inveighing against the disbelief and
 infidelity of the Jews, wrote: *Lord, who believes our report? Indeed, to*
whom is the arm of the Lord (that is, Christ) revealed? We present our
report before him: like a child and like a root in the thirsty earth. Indeed
we saw him, and he had neither form nor beauty. But his form was
*ignoble, defective among the sons of men.*²

Christ was youthful and handsome among the sons of men.³ So why
 do we hear that he had neither form nor beauty while suffering on the
 cross? Because of the outstanding but evil beauty of that tree, which the
 woman Eve had gazed upon. It was attractive to look upon and had a
 beautiful form.⁴ Jesus, by changing his own shape through the wood of
 the cross, which he had accepted on behalf of his spiritual wife the
 Church,⁵ rejected that beautiful evil.

Christ teaches—now pay attention—that the prophet taught us this
 about him: *He was dishonored and not considered.*⁶ That is: he was
 handed over by God⁷ on our behalf and subjected to punishment on
 account of the woman; but he was not considered to suffer on account of
 himself. For he *bears our sins and suffers for us.*⁸

Yet he heard: *The earth is cursed in your ineffable works.*⁹ That is:
 your earthly life was cursed by the Jews that judged you. For Moses
 called you a curse when he said: *Everyone who is hanged upon a tree is*
*accursed.*¹⁰ And the Jews: *This man is accursed, because he does not keep*
*the Sabbath.*¹¹

*In pain you will eat it.*¹² Clearly, you will lead your life without sin.¹³
 For if you were to live in sin, *the world would love you as its own*¹⁴ and it
 would not grieve you.

When we heard these things had been allowed by God to happen to
 him, *we considered him to be in pain and under blows and in affliction,*¹⁵
 as if he had endured the punishment and death for his own sins. *But he*
was wounded, it says, because of our sins. That is: the sins of his wife,
 the Church. *And he was made weak because of our sins. The punishment*
*for our peace was on him. Through his weal, we were made well.*¹⁶ *For he*
took on the sins of many, and on account of our sins he was handed
*over.*¹⁷

Here now you have had a clear and thoroughly logical demonstration
 that, in the sentencing, Adam heard all these things for the sake of the
 sins of his wife. He himself, as a type of Christ, was without sin.¹⁸

¹ Cf 2 Cor 5:21; Gal 3:13; Eph 5:25. ² Is 53:1-3. ³ Cf Ps 44(45):3. ⁴ Cf Gen 3:6.

⁵ Cf Eph 5:25. ⁶ Is 53:3. ⁷ Cf Mt 26:39; Jn 18:11. ⁸ Is 53:4. ⁹ Gen 3:17. ¹⁰ Dt 21:23;
 Gal 3:13. ¹¹ Jn 9:16. ¹² Gen 3:17. ¹³ Cf Heb 4:15. ¹⁴ Jn 15:19. ¹⁵ Is 53:4.

¹⁶ Is 53:5. ¹⁷ Is 53:12. ¹⁸ Cf Rom 5:14; 1 Cor 15:45-47; Eph 5:25-26; Heb 4:15.

λεγομένου ἐπιτιμίου οὐδὲ μίαν γε κατάραν Θεοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον
 ἔχουσιν. Οὐ γὰρ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὥσπερ πρὸς τὸν ὄφιν καὶ τὸν Κάιν ὅτι
 875 'Ἐπικατάρατος σύ, ἀλλ' 'Ἐπικατάρατος ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου, 'Ἐν τοῖς
 ἔργοις, φησὶν, οἷς μέλλεις πράξει προσκυνῶν τῇ γῇ καὶ τοῖς λίθοις καὶ
 ξοάνοις καὶ ὕδασι αὐτῆς καὶ πυρὶ αὐτῆς. Σὺ ἐπικατάρατον ποιήσεις
 αὐτὴν ἐν λύπαις φαγῶν αὐτὴν ἐπάγοντος μου ἀνομβρίας καὶ ἀκαρπίας
 καὶ λιμούς πολλὰς πρὸς παιδείαν σου καὶ θλίψιν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ
 εἶπον ὅτι Πληθυνῶ τὰς λύπας σου καὶ τὸν στεναγμὸν σου. 'Ακάνθας καὶ
 880 τριβόλους ἀνατελεῖ σοι ἡ γῆ, καὶ φάγη τὸν χόρτον τοῦ ἀγροῦ, χερσω-
 θείσης δηλονότι τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐρημωθείσης τῇ ἀνομβρίᾳ καὶ ἀκαρπία. 'Ἐν
 ἰδρῶτι καὶ κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ τοῦ προσώπου σου φάγη σπάνιον καὶ βρα-
 χύτατον ἄρτον σου ἕως τοῦ ἀποστρέψαι σε εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθης,
 ὅτι γῆ εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ. Αὕτη μὲν ἡ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα θεωρία τῶν
 885 προκειμένων. Καθὼς γὰρ φασιν οἱ ἱστοριογράφοι τῆς κοσμικῆς ἀρχαιο-
 λογίας, αἱ λύπαι, οἱ λιμοὶ καὶ αἱ σπάνις καὶ ἀνομβρίαι τοὺς ἀρχαίους
 ἐκείνους ἐπειθον καταρᾶσθαι τὴν γῆν. "Ὅθεν καὶ λιμῶ ἀπολλύμενοι ἐπι-
 κατάρατον τὴν γῆν εἶναι ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἔλεγον, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ εὐλογημένην
 αὐτὴν πολὺκαρπον ὀρωμένην ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀνομάζει συνήθεια. 'Αλλ'
 890 οὐδὲ σπόρου τις παρ' αὐτοῖς πείρα ἐτύγχανε. Φασὶ γὰρ πάλιν οἱ
 ἱστορικοὶ ὅτι πρῶτος ὁ 'Αβραὰμ σπόρον σίτου δι' ἀρότρου ἔσπειρεν ἐν
 ἀνθρώποις ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, οἷμαί που δηλῶν ἡμῖν ὁ πατριάρχης διὰ τοῦ
 ὑποδείγματος ὅτι ἐκ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ ὀφθήσεται ὁ οὐράνιος ἄρτος
 Χριστὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰς βρῶσιν καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῦ κόσμου, ἡνίκα ἡ γῆ τῆς
 895 'Αβρααμίτιδος Μαρίας θεοτόκου τὸν οὐράνιον δέξεται ὑετόν. Μαρτυρεῖ
 δὲ καὶ Λάμεχ, ὁ τοῦ Νῶε πατήρ, ὅτι οὐ τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατηράσατο ὁ
 Θεός, ἀλλὰ λιμούς, ὡς εἶπον, καὶ θλίψεις σωματικὰς ἐπήνεγκε τότε ταῖς
 γενεαῖς ἐκείναις. Γεννήσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ, φησὶν, υἱὸν 'Ἐπωνόμασε τὸ
 ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Νῶε, ὅπερ ἐρμηνεύεται ἀνάπαυσις, λέγων ὅτι Οὗτος
 900 διαναπαύσει ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λυπῶν τῶν
 χειρῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἧς κατ' ἡράσατο Κύριος ὁ Θεός, τουτέστιν
 ἐν τῷ ἐπιτιμῷ τοῦ 'Αδάμ. 'Αμέλει γοῦν ἐξελθόντος τοῦ Νῶε καὶ τῶν
 υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς κιβωτοῦ μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐπεκύρωσεν αὐτοῖς ὁ
 Θεὸς τρανότεραν τὴν εὐλογίαν, ἣν εὐλόγησε τοὺς πρωτοπλάστους, καὶ
 905 μετὰ ταῦτα εἶπε διανοηθεὶς. Οὐ προσθήσω ἔτι καταράσασθαι τὴν γῆν.
 Σὺ δέ, ὅταν ἀκούσης ὅτι ἕως τῆς κιβωτοῦ ὑπὸ κατάραν Θεοῦ ἡ γῆ πᾶσα
 ἐτύγχανε, μηδὲν ἄλλως τὴν κιβωτὸν νομίσης, εἰ μὴ τὴν Χριστοῦ
 ἐκκλησίαν, ἐν ἣ καὶ ἐκύρωσεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν εὐλογίαν τοῦ
 ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἀνεκαίνισεν, ἐπεὶ μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν μυρίοις δεινοῖς καὶ

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16. But let us look at the rest, if you agree. Why do these blunt phrases in the sentencing not include a single curse by God against the man? He did not say to him—as to the serpent and Cain—"you are cursed,"¹ but rather "the earth is cursed in your works."²

"In the works," he was saying, "with which you will be busy: worshipping the earth and its stones, its wooden images, its waters, and its fire. You will make it accursed and you will eat it in pain,³ while I bring drought, poor harvests, and frequent famines to oppress and correct you. Just as I said to the woman: 'I will multiply your pains and your groaning,'⁴ so also the earth will produce thorns and prickles for you, and you will eat the hay of the field.⁵ The earth will be dry and barren through lack of rain and lack of harvest. In the sweat and labor and distress of your face, you will eat your scarce crumbs of bread until you return to the earth, from which you were taken. Because you are earth, and to earth you will return."⁶

Here is a consideration about the preceding passage, according to the letter. The historians of world archaeology say that distress, famines, scarcity, and droughts persuaded the ancients that the earth was cursed. For this reason, when they were being destroyed by a famine, they said that God had cursed the earth. (It is the same when they see that it is fruitful: people customarily call it blessed.)

No one among them had made an attempt at sowing. Abraham—again the historians say—was the first among men on earth to sow grain with the plow. But I think that the patriarch Abraham was showing to us, through this example, that from his seed the heavenly bread, Christ,⁷ would appear upon the earth for the nourishment and salvation of the world.⁸ This would happen after the earth of Maria, descendent of Abraham, Mother of God, had received the heavenly rain.⁹

Lamech, the father of Noah, bears witness that God did not curse man, although he brought famines—as I have said—and physical sufferings upon past generations. For when Lamech gave birth to a son, it says, *he called his name Noah*.¹⁰ This name is translated as "repose". And he said: "He will give us repose from our works and from the toil of our hands and from the earth, which the Lord God cursed"¹¹—in the punishment of Adam.

Certainly, when Noah and his sons went out from the ark after the flood, God confirmed the blessing more clearly, with which he had blessed the first-formed.¹² After these things, *he reflected* and said: "I will not curse the earth any more."¹³

But when you hear that all the earth was under God's curse until the ark, you should think about no other ark except the Church of Christ.¹⁴ In this God confirmed and renewed the ancient blessing upon man.¹⁵ For after the flood, the nature of man was overcome by impiety and encountered innumerable terrors and corrections from God.

874 σύ ἀλλ' ἐπικατάρατος] om. N 878 πρὸς] πρὸ N^{a-corr.} παιδείαν P 880/1 χερσωθείσης P
 881 ἐρημωθήσης P 885 προκειμένω N^{a-corr.} 886 καὶ] add. αἱ N 887 ἐκείνους N^{a-corr.}
 890 φασὶν N 895 ἀβρααμίτιδος M 898 φησὶ M 900 ἀναπαύσει P 901 τουτέστιν M
 902 ἀμέλλει N 904 τρανότεραν] τρανωτέραν N 905 καταράσθαι P^{a-corr.} 908/9 ὁ θεός -
 ἀνεκαίνισεν] om. M

¹ Gen 3:14; 4:11. ² Gen 3:17. ³ Gen 3:17. ⁴ Gen 3:16. ⁵ Gen 3:18. ⁶ Gen 3:19.
⁷ Cf Jn 6:32-35, 41, 50-51. ⁸ Cf Gal 3:16. ⁹ Cf Hos 6:3; 10:12. ¹⁰ Gen 5:29.
¹¹ Gen 5:29. ¹² Cf Gen 1:28-29; 9:1-3, 7. ¹³ Gen 8:21. ¹⁴ Cf Heb 9:8, 11-12;
 1 Pet 3:20-21; Rev 11:19. ¹⁵ Cf 1 Cor 15:22, 45; 2 Cor 9:8-10; Gal 3:14; Eph 1:3; Heb 9:15;
 10:1.

910 παιδείαις ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων περιέπεσε φύσις τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ κρατουμένη.

VI 1. Ἐκ ταύτης δὴ τῆς προκειμένης ἡμῖν τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ διαλέξεως ἡμεῖς διδασκόμεθα πολλῶ πλεον πνευματικῶς ἀκούειν καὶ νοεῖν τὰ περὶ παραδείσου καὶ ξύλων καὶ τοῦ καρποῦ, οὗ ἔφαγεν ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ὁ 915 ἄνθρωπος. Εἰπὼν γὰρ ἐκεῖ ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι Ἦι δ' ἂν ἡμέρᾳ φάγητε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε πῶς ἐνταῦθα ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτιμίῳ οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀνείλεν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ πολυχρονίους αὐτοῖς δίδωσι ζωάς, τῇ μὲν γυναικὶ τεκνογονίαν λέγων· Ἐν λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα, τῷ δὲ Ἀδὰμ· Ἐν λύπαις φάγη τὴν 920 γῆν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου. Οἱ δὲ μὴ κατ' οἰκονομίαν τινὰ Θεοῦ ἄρρητον ἡμῖν οὖσαν νοοῦντες πνευματικῶς πάντα τὰ περὶ παραδείσου ἀναγκάζονται ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τὸν ὄφιν ποιῆσαι αἴτιον καὶ πρόξενον καὶ ποιητὴν πασῶν ἡμῶν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης γενέσεως καὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συστάσεως διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὴν γυναικὰ συμβουλῆς. Ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως ὁ τῶν 925 ἀγίων πατέρων διδάσκει χορός, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ ὁφείας καὶ τοῦ ξύλου καὶ τῆς βρώσεως ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς θείας φωνῆς τῆς ῥηθείας τοῖς πρωτοπλάστοις· *Αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε καὶ πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν* συστήναι ἡμελλον διὰ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα γεννήσεως ἀνομοίως τῇ τῶν ἀγγέλων ποιήσει τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύλα.

2. Ἀπίτω γὰρ ἡμῶν πόρρω Ὥριγένης καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ὥριγένους μῦσαι 930 τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν προὔπαρξιν μυθικῶς φανταζόμενοι. Γεγονῶς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὑπάρξας καὶ εἰς ὄντοτητα ἐλθὼν μετὰ τοῦ δερματίνου χιτῶνος, οὐκ οἶδα πόθεν ὁρμώμενος ἢ παρὰ τίνος τοῦτο λαβὼν γυμνὸς νόας πρὸ τῶν χιτῶνων πάντῃ ἀφθάρτους καὶ ἀνεπιδέκτους θανάτου καὶ 935 βρώσεως καὶ βρώσεως καὶ πόσεως καὶ ὕπνου τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ τὴν Εὐάν ἐδογμάτισεν εἶναι, οὗ τὴν τερατώδη μανίαν ἀνατρέπων ὁ πολὺς ἐν σοφίᾳ Μεθόδιος οὐ μίαν οὐδὲ δευτέραν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ δεκάτην ἡμῖν γραφικὴν ἀπόδειξιν παρίστησι δηλοῦσαν ὅτι σῶμα ἀληθῶς γηγενὲς καὶ 940 χοικὸν τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός, καθὼς διὰ στόματος ἡμῖν Παύλου φθέγγεται λέγων· Ὁ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπος ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός. Πρῶτον γὰρ τὸ χοικόν, εἴθ' οὕτως διὰ Χριστοῦ τὸ πνευματικόν, ἵνα, 945 *Καθὼς ἐφορέσαμεν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοικοῦ, φορέσωμεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου*. Εἰ γὰρ διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς, φησὶν, μετέπεσε καὶ ἡλλοιώθη κατ' οὐσίαν ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἄλλο ἀπ' ἄλλου ἀποδυσάμενος καὶ ἀμφιασάμενος σῶμα, ἡδικήθη ἐν τούτῳ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ. Ἔδει γὰρ καὶ τοὺς πολλῶ πλεον 945 παρανομήσαντας δαίμονας πρὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦτο παθεῖν | καὶ ἐξ ἀθανάτου καὶ ἀφθάρτου καὶ αὐλοῦ φύσεως θνητὰ καὶ φθαρτὰ καὶ ρευστὰ ἀμφιάσασθαι σώματα. Δεύτερον πάλιν, φησὶν ὁ πατήρ, ὅτι ἡ παραλαγὴ τοῦ σχήματος τῶν παιδουργῶν μορίων τοῦ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῆς Εὐας

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VI 1. From God's conversation with Adam, which we are now considering, we learn even more to listen and consider spiritually the things of the garden, the trees, and the fruit eaten by the woman and the man.¹ For God had said there: "*On whatever day you eat from it, you will die in death.*"² Why then, among these punishments, did he not kill them? Not only that, but why does he give them long lives? For when he spoke to the woman about her childbearing, he said: "*In pain you will bear children.*"³ And to Adam: "*In pain you will eat the earth all the days of your life.*"⁴

They that do not consider all the things of Paradise as spiritual, in accord with an ineffable design intended by God for us, are compelled to make the serpent the cause, the provider, and the creator of all our human race and the world's composition, through his counsel to the woman.⁵ Yet the chorus of holy Fathers does not teach us this. They say that the tribes of men were going to come into existence independently of the serpent, the tree, and its meal. It was going to happen through birth in the flesh—unlike the creation of the angels—because of that divine command spoken to the first-formed: "*Increase and multiple and fill the earth.*"⁶

2. Let Origen depart from us—far away! And also the initiated followers of Origen, who fantastically imagine a pre-existence for our souls. For that Origen, having come into existence and having reached reality with his leather clothing—I do not know from where he came or from whom he took his clothing—laid down as truth that before their garments, Adam and Eve were naked souls, were completely incorruptible, and did not accept death, flux, food, drink, or sleep.

Methodius, who was great in wisdom, overturned this monstrous mania. He presented us not one, not two, but ten Scriptural proofs showing that God in the beginning created man as a body truly earthborn and of clay. This was told us through the mouth of Paul: "*The first man was clay from the earth.*"⁷ First came the clay. Then, through Christ, came the spiritual,⁸ so that *as we carried the image of the clay*, we might carry *also the image of the heavenly*.⁹ If through the transgression, Methodius said, man fell and was changed in essence, having taken off one body and dressing in another, he was treated unjustly by God. For it should have been the demons, who were much worse law-breakers, that suffered this instead of man. From an immortal and imperishable and immaterial nature, they should have put on bodies that were mortal and corruptible and changing.

Second: this Father of the Church said that the difference in the design of the reproductive organs of Adam and Eve showed that these

¹ Cf Gen 2:8-3:24. ² Gen 2:17. ³ Gen 3:16. ⁴ Gen 3:17. ⁵ Cf Gen 3:4-5. ⁶ Gen 1:28. ⁷ Cf Gen 3:21. ⁸ 1 Cor 15:47. ⁹ Cf 1 Cor 15:46. ¹⁰ 1 Cor 15:49.

911 κρατουμένη M 919 οἰκονομίαν N^acorr. 922 ἀν(θρώπ)ινης MN ἀν(θρώπ)ι P 923 οὗτος N^acorr. P 925 τοῖς M 927 ἀνομίως N 933 πάντῃ scripsi πάντῃ MNP 934 καὶ βρώσεως om. P 937 γηγενω M 940 Χ(ριστὸ)ν N^pcorr. 943 ἄλλο ἀπ' ἄλλου M

950 δείκνυσιν ὅτι ἐπὶ σαρκικῇ τεκνογονίᾳ καὶ σπορᾷ τοιαῦτα αὐτοῖς
 διεπλάσθη ὄργανα. Τρίτον τὸ εἰπεῖν τὴν γραφὴν εὐθέως σὺν τῇ ποιήσει
 αὐτῶν ὅτι Ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς· ἐπὶ ἀφθάρτου φύσεως καὶ
 ἀκτίστου τίς ἦν χρεία ἄρρενος καὶ θήλεος; Τέταρτον ὅτι καὶ διὰ τῆς
 εὐλογίας τῆς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ῥηθείσης· *Αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε*
 955 *καὶ πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν* ἢ διὰ σπορᾶς καὶ τόκου σαρκικοῦ τεκνογονία
 αὐτῶν δείκνυται. Πέμπτον τὸ πρὸ τῆς ἐκπτώσεως κοινὴν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς
 κτήνεσι καὶ πετεινοῖς τὴν τῶν σπερμάτων ἀπὸ γῆς ποιήσασθαι
 ἐπιτροπὴν τὸν Θεόν. Ἐκτον, φησὶ πάλιν ὁ διδάσκαλος, εἰ Πᾶν τὸ
 εἰσερχόμενον εἰς τὸ στόμα εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα χωρεῖ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου
 φωνήν, ἀδύνατον ἦν αὐτοὺς κοινῶς τῆς κτηνώδους μεταλαμβάνοντας
 960 σπερμοφαγίας μὴ καὶ τὴν ἴσην ὑπομένειν φθαρτώδη ἔκκρισιν. Ἐβδομον
 ὅτι καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὕπνου ἔκστασις καὶ ἡ τομὴ τῆς πλευρᾶς ὑλικῆς καὶ γηγενοῦς
 σαρκὸς εἰσι γνωρίσματα οὐ χώραν ἔχοντα ἐπὶ ἀθανάτου φύσεως.
 Ὅγδοον, εἰ ἄυλός τις καὶ ἀσώματος πρὸ τῆς παρακοῆς ὑπῆρχεν ὁ
 ἄνθρωπος, πῶς περὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ ληφθείσης πλευρᾶς φησιν· *Τοῦτο*
 965 *νῦν ὅσπου ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς μου*. Ἐννατον, εἰ
 ἄρα ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπαρχὴ καὶ πρωτότοκος λέγεται ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, ὥς
 πρῶτος δηλονότι ἀφθαρτον καὶ ἀθάνατον ἀναστήσας τὸ πανάγιον
 αὐτοῦ σῶμα, πῶς δυνατόν πρὸ τοῦ πρωτοτόκου ἄλλον εἶναι ἐν ἀφθα-
 ρσίᾳ σαρκὸς καὶ ἀθανασίᾳ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γεγονότα ἄνθρωπον; Δεκάτην δὲ
 970 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ποιεῖ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ὁ πατὴρ ἐκείνην τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Σαδ-
 δουκαίους τοῦ Σωτῆρος φωνήν τὴν φάσκουσιν ὅτι *Οἱ καταξιωθέντες*
τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου τυχεῖν καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν οὔτε
ἐγκαμοῦσιν οὔτε ἐγκαμίζονται οὔτε γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἐτι δύνανται. Εἰ οὖν
 οὐ δύνανται ἀποθανεῖν οἱ ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ ὄντες, πῶς ἀπέθανεν ὁ Ἀδάμ,
 975 εἴπερ Ὡριγένης μυθεύεται ὅτι τοιοῦτοι ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνιστάμεθα τῇ φύσει
 τοῦ σώματος, ὅτις ἦν ὁ Ἀδάμ πρὸ τῆς παραβάσεως; Ἀλλὰ κατάδηλός
 ἐστὶν Ὡριγένης τὴν ἀνάστασιν τῆς σαρκὸς ἀπαρνούμενος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 γυμνὰς ψυχὰς καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸν Ἀδάμ, ὅτε γέγονε, μυθεύεται δυσσεβῶς
 980 προὑπαρχούσας τοῦ σώματος. Ἀσφαλεστέρον μὲν οὖν καὶ κρείττονος
 καθ' ὑπεροχὴν τὸν πρωτόπλαστον τυχεῖν σώματος ὁ λέγων, φησὶν ὁ
 αὐτὸς Μεθόδιος, οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι, μέσσην τινὰ τάξιν φθορᾶς καὶ ἀφθαρσίας
 ἔχοντος. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἡμᾶς καὶ ὁ πάνσοφος ἐμπεδοῖ Σολομῶν φάσκων ὅτι
 985 *Ἐπ' ἀφθαρσίᾳ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον*, τουτέστι μέσον τινὸς ἄρ-
 ρευσίας καὶ ρεύσεως, ὅπως ἡ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐλόμενος, ὥς καὶ Γρηγορίῳ
 δοκεῖ τῷ θεολόγῳ, πρὸς τελείαν ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ ἀθανασίαν ὁδεύει | ἡ τοῦ
 χείρονος πάλιν ἀψάμενος τέλειον ὑπομείνη τὸν θάνατον, ὃ δὴ καὶ γέγονε
 κατὰ τὴν εἰποῦσαν φωνὴν αὐτῷ ὅτι *Γῆ εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ*.

1046A

958 τὴν] om. M^acorr. 960 ἰσὺν P 968 εἷνας M 969 ἀθανασίας N γεγόνε M
 971 καταξιωθέντος P 974 οἱ - ὄντες] οἱ ἀφθαρσίαντες M^acorr. 975 ἀνησταμεθα P
 978 δούσε M 980 ὑπεροχὴν P τυχεῖν] add. τοῦ N 981 μέσσην M 984 ἡ M 985 πρὸς]
 ρὸς P ad initium lineae

organs were shaped for physical fertilization and childbearing.

Third: Scripture says that, immediately with their creation, *he made them male and female*.¹ Why was there need of male and female for a nature that was not a perishable thing?

Fourth: God spoke a blessing over them: *"Increase and multiply and fill the earth."*² This shows that their childbearing would be through physical fertilization and birth.

Fifth: before the Fall, God shared control over the earth's seeds among them, the cattle, and birds.³

Sixth: the teacher says that if *everything that enters the mouth exits into the toilet*,⁴ according to the statement by the Lord, it would have been impossible for them to eat grain in common with the beasts,⁵ unless they endured the same perishable secretion.

Seventh: the ecstasy of the sleep and the removal of the material rib and terrestrial flesh are characteristics that would not have been appropriate for an immortal nature.⁶

Eighth: if man, before the transgression, had been something immaterial and bodiless, then why did he say about the rib that was taken from him: *"This now is bone from my bones and flesh from my flesh"*?⁷

Ninth: if Christ is called the first fruits and first born from the dead,⁸ it is obvious that he made his all-holy body imperishable and immortal as the first. How then is it possible that, before the first born, God had made another man with incorruptible flesh and immortality?

The Church Father added a tenth proof to these. The Savior said to the Sadducees: *"They that are deemed worthy of that age and of the resurrection from the dead do not marry and are not married; for they are no longer able to die."*⁹ They are not able to die, because they exist in incorruptibility. How then did Adam die, especially since Origen imagines that we rise from the dead with a corporal nature of the sort that Adam had before the sin? It is obvious then that Origen denies the resurrection of the flesh; and on account of this, he fantasizes impiously that we and Adam (when he came into being) are in existence as naked souls before our bodies.

If someone says that the first-formed received a body that was more steadfast, more powerful, and superior—the same Methodius continues—he would not be wrong, the first body having a position between corruptibility and incorruptibility. The very wise Solomon confirms this for us when he says: *God made man for incorruptibility*.¹⁰ That is: in a state between immutability and mutability. If man chooses the better—so it seemed to Gregory the Theologian—he is on the way to perfect incorruptibility and immortality. But if he chooses the worse, he endures the perfect death.¹¹ And this is what happened, according to the voice that said to Adam: *"You are earth and to earth you will return."*¹²

¹ Gen 1:27. ² Gen 1:28. ³ Cf Gen 1:29-30. ⁴ Mt 15:17. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:29-30.

⁶ Cf Gen 2:21. ⁷ Gen 2:23. ⁸ Cf 1 Cor 15:20; Col 1:18. ⁹ Lk 20:35. ¹⁰ Wis 2:23.

¹¹ Cf Rev 20:13-15. ¹² Gen 3:19.

3. Ἀλλὰ δὴ περὶ ταύτης τῆς θείας ἀποφάσεως πρὸς τὸν Σαμαρείτην
λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ὁ λόγος περιῶν κατήντησε. Ταύτην γὰρ ἡμῖν
990 ἄνω καὶ κάτω προβάλλεται τὴν θείαν φωνὴν πρὸς ἄρνησιν καὶ ἀθέτησιν
τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως, τὴν φάσκουσιν πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ ὅτι *Γῇ εἶ
καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ*, πρὸς ὃν, ἵνα καὶ σωματικώτερον ἐρῶ, ἐκεῖνο χρῆ
πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τείνασθαι ὅτι οὐχ ὀλοκλήρως ἐστὶν ἀπὸ γῆς, ἀλλὰ
μέρος μὲν τι ἀπὸ γῆς, μέρος δέ τι οὐκ ἀπὸ γῆς, ἀλλ' ἐκ Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ
995 ἐμφυσήματος, δι' οὗ καὶ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν ἐκάλεσεν ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἐχρῆν, καθὼς
καὶ τὶς τῶν ἔξω φησί, τὸ ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς γῆν, τὸ δ' ἐκ Θεοῦ πρὸς Θεὸν
ἐπανέρχεσθαι, ὅπου γε οὐδ' αὐτὴ ἡ τοῦ σώματος ὑπαρξὶς ὀλοτελῶς
ἐστὶν ἀπὸ γῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ ἀέρος καὶ ὕδατος. Εἰ δὲ ὀλοκλήρως
ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ γῆς τυγχάνει, οὐδὲν διαφέρει τοῦ σκεύους τοῦ κεραμικοῦ
1000 καὶ ἡδύνατο λοιπὸν πᾶς κεραμουργὸς διαπλάσασθαι ἀνθρώπους. Ἀλλ'
οὔτε γέγονεν ἕτερος ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ γῆς, εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ Ἀδὰμ, καὶ ἐχρῆν
ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ μόνον τὴν τοῦ θανάτου ἀπόφασιν ἀναφέρεισθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἐφ'
ἕτερον τινα. Πάντες γὰρ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐσμέν, καὶ οὐκ
ἀπὸ γῆς. Καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦτο λέγεσθαι ὅλως χῶραν οὐκ
1005 ἔχει, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ πλευρᾶς ζωῆς γέγονε καὶ ἐχρῆν πρὸς αὐτὴν λέγειν ὅτι
Πλευρὰ ἀνθρώπου εἶ καὶ πρὸς πλευρὰν ἀπελεύσῃ. Οὔτε δὲ τὰ πετεινὰ
κατὰ τὸν Σαμαρείτου λόγον ὑπόκεινται τῷ θανάτῳ οὔτε οἱ ἰχθύες, οὐ
γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς γεγόνασιν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὕδατων.

4. Πῶς δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐντολῇ εἰπὼν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὁ Θεός ὅτι *Ἡ δ' ἂν
1010 ἡμέρᾳ φάγητε* ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσκειν γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονη-
ροῦ, *θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε*, ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ ἐπιτιμίῳ ὅλως οὐκ ὠνόμασε
θάνατον, ἀλλὰ ἀποστροφὴν καὶ ἀπέλευσιν λέγων ὅτι *Γῇ εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν
ἀπελεύσῃ*. Σὺ μόνος ἀπελεύσῃ καὶ ἀποστρέψεις εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὅθεν ἦλθες. Σὺ
μόνος· οὐ μέντοι ἡ γυνή, ἐπεὶ ἄρα ἂν εἶπεν ὁ Θεός ὅτι *Γῇ ἐστε καὶ εἰς γῆν
1015 ἀπελεύσεσθε*, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ κοινῶς παρήγγειλε λέγων· *Μὴ φάγητε*, ἵνα μὴ
ἀποθάνητε, καὶ πάλιν κοινῶς εἶπεν ὅτι *Ἀρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς*,
καὶ κοινῶς τὴν δεσποτείαν πάντων ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ κοινῶς τὴν
βρῶσιν τὴν προτέραν, καὶ κοινῶς τὴν ἐν παραδείσῳ δίαιταν, καὶ κοινῶς
ἐφαγον ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, καὶ κοινῶς ἀνέβλεψαν. Κοινῶς ἐποίησαν τὰ περι-
1020 ζώματα. Κοινῶς ἤκουσαν τῆς φωνῆς Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ περιπατοῦντος,
καθὼς καὶ προειρήκαμεν περὶ τούτου, καὶ ὅτι κοινῶς ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ ἐν
τῷ ἅμα ἐκρύβησαν. Καὶ ἐχρῆν τοὺς πάντα κοινῶς πεποιηκότας καὶ
παθόντας κοινὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπόφασιν λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν
λέγουσαν πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ μόνον ὅτι *Γῇ εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ*.

1025 5. Ἐνταῦθα γάρ, ἐὰν μὴ ἀγανακτῇ κατ' ἐμοῦ ὁ Σαμαρείτης καὶ ὁ
Ἰουδαῖος, οὐ περὶ μιᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς διαλέγεται ὁ Θεός, ἀλλὰ περὶ

3. Our discussion concerning this divine decision has now arrived, after a detour, at a place where it refutes the Samaritan. For he constantly attacks with this divine statement, in order to deny and abolish the resurrection of the dead. God said to Adam: "*You are earth and to earth you will return.*"¹ It is necessary to point out to the Samaritan, first of all, that Adam was not wholly from the earth. If I might speak concretely: a part was from the earth,² but a part was not from the earth. It was from God, through his inspiration. And on account of this, God called him a living soul.³ Thus it was necessary—as indeed a non-Christian said—that what comes from the earth returns to the earth, what comes from God returns to God.

In fact, the substance of the body is not entirely from the earth: but also from fire, air, and water. If man were completely from the earth, nothing would distinguish him from a clay vessel. What is more, every ceramist would be able to make people. And no other man was made from the earth—only Adam. So, necessarily, this death sentence was applicable to him and him alone and to no other. All of us humans are from humans, and not from the earth. And it is absolutely impossible that this sentence be applied to the woman. She was made from a living rib.⁴ It would have been necessary to say to her: "You are a rib of man and to a rib you will return." According to the Samaritan's argument, neither the birds nor the fish would endure death. For they had not been born from the earth, but from the waters.⁵

4. In the command, God said to man: "*On whichever day you eat from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, you will surely die.*"⁶ How is it then that in the punishment, God did not name death at all? But rather, he spoke of a turning back and a return: "*You are earth and to earth you will return.*"⁷

You alone, Adam, will turn back and return to the earth from which you came. You alone. But not the woman, since God would have said: "You two are earth and to earth you two will return." He had given the command in common: "You two should not eat, so that you two will not die."⁸ And again it was said in common: *Male and female he made them.*⁹ And to them in common he gave authority over all.¹⁰ And to them in common he gave the earlier food.¹¹ And to them in common the dwelling in Paradise.¹² They together ate from the tree; together their eyes were opened; and together they made clothing.¹³ Together they heard the sound of the Lord God walking about—as was said earlier.¹⁴ And it was said that in common they were afraid and together they hid.¹⁵ It should have been that they, having done and suffered all these things in common, received together the same sentence from God. But he said to the man and him alone: "*You are earth and to earth you will return.*"¹⁶

5. I would like to say—if the Samaritan and the Jew will not become angry with me—that here God is not talking about one and the same

989 περιῶν P 994 μέρος δέ - γῆς] om. N 996 καί] κέ P 1002 τὴν] τὸν N^{a.corr.}
1003 ἡμεῖς M 1009 εἶπε N 1018 βρῶσιν] add. τὴν βρῶσιν P δάιταν M 1019/20 περὶ
ζώματα N^{a.corr.} 1021 προειρήκαμεν] scripsi προειρήκειν MNP prius diximus Hn. ἐν] om. P
1022 τοὺς] τὰ N 1026 Ἰουδαῖος] Ἰδαῖος N

¹ Gen 3:19. ² Cf Gen 2:7. ³ Cf Gen 2:7. ⁴ Cf Gen 2:21-23. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:20-21.
⁶ Gen 2:17. ⁷ Gen 3:19. ⁸ Cf Gen 2:17. ⁹ Cf Gen 1:27. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 1:26, 28.
¹¹ Cf Gen 1:29. ¹² Cf Gen 2:22. ¹³ Cf Gen 3:6-7. ¹⁴ Hex. XI.155-7. Cf Gen 3:8.
¹⁵ Cf Gen 3:8. ¹⁶ Gen 3:19.

δύο. Οὐ γὰρ εἶπε τότε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὅτι Ἐκ γῆς εἶ καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν ἀπελεύσῃ, ἀλλ' ὅτι Γῇ εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ, ἑτέραν καὶ ἑτέραν αἰνιττόμενος γῇ|ν. Καί, ἐπειδὴ λίαν σκληρὸν καὶ βεβιασμένον τὸ νόημα φαίνεται τοῖς πολλοῖς, εἰ δοκεῖ, ἐξ ὑποδειγμάτων τοῦτο πιστώσομαι. Καὶ ὑποθώμεθα τὸν Θεὸν πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ στοιχεῖον τῆς γῆς λέγειν· Σοὶ λέγω, ὦ γῆ, ὅτι γῆ εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ. Ἄρα οὐ φανερός ὁ λόγος ὅτι περὶ δύο γαιῶν λέγει; Καὶ πάλιν, ἐὰν εἴπῃ τῷ ὕδατι ὅτι Στοιχεῖον εἶ καὶ πρὸς στοιχεῖον ἀπελεύσῃ, εὐδὴλον ὅτι περὶ δύο στοιχείων λέγει. Ὁμοίως καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ, ἐὰν εἴπῃ ὅτι Ἄγγελος εἶ καὶ πρὸς ἄγγελον ἀπελεύσῃ, δύο ἡμῖν ἀγγέλους ἐσήμανεν. Οὕτω γοῦν καὶ διὰ τοῦ Γῇ εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ ἑτέραν τινὰ καὶ ἑτέραν νοήσωμεν, καὶ ἕτερον καὶ ἕτερον Ἀδάμ, καὶ ἄλλην ἀποστροφὴν, καὶ ἑτέραν καὶ ἑτέραν ἀπέλευσιν. Ταῦτα τῷ Σαμαρείτῃ διαλεγόμενος σὲ τὸν πιστὸν προκατήρτισα, ἵνα ἐννοήσῃς ἐκείνον τὸν πνευματικὸν Ἀδὰμ τὸν εἰρηκότα· Ἐγὼ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μου ἐξῆλθον, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα μου ὑπάγω.

6. Ζητήσῃ δὲ πάντως ὁ πνευματικὸς καὶ φιλόπονος ἀκροατής, εἰ πάντα εἰς Χριστὸν προεγράφη τὰ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, ὥς φησιν ὁ Ἀπόστολος, πῶς καὶ τὸ ἐπιτίμιον τὸ προκείμενον τοῦ Ἀδὰμ δυνατὸν πνευματικῶς εἰς Χριστὸν ἀναφέρεισθαι ἐπ' αὐταῖς ξηραῖς φωναῖς, καὶ μάλιστα τό· Ἐπικατάρατος ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου. Πῶς δυνατὸν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ κἄν ἐννοήσῃς ὅλως κατάραν; Ὅμως, ἐπειδὴ ἠκούσαμεν πρὸ βραχέος εἰπόντος τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸς τὸν ὄφιν ἐν τῇ κατάρᾳ ὅτι Γῆν φάγη πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου, τουτέστι τὰ γεώδη καὶ ὑλικά καὶ χοϊκά τῆς ἀμαρτίας νοήματα, ἢ βρώσεις, φησὶ, τοῦ ὀφεινῶς ἐπικατάρατος καὶ κατάκριτος γέγονεν ἐν τοῖς ἀρρήτοις ἔργοις τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅπως καὶ ὁ ὄφις καὶ ἡ βρώσις αὐτοῦ ἐπικατάρατοι ὦσιν. Ὡς περὶ γὰρ βρῶμα Χριστοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη, οὕτω καὶ τοῦ ὀφεινῶς βρῶμα ἡ ἀμαρτία.

7. Καὶ μὴ θαυμάσῃς ἀκούων γῆν ὀνομαζομένην τὰ γήινα τῆς ἀμαρτίας νοήματα ἀκούων τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ κόσμον ὀνομάζοντος αὐτήν, ἡνίκα πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς λέγει ὅτι Ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου, καθὼς ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου, τουτέστιν ἐκ τοῦ κοσμικοῦ καὶ γηίνου φρονήματος, περὶ οὗ καὶ Παῦλος βοᾷ πρὸς τινὰς λέγων· Μὴ τὰ ἐπίγεια φρονεῖτε, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖτε. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ προφήτης τὸ αὐτὸ ἡμᾶς διδάσκει λέγων· Ἐἰς τὰς πρωῒας ἀπέκτενον πάντας τοὺς ἀμαρτωλοὺς τῆς γῆς, τουτέστιν ἐξέκοπτον πάντας τοὺς πονηροὺς λογισμοὺς τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἐξ εἰσβολῆς, περὶ ὧν πάλιν παραινεί τοῖς ἐν ἀμαρτίαις ζῶσι λέγων· Ἐκλίποισαν ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ὥς ἵνα εἴπῃ ἀναχωρεῖτωσαν

earth, but about two. He did not say to man: "You are from earth and to it you will return." He said: "You are earth and to earth you will return."¹ This hints at a first and a second earth.

Since for many this thought will seem forced and very hard to accept, it will be good for me, if you agree, to prove it with examples. Let us imagine that God said to this very element, the earth: "I say to you, O earth, that you are earth, and to earth you will return." Is it not obvious that he is talking about two earths? If he said to the water: "You are an element and to an element you will return," it is obvious that he is speaking about two elements. Similarly, if he said to an angel: "You are an angel, and to an angel you will return," he has indicated two angels. So also this statement, "You are earth and to earth you will return,"² should make us think about one and a second earth, and about one and a second Adam, and another turning back, and one and another return.

By this discussion with the Samaritan, I have made you, the faithful, prepared to consider that one the spiritual Adam, who said: "I have come from my Father, and to my Father I return."³

6. All things in the Law describe Christ, said the Apostle.⁴ If so, the spiritual and industrious reader will certainly seek to know how Adam's punishment, with all its harsh words, can be referred spiritually to Christ—especially the statement: "Cursed is the earth in your works."⁵ How is it possible that a curse be considered applicable to Christ? Since a short while ago we heard God saying in his curse to the serpent: "You will eat earth all the days of your life"⁶—that is, sinful thoughts born of the earth, materialistic and dirty—the meal of the serpent became accursed and condemned in the ineffable works of Christ.⁷ So, both the serpent and his meal are cursed. For just as the food of Christ is righteousness,⁸ so the food of the serpent is sin.⁹

7. Do not be astounded when you hear earthly, sinful thoughts called "earth". Christ also called them "the world", when he said to his disciples: "You are not from the world, as I am not from the world."¹⁰ That is: not of worldly and mundane thinking. With respect to the same, Paul declared to some: Do not think about the things of the earth, but think about the things above.¹¹ The prophet taught us the same thing when he said: In the morning I killed all the sinners of the earth.¹² That is, I blocked all evil thoughts of sin from entering. And again, he advised those living in sin: Let the sinners abandon the earth.¹³ It is as if he had

¹ Gen 3:19. ² Gen 3:19. ³ Jn 8:42; 16:28. Cf Jn 13:3. ⁴ Cf Rom 5:14; 1 Cor 10:4, 6, 11; Gal 4:24; Eph 5:32; Col 2:17; Heb 8:5; 9:9; 10:1; 1 Pet 3:21. ⁵ Gen 3:17. ⁶ Gen 3:14. ⁷ Cf 2 Cor 12:4. ⁸ Cf Dt 8:3; Mt 4:4; 7:31-33; Mk 4:4. ⁹ Cf Mt 12:34-35; 15:11, 18-20. ¹⁰ Jn 15:19; 17:14. ¹¹ Col 3:2. ¹² Ps 100(101):8. ¹³ Ps 103(104):35.

1028 ἀλλ' ὅτι| ἀλλὰ τι N^{a.corr.} 1029 ἐπειδὴ| εἰ M^{a.corr.} 1030 ὑποδειγμάτων| ὑπὸ δειγμάτων N^{a.corr.} 1031 λέγω| λέγει N^{a.corr.} 1034 στοιχείων| στοιχεῖον P 1039 προκατήρτισα| scripsi προκατήρτισα MNP ἐνώησεις M 1044 δύναται N 1050 φησὶν M 1051 Χριστοῦ| add. καὶ ἀκατακρίτος M^{a.corr.} αὐτοῦ| add. αὐτοῦ M per dittographiam 1052 ὥσιν| ὦ M 1053 οὕτως MN 1056 ἀκούων M 1056 ἡμεῖς M 1057 οὐκ - κόσμου| ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου οὐκ εἰμὶ N 1059 δὲ| δὴ P 1062 εἰβολῆς M 1062 πάλιν| πάνιν N

λοιπὸν ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμαρτίας, περὶ ἧς προσκαλεῖται τὸν Θεὸν
 1065 λέγων· Ἀνάστα, ὁ Θεός, κρίνον τὴν γῆν, ἡγουν κατὰ κρίνον καταδικάσας
 τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀμαρτίαν τὴν οὖσαν βρώσιν καὶ δαπάνην τοῦ πονηροῦ
 ὁφέως αὐτῆς· καταψηφίζομενος σχολήν, ἵνα μὴ εἴη πολιτευομένη ἐφ' ὅλου
 τοῦ γένους, ἀλλὰ κατακρύπτων αὐτὴν καὶ ἀποτεφρῶν μᾶλλον ὥς
 1070 χωρῆσαι εἰς τὸ μηδέν. Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν σὺ πῦρ ὑπάρχεις κατανα-
 λίσκον. Οὐκοῦν, εἰ ὁ Θεὸς πῦρ καταναλίσκον ἐστί, Θεὸς δὲ ὢν ὁ Χριστὸς
 πῦρ ἦλθε βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καθαρτικόν τε καὶ ἀναιρετικόν αὐτῆς, οὕτω
 νόησον αὐτὸν δαπανῶντα τὴν πονηρὰν γῆν, τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, καὶ
 ἀναλίσκοντα τὸν χόρτον καὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας καὶ τοὺς τριβόλους καὶ τὴν
 1075 καλάμην καὶ τὸ ἄχυρον καὶ τὰ ζιζάνια ὥς ὕλας καὶ ἔκγονα καὶ
 βλαστήματα τῆς ἀκαρπίας καὶ ἀμαρτίας. |

8. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐμάθομεν πῶς μὲν ὁ πονηρὸς ὄφιν ἐσθίει γῆν πάσας τὰς
 ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ, πῶς δὲ πάλιν ὁ Χριστὸς ταύτην δαπανᾷ καὶ
 ἀναλίσκει καὶ ἐκκαθαίρει σὺν τῷ χόρτῳ καὶ ταῖς ἀκάνθαις καὶ τοῖς
 1080 τριβόλοις, μηκέτι λοιπὸν φοβηθῆς μήτε μὴν τὸν λογισμὸν ὀκλάσης
 ἀναφέρειν καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τό· Ἐπικατάρατος ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ
 ἀγίοις ἔργοις σου, καὶ ἐν λύπαις φάγη αὐτήν, καὶ καθαριεῖς ὥς Κύριος τὴν
 γῆν τοῦ λαοῦ σου. Ἠκούσαμεν γὰρ τινος καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύ-
 ματος λύπης ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὥς ὅταν λέγει Παῦλος·
 1085 Μὴ λυπηθῆτε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐν ᾧ ἐσφραγίσθητε εἰς ἡμέραν ἀπο-
 λυτρώσεως. Τὸ δὲ Ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους ἀνατελεῖ σοι προσφυῶς τις
 νοήσῃ ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ συναγωγῆς. Ὅθεν καὶ ἔλεγε
 τότε πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην γῆν, ἡνίκα αὐτῷ τὸν στέφανον τῶν ἀκανθῶν
 περιέθηκεν, ὅτι Ἐμείνα τὸν ἀμπελῶνα μου ποιῆσαι σταφυλὴν, ἐποίησε δὲ
 ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους.

9. Ἀκούσῳμεν λοιπὸν καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ῥημάτων πρὸς τὸν
 1090 σωματικὸν καὶ πνευματικὸν Ἀδάμ. Ἐπάγει γὰρ λέγων ὅτι Καὶ φάγη τὸν
 χόρτον τοῦ ἀγροῦ. Ἐν ἰδρωτί τοῦ προσώπου σου φάγη τὸν ἄρτον σου.
 Ζητήσεις, εἴ γε καὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις μὴ ἀπιστήσης, πῶς τρεῖς βρώσεις εἰπῶν
 ὁ Θεὸς ἐσθίειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, τουτέστι πρότερον μὲν γῆν, δεύτερον δὲ
 1095 χόρτον, τρίτον δὲ τὸν ἄρτον, οὐ λέγει τὴν γῆν οὐδὲ τὸν χόρτον ἰδίαν
 βρώσιν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Οὐ γὰρ φάσκει πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἐν λύπαις φάγη τὴν
 γῆν σου, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ χόρτου λέγει· Καὶ φάγη τὸν χόρτον σου, ἀλλὰ
 μόνον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦτο τίθησι λέγων· Ἐν ἰδρωτί τοῦ προσώπου σου
 φάγη τὸν ἄρτον σου, διδάσκων ἡμᾶς ἐντεῦθεν ὅτι ἡ μὲν λεγομένη γῆ
 1100 βρώσις ἐστὶ κυρίως τοῦ ὁφείως, ἥτις νοεῖται ἡ εἰδωλολατρία, ἣν καὶ
 κατηράσατο ὁ Θεός. Ὅθεν καὶ ὡς ἀρχαίαν αὐτὴν καὶ πρώτην
 ἀμαρτίαν, τὴν εἰδωλολατρίαν φημί, πρῶτον καὶ τίθησι. Χόρτος δὲ ἡ

said that sinners should finally remove themselves from sin. And he
 calls upon God about this: *Arise, God, judge the world.*¹ Indeed, pass
 judgment and convict earthly sin, which is the food consumed by the evil
 serpent! Condemn its followers, so that this party does not find a place
 in the entire human race! Confine it; or rather reduce it to ashes, as
 good for nothing—for you, our God, are a consuming fire!²

And if God is a consuming fire, did not Christ, being God, come to
 cast fire upon the earth,³ both cleansing and destroying it?⁴ So consider
 him as consuming the evil earth, sin, and eradicating its crop.⁵ The
 thorns, thistles, stubble, chaff, and weeds⁶ are the materials, offspring,
 and offshoot of sin's infertility.⁷

8. We have now learned why the evil serpent eats earth all the days
 of his life,⁸ and why Christ consumes, destroys, and purges it with its
 crop of thorns and thistles. Do not fear the rest. Do not abate in this
 reasoning, but compare also to him the passage: *"The earth is cursed in
 your good and holy works, and in pain you will eat it."*⁹ You, as Lord, will
 purge the earth of your people.¹⁰

We have heard that the sin of humans causes a certain pain to the
 Holy Spirit. As when Paul says: *Do not pain the Holy Spirit, by whom
 you have been marked with a seal for the day of destruction.*¹¹ And
 someone could think quite naturally that the phrase: *"it will produce
 thorns and thistles for you,"* applies to Christ and the synagogue of
 Israel (the earth). For this reason, he said to such an earth, when it
 placed the crown of thorns around him:¹² *"I expected my vine to make
 grapes; instead, it made thorns and thistles."*¹³

9. Let us listen, therefore, to the words of God that follow, those
 spoken to the physical and also the spiritual Adam. In addition he says:
*"And you will eat the grass of the field. In the sweat of your face you will
 eat your bread."*¹⁴

You will ask—if you do not reject what has been said already—why
 God told man to eat three foods: first the earth,¹⁵ then the grass, and
 third the bread.¹⁶

He did not say that the earth or the grass was man's own proper food.
 He did not tell him: *"In pain you will eat your earth."* He did not say
 about the grass: *"And you will eat your grass."* He applied this term only
 to the bread: *"In the sweat of your face you will eat your bread."*¹⁷ This
 teaches us the following: that which is called "earth" is really the food of
 the serpent. It should be considered idolatry, which indeed God cursed.
 And since it was the primordial and the first sin—I am still speaking of
 idolatry—God placed this first. The "grass", however, is the irrational

¹ Ps 81(82):8. ² Cf Dt 4:24; Heb 12:29. ³ Cf Lk 12:49; Rev 20:9-10. ⁴ Cf Mt 3:11; 7:19;
 Mk 9:48-49; Lk 3:16. ⁵ Cf Mt 13:38-42. ⁶ Cf Gen 3:18; Mt 3:12; 13:25-30; Lk 3:17;

1 Cor 3:11-15. ⁷ Cf Mt 13:38. ⁸ Cf Gen 3:14. ⁹ Gen 3:17. ¹⁰ Cf Heb 9:14; 1 Jn 1:7, 9.

¹¹ Eph 4:30. Cf Is 63:10. ¹² Cf Mt 27:29; Mk 15:17; Jn 19:2. ¹³ Is 5:2, 4. ¹⁴ Gen 3:19.

¹⁵ Cf Gen 3:17. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 3:19. ¹⁷ Gen 3:19.

1065 κρίνων N ἡγουν M 1072 νόησον] κατανόη τὸν N δαπανῶν τὰ M 1076 μὲν]
 om. P 1079 φοβηθεῖς P^{corr.} 1082 λαοῦ σου] λαοῦ P^{corr.} 1084 μὴ] om. M^{corr.}
 1085 πρὸς φυῶς M^{corr.} 1087 τὴν] om. P 1093 βρώσις M 1094 ἐσθίειν N 1097 οὐδὲ -
 λέγει] om. P καὶ] om. MP φάγη - σου] om. P 1101 ἣν] ὃν P 1102 εἰδωλολατρίαν M^{corr.}

ἄλογος καὶ κτηνώδης τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων ἀμαρτημάτων βρώσις, ἥτις καὶ
 ἐν ἰδρώτι καὶ πόνοις μεταλαμβάνεται. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Θεὸς λέγει τὸν
 1105 ἄρτον μόνον ἰδίου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φάσκων τό *Φάγη τὸν ἄρτον σου*, ὡς
 τοῦ χόρτου καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀμαρτίας καὶ ἀσεβείας ὑπαρχόντων σημαν-
 τικῶν.

10. Ἄλλως οὖν ἐκεῖνα καταναλίσκει ὁ Χριστός, τουτέστιν ἀφανίζων
 αὐτὰ καὶ παντελεῖ ἀπωλεία παραδιδούς, καὶ ἐτέρως πάλιν τὸν ἰδίον
 1110 ἄρτον ἐσθίει τοῦ παναγίου αὐτοῦ σώματος ἀνακαθάρας αὐτὸν καὶ
 λεπτύνας καὶ θεώσας καὶ ἀφθαρτίσας καὶ ἀνακαινίσας καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς
 ἐνώσεως μὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν, ἡνίκα ὁ ἰδρῶς τοῦ
 προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι αἵματος, ὅτε καὶ περίλυπον
 1115 ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγεν ἕως θανάτου. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἀπέδρα
 λοιπὸν λύπη παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη, ἀπέδρα στεναγμός, τὰ πρὸ τοῦ
 πάθους, καὶ ἀντεισέχθη χαρὰ καὶ εὐφροσύνη καὶ ἀγαλλίασις, τὰ τῆς
 ἀφθαρσίας. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἰδρῶτες καὶ αἱ λύπαι καὶ οἱ χόρτοι καὶ αἱ ἄκανθαι
 καὶ οἱ τρίβοι καὶ τὰ συγγὰ πάντα ἕως τότε ὑπῆρχον, ἕως οὗ
 1120 ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν γῆν θανατωθεὶς, ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθη, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ
 ἀνελήφθη μετὰ τῆς γηγενοῦς τοῦ ἀγίου | σώματος φύσεως κατὰ τὴν
 πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰποῦσαν φωνὴν ὅτι *Γῆ ὡς ἄνθρωπος εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν* ἐτέραν
 οὐρανίαν *ἀπελεύσῃ*, εἰς γῆν τοῦ πνευματικοῦ Ἰσραὴλ τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἡμῶν
 ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἐπαγγελίας, εἰς γῆν τῶν πραέων, εἰς γῆν ἀγίαν, εἰς γῆν καὶ
 1125 ἡρώσαντων καὶ πόλιν Κυρίου τῶν δυνάμεων ἐπουράνιον
 Ἱερουσαλήμ.

VII 1. Ἐπεὶ οὖν διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ζωῆς, ἣν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας πλευρᾶς
 ἔτεκεν ἀφυπνῶσας ὕπνον φυσίζωρον, καὶ οὕτω ταύτην τηθεὶς ὁ λέγων
 ὅτι *Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ζωὴ* ταῦτα ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ ἐπεδήμησε, καὶ δι'
 αὐτῆς τὸν θάνατον ἔλυσε, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἐκεῖνα τὰ ζῶα τῶν ἐθνῶν
 1130 ἐζωοποίησε τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν παραδείσῳ εἰσενεχθέντα, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς
 τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐξ ᾧ δου ἐζωοποίησε καὶ τῇ θνητῇ φύσει ζωὴν ἐχαρίσατο,
 τούτου χάριν, ὅτε τὸ ἐπιτίμιον τοῦ θανάτου ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀνεδέξατο παρὰ
 τοῦ Θεοῦ ζωοποιήσας ἡμᾶς, εὐθέως προσηγόρευσε διὰ τοῦ θανάτου
 αὐτοῦ ὁ νέος Ἀδὰμ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας Ζωὴν, ὅτι
 1135 αὕτη ἐστὶ μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ζώντων τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ κεκρυμμένην ζωὴν.
 Μέγα καὶ παράδοξον ἐντεῦθεν διδασκόμεθα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ καύχημα·
 μακάριαι καὶ τρισμακάριαι τῶν Χριστιανῶν αἱ ἐλπίδες καὶ τὸ ὕψωμα.
 Διὰ γὰρ τῶν εἰρημένων μανθάνομεν ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ λοιπαὶ πίστεις αἱ ἐν
 κόσμῳ νεκραὶ εἰσι καὶ μητέρες λαῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ἐθνῶν, ὡς μὴ ἔχουσαι ἐν
 1140 αὐταῖς τὸν λέγοντα· *Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ζωὴ* μηδὲ ἀναγεννῶσαι καὶ ζωοποιού-
 σαι διὰ τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοὺς ἑαυτῶν υἱοὺς καὶ

and beastly food of lowly sins: with sweat and labor one partakes in them. The grass and earth signify sin and impiety. So when God says: "You will eat your bread," he is saying that "bread" alone is the proper food of man.

10. Therefore in one way Christ consumes the grass and the earth.¹ That is, he does away with them and hands them over to complete destruction.² But again in another way Christ ate his own bread: the bread of his all Holy Body.³ He purged his body: he refined, deified, and made it incorruptible. And from that unity, he renewed it—even in that season when the sweat of his face became as drops of blood,⁴ and when he said that he was sad to the point of death.⁵ For after his death, grief finally fled from him, agony fled, groaning fled—the things of the passion. Joy was introduced instead, and happiness, and exultation⁶—the things of incorruptibility.⁷ For sweat and grief and crops and thorns and thistles and all those gloomy things existed until then: until dying he returned to his own earth, from which he had been taken, from which he was then taken up again with the earth-born nature of his most Holy Body.⁸ This was as the voice had said to him: "As a man, you are earth, and to another, heavenly earth you will return:"⁹ to the earth of the spiritual Israel, our true promise in the heavens,¹⁰ to the earth of the gentle,¹¹ to the holy earth, the earth and land of the living, the heavenly city of the Lord of Powers, Jerusalem.¹²

VII 1. He gave birth from his own rib to the woman of life, when he fell asleep in a life-producing sleep.¹³ She was cut from him¹⁴ who had said: "I am the life."¹⁵ On account of her, those things were done. He came into the world to stay and on account of her he undid death.¹⁶ On account of her, he gave life to the living beings among the Gentiles, who had been brought to him in the garden.¹⁷ On account of her, he gave life to the dead in Hades¹⁸—indeed, he bestowed life on their mortal nature.¹⁹ And on account of this, he who had made us alive received from God on her behalf the fatal command. Through his death, the new Adam gave to his wife, the Church, the name of Life.²⁰ And she became the mother of all those living the life concealed in Christ.²¹

This teaches us that the glory of the Church is great and also paradoxical. Blessed and thrice blessed are the hopes and exaltation of Christians. And through what has been said, we also learn that all the other religions in the world are dead and are mothers of dead peoples and nations.²² They do not have in them the one who says: "I am the life."²³ They do not revive and give life to their sons and peoples through

1105 τό] τοῦ M 1108 καταναλίσκων P 1112 ἰδρὸς N 1113 θρόμβοι M^{corr.} 1117 αἱ']
 σπλ. N 1119 ἧς'] add. καὶ M 1122 τῆς] τοὺς M^{corr.} 1136 ἐντεῦθεν N^{corr.}
 1137 ἐλπιδαις M 1138 λοιπαί] λοι P πίστεις M

¹ Cf Heb 12:29. ² Mt 3:12; 13:30; Lk 3:17; 2 Th 1:7-8; Rev 21:1. ³ Cf Mt 26:26;
 Mk 14:22; Lk 22:19; 1 Cor 10:16. ⁴ Cf Lk 22:44. ⁵ Cf Ps 41(42):6, 12; 42(43):5, Jon 4:9;
 Mt 26:38; Mk 14:34; Jn 12:27. ⁶ Cf Mt 28:8; Lk 24:52; Jn 20:20; Rev 21:4.
⁷ Cf Mk 16:19; Lk 24:5-7, 39, 46, 51; Jn 20:27. ⁸ Cf Mk 16:19; Lk 24:51. ⁹ Gen 3:19.
 Cf Rev 21:1. ¹⁰ Cf Heb 9:15. ¹¹ Cf Mt 5:5. ¹² Cf Rev 21:2; 21:10-22:5.
¹³ Cf Gen 2:21; 1 Th 4:13-15. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 2:21-22. ¹⁵ Jn 11:25; 14:6. Cf Jn 6:35, 48.
¹⁶ Cf Jn 11:4; Acts 2:24. ¹⁷ Cf Gen 2:19; Eph 2:11-13, 17-19. ¹⁸ Cf Mt 16:18; Rom 4:17;
 Rev 1:18; 20:12-13. Cf also the *Anastasis* ("Harrowing of Hell") of the Orthodox Church.
¹⁹ Cf Rom 6:23. ²⁰ Cf Gen 3:19-20. ²¹ Cf Col 3:3. Cf also Rom 6:4-5; 1 Th 4:16-17.
²² Cf Rom 7:5; 8:5-6, 13. ²³ Jn 11:25; 14:6. Cf Jn 6:35, 48.

λαούς, ἀλλ' ἄσποροι καὶ χῆραι τυγχάνουσαι τῆς πηγῆς τῆς ζωῆς, τοῦ ὕδατος μὴ ἀπολαύουσαι τοῦ ζῶντος καὶ ἀλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

2. Μόνη τοίνυν ἡ τούτου ἐκκλησία λέγεται καὶ ζωὴ καὶ μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ζώντων ζωὴν αἰώνιον ὡς ἔχουσα ἄνδρα καὶ σύζυγον τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον. Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς οὐκ ἔστι νεκρῶν Θεός, ἀλλὰ ζώντων. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ μήτηρ ἐστὶν οὐ νεκρῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντων τῶν ζώντων τὸν Χριστὸν τὴν ζωὴν τὴν ἀληθῆ, καὶ πᾶς ὁ μὴ ἐκ ταύτης γεννώμενος νεκρὸς τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ κατέστηκεν. Ἡ δὲ σωματικὴ γυνὴ τοῦ σωματικοῦ Ἀδάμ οὐκ ἔστι μήτηρ ζώντων, ἀλλὰ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων. Περὶ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πνευματικῆς μητρὸς οὐ λέγει ὅτι μήτηρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ζώντων, ὡς ζωὴ οὕσα. Καὶ τούτου χάριν ὅλως οὐκ ὀνομάζει ἐν τῷ ἐπιτιμῶι αὐτῆς ὁ Θεὸς θάνατον, ἐπειδὴ ζωὴ οὕσα κατὰ φύσιν ἄλλοτρία τοῦ θανάτου ἐστὶν αἰώνιος διαμένουσα.

3. Εἰ δὲ βιάζεται με ὁ Ἰουδαῖος νῦν τὴν σωματικὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ Ἀδάμ νοῆσαι μητέρα πάντων τῶν ζώντων, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα εἰπεῖν αὐτὴν μητέρα εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς εἰσι ζῶντες. Τί οὖν; Ἡ ἐκκλησία, φησί, μήτηρ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐστίν; Οὐ. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ὁ τούτων ποιητής, θέσει καὶ τούτων λέγεται μήτηρ, ὅτι καὶ λειτουργικὰ αὐτῆς πνεύματα ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα πρὸς αὐτὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς. Δεῖ γὰρ ὑπηρετεῖν αὐτοὺς τῇ θέσει μητρὶ καὶ συζύγῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ Θεοῦ αὐτῶν. Ὅθεν ὡς πάντων περιεκτικὴ καὶ ἐνωτικὴ γενικώτατον ὄνομα καὶ περιεκτικώτατον αὐτῇ τέθεικεν ὁ Θεὸς Ζωὴν αὐτὴν προσαγορεύσας. Ἡ γὰρ ζωὴ οὐ προσωπικὸν κατέστηκεν ὄνομα, ἀλλ' ἐνωτικὸν καὶ περιληπτικόν, | καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων σύμφυτός ἐστιν ἡ ζωὴ. Νομίζω δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ πολυγενῆ καὶ πολύεθνον εἶναι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐκ παντὸς γένους τοῦ ὑπ' οὐρανὸν τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα καὶ πλήρωμα ἔχουσιν, τὸ γενικώτατον αὐτῇ ὄνομα προσεποιήσατο, ὥσπερ δὴ κάκεῖνο τὸ θηρίον τὸ φοβερὸν τε καὶ ἐκθαμβον παρὰ τῷ Δανιὴλ τὸ ἀνώνυμον καὶ μὴ ἔχον ὡς τὰ ἄλλα τρία ὑποστατικὸν ὄνομα διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων καὶ Χριστιανῶν βασιλείαν προδιαγράφειν.

4. Ἐπιστῆσαι δὲ χρῆι πρὸς τούτοις ἅπασι πῶς αὕτη ἡ πνευματικὴ σύζυγος τοῦ δευτέρου Ἀδάμ ἀπὸ τοῦ χείρονος εἰς τὸ κρεῖττον προέκοψεν ὄνομα. Ἐν ἀρχαῖς γὰρ ἐκλήθη πλευρά, ἡνίκα καὶ ἐτμήθη καὶ διηρέθη ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, σημαίνουσης, ὡς οἶμαι, τῆς τοιαύτης ἐκτομῆς καὶ διαστάσεως τὴν ἀποστασίαν, ἣν ἐκ Θεοῦ πάσχειν ἡμελλεν. Εἶτα μετὰ τοῦτο

1143 τοῦ] καὶ P 1145 ὡς] om. N ἔχουσιν M 1146 ἐστὶν ἐκρ(ῶν) M 1148 ἀληθῆ] ἀληθ(ν) P ἐκ] add. ταύ N 1150 ἔστι μήτηρ] ἢ μή(τη)ρ N^{corr.} 1153 ὀνομάζει P 1154 διαμένειν N^{corr.} 1161 ὑπηρετεῖν] scripsi ὑπερετεῖν M ὑπειρετεῖν NP 1163 περιεκτικὴ M 1163 περιεκτικώτατον M 1164 τέθεικεν P 1166 καὶ] om. M ἀν(θρώπ)ω M 1168 τοῦ] scripsi τῆς MNP cf. genere quod est sub coelo Hv. ὑπ'] π' N 1169 προσεπειήσατο M^{corr.} 1170 τῷ] τὸν M 1172 προδιαγράφειν M 1173 αὕτη M

the womb's water and the Spirit.¹ They have no seed² and are dry of the spring of life.³ They do not enjoy the living water that leaps to eternal life.⁴

2. His Church alone is called both Life and mother of all who live eternal life,⁵ as it has God the Word⁶ as its husband and companion.⁷ God is not God of the dead, but of the living.⁸ On account of this, his wife is not a mother of the dead, but of all that live Christ, the true life.⁹ Everyone that is not born from her stands dead in sin.

The physical wife of the physical Adam was not a mother of the living, but of dead men.¹⁰ It does not say about the spiritual mother that she is mother of all men, but rather *the mother of all who live*, since she is Life.¹¹ And because of this, God did not include death at all in her punishment. Being Life, she is by nature different than death. She remains eternally.

3. If the Jew should now compel me to consider the physical wife of Adam as mother of all the living, it would be necessary to say that she is also mother of the angels: for they, more than we, are living.

"What is this?" he says. "The Church is also mother of the angels?"

No. But since her husband was their creator,¹² she is by adoption called mother of these too. And he made them her ministering spirits: they were sent to serve her.¹³ For it is necessary that they minister to their mother by adoption: to the wife and companion of their God.

For this reason, since she holds and unifies all, God gave her the most familiar and comprehensive name: he called her "Life". "Life" is not an individual's name: it embraces and unifies. Life is innate to God, the angels, and men. I think that because the Church is composed of many races and many nations—it has its own perfect body from every race under heaven—he added to her the name that is most universal. Similarly, in Daniel, that fearful and terrible beast was nameless:¹⁴ it did not have a personal name like the other three. This was because it was foreshadowing the kingdom of the Romans and Christians.

4. In addition to all these things, it is necessary to understand how the spiritual spouse of the second Adam advanced from a worse name to a better. In the beginning, when she was cut and removed from the man, she was called a "rib".¹⁵ Such a surgery and separation, I think, signified her defection from God, which she was about to suffer. Then after that, having been built up and raised to something stronger, she was named

¹ Cf Jn 3:3-8; 7:38-39; Rom 8:10-11; Tit 3:5-7; 1Jn 5:6-12. ² Cf Mt 13:24, 31-32, 37-39; Mk 4:31; Acts 3:25; 1 Jn 3:9. ³ Cf Jn 4:14; 2 Pet 2:17; Rev 7:17; 21:6. ⁴ Cf Jn 4:14. ⁵ Cf Gen 3:20. ⁶ Cf Mt 9:15; Jn 3:29; Rev 19:9; 21:2, 9; 22:17. ⁷ Cf Jn 1:1; Rev 19:13. ⁸ Cf Mt 22:32; Mk 12:27; Lk 20:38; Rom 14:9. ⁹ Cf Jn 14:6; Rom 14:11; 1 Tit 6:19; 1 Jn 5:20. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 4:8, 5:7. ¹¹ Gen 3:20. ¹² Cf Gen 1:1; 2:4; Jn 1:3. ¹³ Cf Acts 5:19; 12:7-10; Heb 1:14. ¹⁴ Cf Dan 7:7-11. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 2:21-22.

οικοδομηθεῖσα, ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον ἀνεγειρομένη, διὰ τὸν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα
 Χριστὸν προσεγγισμὸν ἐκλήθη γυνή. Ἐσχάτη δὲ πάντων προσηγορεύθη
 1180 ζωὴ ὡς ἀπὸ θανάτου εἰς ζωὴν προκόψασα. Ὁ δὲ ταύτης ἀνὴρ οὐχ
 οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ κρεῖττονος ὀνόματος μεταλαμβάνει τοῦ χείρονος. Ἐν
 πρώτοις γὰρ ὁ Ἀδὰμ πολλῆς τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀπήλαυσεν εἰκὼν καὶ
 ὁμοίωσις Θεοῦ προσαγορευθεῖς. Εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκλήθη ἄνθρωπος, καὶ
 1185 ὕστερον πάλιν Ἀδὰμ, καὶ ἐσχάτον πάντων γῆ, ὅπως διὰ τούτων σαφῶς
 μάθωμεν καὶ παιδευθῶμεν πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν πρωτόπλαστον εἰς τὴν
 ἐκκλησίαν Εὐὰν καὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ Χριστὸν ἀναφέρειν. Οὕτω γὰρ ἐν ἀρχαῖς
 ἀπαύγασμα ὦν καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ
 ἀοράτου ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε μορφήν δούλου λαβὼν, ἵνα ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐκ πτω-
 χείας πλουτήσῃ ζωῇ, καὶ γινομένη τοῦτο καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὀνομαζομένη καὶ
 1190 ἐν βίβλῳ ζώντων καταταττομένη. Περὶ γὰρ τῶν λοιπῶν πίστεων
 εἴρηται τό *Ἐξαλειφθήτωσαν ἐκ βίβλου ζώντων* τῶν νιῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας,
 δηλαδὴ τῆς μητρὸς τῶν ζώντων, καὶ μετὰ δικαίων μὴ γραφήτωσαν.
 Ἄδικοι γὰρ τὸν δίκαιον Θεὸν ἀρνησάμενοι καὶ τὸν ἄδικον Σατὰν
 προελόμενοι, ὥς καὶ τὸ σέβας ἀνάπτειν δι' εἰδῶλων προέκριναν, τὴν ζωὴν
 1195 ἐκκλησίαν ἀφένενοι, ἥτις ὡς πολύτεκνος καὶ πολύπρονος καὶ πολύγονος
 καὶ πολυπρόσωπος καθολικὸν ὡς καθολικὴ ὄνομα κέκτηται ζωῇ. Ὁ δὲ
 ταύτης ἀνὴρ Χριστός, ὡς μονογενὴς καὶ μονοπρόσωπος ἀδιαίρετος ὦν,
 μονοπρόσωπον ὑποστατικὸν ὀνομάσθη ὄνομα.

5. Ἡδυνάμην μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐνταῦθα πρὸς τὸν Σαμαρείτην ἀποτείνασθαι,
 1200 ἀλλὰ δέδοικα τὸν κόραν τῶν ἀκρατῶν πολλὰ λέγων. Αὐτὸς γὰρ τὴν
 σωματικὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ Ἀδὰμ λέγων καὶ νοῶν εἶναι μητέρα πάντων
 τῶν ζώντων ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἄκων καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος ζώσας ὁμολογεῖ τὰς
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰς. Εἰ δὲ θνησκούσας εἶπη, ψεύστην παρίστησι τὸν
 Θεόν, οὐκέτι γὰρ εὐρίσκεται ἡ γυνὴ μήτηρ ζώντων, ἀλλὰ νεκρῶν, καθ'
 1205 ὁμοιότητα τῶν κτηνῶν. Ὅσον γὰρ κατὰ τὸν Σαμαρείτην καὶ ἡ κύων καὶ
 ἡ ὄνος λοιπὸν μητέρες εἰσὶ πάντων τῶν ζώντων, εἴπερ | οὐδὲ μία δια- 1051A
 φορὰ ψυχῆς ζῶον καὶ ἀνθρώπου ψυχῆς. Ἀλλ' οὗτοι τὴν ἰδίαν ὁδὸν τῆς
 πλάνης ὀδεύετωσαν· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸν λόγον διαναπαύσαντες τῷ
 παμ| βασιλεῖ Χριστῷ δόξαν ἀναπέμψωμεν νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας 1052A
 1210 τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. |

1178 οἰκοδομηθεῖσα P τὸν] om. P 1179 προσεγγισμὸς N 1185 μάθωμεν P
 παιδευθῶμεν] add. ὅτι P πρωτόπλαστον M^a 1188 ἐκένωσεν M 1189 πλουτήσῃ] scripsi
 πλουτίσας M πλουτίσῃ N πλουτίσας P ζωῇ] scripsi ζωὴν MNP 1190 κατα-
 ταττομένη] scripsi καταττόμένη M κατὰ ταττομένη N καταττομένη P
 1191 ἐξαλειφθήτωσαν N^a 1192 ζώντων P 1194 προελόμενοι - εἰδῶλων] om. M
 1196 καθολικὴ N^a 1197 ὡς] add. ὁ N 1200 ἀκρατῶν M^a 1200/1 τὴν σωματικὴν]
 τῷ σώματι ἡ M 1203 θνησκού P 1205 κύων] κεῖ M 1206 μίαν N 1207 ζώου] ζώ N

"woman", because of her proximity to her man, Christ.¹ And last of all, she was called "Life", since she had advanced from death to life.²

It was not so for her man. From a stronger name, he accepted a weaker. At first, Adam enjoyed great honor and glory, when he was called the "image and likeness of God".³ Then after these, he was called "man";⁴ and later, "Adam";⁵ and last of all, "earth".⁶

This was so that through these things, we might learn and be taught that everything about Adam and Eve, the first-formed, relates to Christ and the Church. So in the beginning, Christ was a radiance and an image of the person of the invisible God himself.⁷ He then emptied himself and took on the shape of a slave, so that the Church from poverty might be enriched with life⁸ and became this: both be named thus by him and be registered in the Book of the Living.⁹ But with respect to the remaining faiths, it was said: *"Let them be obliterated from the book of the living sons of the Church, who is the mother of the living, and let them not be inscribed with the just."*¹⁰ The unjust are those that have rejected the just God and have chosen the unjust Satan. They have preferred to fasten reverence on him through idols and have cast away their life, the Church.¹¹ And since she has gone through many labors and births, and has many offspring and personalities, she as the universal life has a catholic name.¹² But since Christ, her husband, was the only child¹³ and was one inseparable person, he received the personal name of a unique individual.

5. In these discussions I have been able to argue against the Samaritan. But since I have said many things, I fear that my listeners have had their fill. For he, thinking and saying that the physical wife of Adam was the mother of all living beings,¹⁴ is constrained by necessity and must agree, though unwillingly, that the souls of men are living. For if he should say that they are dying, he shows God to be a liar. The woman then is found to be no longer the mother of the living, but of the dead—like the beasts. In fact, if indeed there is no difference between the soul of an animal and the soul of a man—as according to the Samaritan—both the dog and the ass are mothers of all living beings.

But let these travel their own way of error. Let us here give a pause to our speech and give glory to Christ the King of All, now and always and forever and ever. Amen.

¹ Cf Gen 2:22. ² Cf Gen 3:20. ³ Cf Gen 1:26. ⁴ Cf Gen 1:27; 2:5-8, 15, 18, 24.
⁵ Cf Gen 2:16-25 et alia. ⁶ Cf Gen 3:19. ⁷ Cf Jn 1:1-2, 4-5, 9. ⁸ Cf Mt 20:27-28;
 Lk 22:27; Phil 2:7. ⁹ Cf Ps 68(69):29; Is 4:3; Rev 3:5-6; 13:8; 20:12, 15; 21:27.
¹⁰ Ps 68(69):29. ¹¹ Cf Rev 13:1-14:1; 20:6-10; 21:7-8; 22:14-15. ¹² Cf Is 13:3. ¹³ Jn 1:14,
 18; 3:16, 18; I Jn 4:9. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 4:20.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀκολουθῶς
λόγος δωδέκατος |

11. Καὶ ἐποίησε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ χιτῶ-
νας δερματίνους καὶ ἐνέδυσε αὐτούς.

Καὶ ποῖοι οὗτοι κατάδικοι ἢ κατάκριτοι, εἶπέ μοι, οἱ ὑπὸ ἀχράντων καὶ
θείων χειρῶν τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ δίκην νυμφίου καὶ νύμφης ἐνδυό-
μενοι καὶ σκεπόμενοι καὶ κοσμούμενοι καὶ οἰονεὶ νυμφοστολούμενοι; Οὔτε
γὰρ βασιλεὺς φθαρτὸς οὐδέ τις ἄρχων εὐτελὴς καταδέχεται τοὺς ὅλως
προκεκρουκότας αὐτῷ ἰδίαις χερσὶν ἐνδύσαι ποτέ, ἀλλ' οὔτε δι' ἐτέρων
χειρῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑποδύσας καὶ κολάσας καὶ γυμνοὺς διαπομπεύσας
θριαμβεύσει καὶ ἐν εἰρκτῇ κατακλείσει. Οὐκοῦν τί ποτε ἡμῖν βούλονται καὶ
οἱ χιτῶνες οὗτοι οἱ λεγόμενοι δερματῖνοι μυστήριον ὑπεμφαίνειν; Ὁ γὰρ
ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἐνδυόμενος καὶ σκεπόμενος ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
ἀύλισθήσεται, ἀλλ' οὐ κατάδικος οὔτε κατάκριτος γνωρίζεται. Ἐκεῖνο δὲ
ἐνταῦθα ἡμᾶς γενομένους διασκοπῆσαι χρή, πῶς πρὸ βραχείος διάφορα
καὶ παρηλλαγμένα τοῖς δυσὶν ὁ Θεὸς ἰδίᾳ καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος τὰ νομιζόμενα
ἐπιτίμια δούς παραυτὰ ὁμοίαν καὶ ἴσην καὶ ὁμότιμον τοῖς δυσὶ σκέπην
ἐχαρίσατο, ὥς ὁμοψύχοις τισὶ καὶ ὁμοζύγοις τυγχάνουσιν. Οὐ γὰρ συμ-
φωνεῖ αὕτη ἡ συνάφεια, καὶ ἡ μὲν δυνὰς ἐκεῖνη ἐτμήθη τῇ ἐγκλήσει τοῦ
Ἀδὰμ τῇ ῥηθείᾳ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ὥς ἀκούσαντι τῆς γυναικός. Οὐ γὰρ
ἦν θεμιτὸν πάλιν συνάψαι αὐτῷ ταύτην, εἴ γε ἐπίβουλος αὐτῷ γέγονε
καὶ πρόξενος θανάτου καὶ κατάρας.

2. Οὐ τοίνυν, καθὰ τινες οἶονται, ἐπικατάρτοι γεγόνασιν οἱ πρωτό-
πλαστοι, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν | μετὰ τὴν κατάραν, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τούτου τῆς τοι-
αύτης σκέπης ἀπήλαιον παρὰ Θεοῦ τῶν δερματίνων χιτῶνων. Οὐχ ὅτι
δὲ ἀδυνάτως εἶχεν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ χωρὶς χιτῶνων τὴν πρὸς ζωὴν διαμονὴν
αὐτοῖς χαρίσασθαι, ὥς καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐμψύχοις ζώοις,
ἀλλὰ δηλοῦντος τοῦ τοιοῦτου ὑποδείγματος ὅτι γυμνωθέντες διὰ τῆς
ἀμαρτίας ἐν ἐσχάτοις τισὶ καὶ ὑστέροις καιροῖς ἐνδυθήσονται καὶ σκεπασ-
θήσονται ὑπὸ Θεοῦ, ὥσπερ δὴ κάκεῖνος ὁ ἄσωτος υἱὸς ἐν τῇ ἐπιστροφῇ
τὸν βασιλικὸν χιτῶνα περιεβάλλετο, ὁμοῦ τε διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης τῶν
κτηνογενῶν δερμάτων ἐνδύσεως καὶ ἡ ἑνσαρκὸς οἰκονομία τοῦ Χριστοῦ
προδιετυποῦτο. Ὁ γὰρ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐοκλήνωσεν ἐν τῇ θνητῇ
δερματίνῃ ἡμῶν φύσει, ἣν καὶ προδιέγραφε καὶ ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, ἐν ἣ
ἐτέχθη ὁ υἱὸς καὶ γέλως Ἰσαὰκ ὡς τύπος τοῦ τὰ πάντα χαροποιήσαντος
Χριστοῦ, μεθ' ἣν πάλιν σκηνὴν καὶ ἡ τοῦ μαρτυρίου σκηνὴ δευτέρα οὔσα
τὴν σκηνωματοφόρον ταύτην Εὐὰν γυναῖκα Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐκκλη-
σίαν ἐσήμανε καὶ τὴν λεγομένην Ζωὴν, τὴν μητέρα τῆς ζωῆς, ζωηφόρον

titulus 1β' Μ 5 σκεπόμενοι] om. Μ εἰονεὶ M^a corr. 7 προκεκρουκότας] Dacier προσκε-
κρουκότας MNP ἐτέρων N 12 ἐκεῖνος P 15 παρ' αὐτῷ N^a corr. παρ' αὐτὰ N^p corr.
δυσιν P 21/2 πρωτόπλαστοι M 22 κατάραν] add. γεγόνασιν οἱ πρωτόπλαστοι M per dil-
lographiam 27 ἐνδύσονται P 29 ἐπεριεβάλλετο N 30 ἐνδύσεω M 31 σὰρξ] σὰρ N^a corr.
35 κηνωματοφόρον N

This is the twelfth book in the series by the same author.

I 1. And the Lord God made garments of skin for Adam and his wife,
and he clothed them.¹

Who are these condemned and accursed persons, who are clothed,
sheltered,² and adorned,³ by the immaculate and divine hands of
Almighty God as bride and bridegroom⁴—indeed, like a bridal couple?⁵
Neither a mortal king nor a worthless prince will allow those who have
formerly offended him to be dressed by his own hands or through the
hands of others. Rather, after stripping them and chastising them, he
will triumphantly parade them naked, before he locks them away in
prison. Therefore, what mystery do these garments, called “skin”, want
to reveal to us? He that is clothed and sheltered by God *will lie in the
protection of the heavenly God*:⁶ he is not pointed out as guilty or con-
demned.

Having arrived here, it is necessary that we examine how God, a
little while ago, gave different punishments to the two, individually and
according to their genders,⁷ but suddenly presents to the two an equal
and similar covering.⁸ It is as if the two were in possession of the same
soul and were yoked together in marriage. But such unification is
incongruous. The two had been divided by God's accusation of Adam,
because he had listened to his wife.⁹ It was not right that God then
joined her to him again, if indeed she had been a traitor and the
provider of his death and execration.¹⁰

2. Some wrongly think that the first-formed would not have been
cursed, if they had received from God the benefit of such protection—the
garments of flesh—before the curse rather than after. Yet God was quite
capable of giving them without garments the endurance to live, as he
had done for both the angels and the other breathing creatures. Rather,
this indicates that they, stripped naked through sin, will be clothed and
sheltered by God in some later and final season. The prodigal son, when
he returned, was wrapped in a royal garment.¹¹ Just so, this clothing of
animal-like skin was a prophetic type of the incarnate stewardship of
Christ. For *the Word became flesh and dwelt in our mortal nature of
skin*.¹²

The tent of Abraham also foreshadowed this.¹³ In it, his son Isaac
was born, the [source of Sarah's] laughter,¹⁴ as a type of Christ who
would make all things delightful.¹⁵ And after this tent came the Tent of
the Covenant.¹⁶ Because it was later, it signified Eve, who bore the Ta-
bernacle, the wife of Adam, the Church of Christ.¹⁷ This tent also

¹ Gen 3:21. ² Cf Is 49: 2; 51:16; 61:10. Cf also Lev 8:1-9; Zech 3:4; Rev 3:4-5, 18; 4:4; 21:2.
And also Rom 13:14; 1 Cor 15:53-54; 2 Cor 5:3; Gal 3:27; Eph 4:24; Col 3:10, 12; 1 Tim 2:9-
10; 1 Pet 3:3-5. ³ Cf Ex 12:13, 27; Ps 16(17):8; 26(27):5; 30(31):20; 60(61):4; 63(64):2;
90(91):14; Wis 5:16; 19:8; Is 4:5; 49:2; 51:16; ⁴ Cf Ex 16:7 ff.; 23:4; Is 50:1; 54:4 ff.; 62:4-
5; Jer 2:2; Hos 2:16, 18-21; Mt 9:15; 22:2; Mk 2:19-20; Lk 5:34-35; 14:16; 2 Cor 11:2-3;
Eph 5:22-33; Rev 19:7; 21:2, 9; 22:17. ⁵ Cf Mt 22:11; 25:1-13; Rev 19:9. ⁶ Ps 90(91):1.
⁷ Cf Gen 3:16, 17-19. ⁸ Cf Gen 3:21. ⁹ Cf Gen 3:17. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 3:6. ¹¹ Cf Lk 15:22.
¹² Jn 1:14. ¹³ Cf Gen 18:1 ff. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 18:12; 21:6. ¹⁵ Cf Mt 25:21, 23; 28:8; Lk 2:10;
15:7, 10; 24:52; Jn 3:29; 15:11; 16:20, 21, 22, 24; 17:13; 3 Jn 4; etc. ¹⁶ Cf Ex 25-40.
¹⁷ Cf Heb 9:6-28.

σκηνην τῆς ἀκηράτου φύσεως, τὴν θεοτόκον καὶ θεοδόχον καὶ θεοτρόφον, ἀλλὰ τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς παρθένον καὶ ἀειπάρθενον Μαρίαν προδιέγραφεν, ἐν ᾗ ὡς περ τινὶ σκηνῇ λογικῇ ἐν αὐθυπάρκτῳ συνδρομῇ καὶ συνόδῳ ἀκαριαίᾳ διδυμοφυῶς συνεπλάκη καὶ συνεπλάσθη καθ' ὑπόστασιν, ἀλλ' οὐ προεπλάσθη ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος τὴν σκηνώδημον φύσιν. Ἐννόησον γάρ μοι ὅτι οὗτος ὁ νῦν αὐθύπαρκτος καὶ ἀμφιγενὴς σύνθετος δερματοφόρος γεγονῶς Ἀδάμ, γυμνὸς τὸ πρὶν καὶ ἄζυξ καὶ πάντῃ ἀμιγῆς καὶ ἀσύνδυος, ἐκ τινος ἀγνώστου καὶ ἀκαταλήπτου καὶ ἀσημάντου τόπου ἐπεδήμησεν, ἐν ᾧ πεποίηκεν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ Πνεύματος ἁγίου αὐτουργικῶς, ἀλλ' οὐ προστακτικῶς τὸν ἄρ<ρ>αφον τοῦτον χιτῶνα, ὃν ἐδήλου κάκεινος ὁ χιτῶν ὁ ποικίλος, ὃν ἐτεκτῆνατο τῷ Ἰωσήφ ὁ πατριάρχης Ἰσραὴλ.

3. Ὅθεν καὶ ἐπανιόντος ὅθεν ἐξῆλθε τούτου τοῦ συντεθέντος σκηνοφόρου Θεοῦ ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῃ κρυπτομένῳ φύσει, καὶ ἀφορῶσαι πρὸς τὸ καταπέτασμα τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ αἱ σύγχοροι αὐτοῦ οὐρανοπολίτιδες δυνάμεις, θάμβει θεῖῳ ληφθεῖσαι τῇ καταπλήξει ἔλεγον· *Τίς οὗτος ὁ παραγενόμενος ἐξ Ἑδῶμ Ἀδάμ, ἐρύθημα ἱματίων αὐτοῦ ἐκ βοσῶρ; Ταύτῳ τι [τῆς] κατὰ τὸν Ἀδὰμ τὸν γηγενῆ. Ἑδῶμ μὲν οὖν ἐρμηνεύεται παράδεισος καὶ τρυφὴ αἱματώδης, βοσῶρ δὲ σὰρξ. Ἐξ αἵματος δὲ καὶ σαρκὸς συνέστη ἐκεῖνος ὁ δερμάτινος πυρίζων χιτῶν, ὃν πάλιν καὶ ἕτεροί τινες ὁρῶντες εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνερχόμενον σύνθετον καὶ ἔνθεον καὶ ὁμόθεον ἐβόων Χριστῷ λέγοντες·* "Ἰνα τί σου τὰ ἱμάτια ἐρυθρὰ καὶ τὰ ἐνδύματά σου ὡς ἀπὸ πατητοῦ ληνοῦ πλήρης καταπεπατημένα; Ὁ γὰρ τὸν δερμάτινον ἐνδύμενος χιτῶνα εὐδελον ὅτι κρυπτήν μὲν ἔνδον ἔχει τὴν λογικὴν καὶ ἀθάνατον φύσιν, ὁρωμένην δὲ τὴν θνητὴν. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Χριστὸς Ἀδὰμ ὡς Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐν ταύταις γνωρίζεται· ἡ δὲ σύζυγος αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησία ὡς αὐτὸν ἐνδουμένην σύνθετος λέγεται. Ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθημεν, Χριστὸν ἐνεδυσάμεθα σύμμορφοι αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι.

II 1. Καὶ εἶπε Κύριος ὁ Θεός· Ἰδοὺ γέγονεν Ἀδὰμ ὡς εἰς ἐξ ἡμῶν τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν.

Καὶ τίνος χάριν, εἰπέ μοι, παραυτά, ἡνίκα ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν βρώσιν κρυπτομένον, ὁ Θεὸς εἶπεν αὐτῷ ταύτην τὴν φωνήν, εἶπερ, ὡς νομίζει ὁ Ἰουδαῖος, ὀνειδιστικὴ ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ μυστικὴ; Εἰ γὰρ ἐμπαιζων αὐτῷ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦτο εἶρηκεν ἢ ἐγκαλῶν, ἐχρῆν μάλλον αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἐπιτιμῷ τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦτο πρὸ πάντων εἰπεῖν, εἴθ' οὕτως τὴν ἀπόφασιν ἐπιθεῖναι. Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν φιλόστοργον ἐκείνην καὶ οἰονεῖ πατρικὴν καὶ νυμφοστολικὴν τῶν χιτῶνων περιβολὴν καὶ ἐνδυσιν οὐκ

38 ἀεὶ παρθένον M 39 τινὶ om. M ἀκαριαίαν P 42 οὗτος ὁ om. M 44 ἐπεδοίμησεν M^{4. corr.} 46 ἄρραφον] *scripsi* ἄραφον MN ἄφθαρτον P 48 καὶ om. M 50 οὐ(ρα)νόπολι-
ταιδες M 51 λειφθεῖσαι P^{4. corr.} 54 σὰρ. M 57 εὐσων M 58 ἀπὸ πατητοῦ] *correxī*
ἀποπατή τοῦ M ἀποπατητοῦ NP 60 καὶ om. M 63 εὐαπτίσθημεν M ἐνδυσάμεθα M
66 γινώσκει M 67 ἐκέλευσεν P 68 ταύτην τὴν ταύτην P 69 νομίζεις N ὁ οἱ M
ὀνειδιστικὴ P μυστικὴ N^{4. corr.} P εἰ] *add. ei M per dittographiam* γὰρ] *add.* ὡς νομίζει M

foreshadowed the one called Life, the mother of life,¹ the life-bearing tent of the undefiled nature, the Mother of God, the Receiver of God,² the Nurturer of God,³ the earthly virgin, the eternally virgin Mary.⁴ In her, as in some sort of rational tent, the Word of God was put together and intertwined as a person.⁵ He became a two-fold nature, in a self-sustaining convergence and immediate meeting. But he was not fashioned first as a nature dwelling in a body. Take note of this. Adam, now self-subsistent and of double generation, composite, bearing flesh, had first been naked, without a partner, completely unmixed, and unmatched. From an unknown, incomprehensible, and invisible place, he arrived. And here God, working with his own hands and through the Holy Spirit, under no obligation, made him this garment without a seam. And this was signified by the robe of many colors, which the patriarch Israel devised for Joseph.⁶

3. Then when he as a composite God, bearing the tent and concealed in human nature, was returning to that place from which he had come,⁷ the Powers of his heavenly chorus spied the veil of flesh. And seized with divine awe, they said in their amazement: *"Who is this Adam coming from Edom, with the scarlet of his garments from Bozrah?"*⁸ Something like this was said about Adam, the earth-born. For *Edom* means "garden" and "blood-colored delight." *Bozrah* means "flesh". From flesh and blood came that fiery garment of skin. Some others, when they saw this garment rising into the heavens—a composite, filled with God, and like God—shouted out to Christ: *"Why is your mantle red and your clothing as though trodden and saturated by the wine press?"*⁹ Clearly he who had put on the mantle of flesh has his rational and immortal nature hidden within, while his mortal is visible. In this way Adam the Christ was revealed to them: as God in man. But his bride, the Church, is called a composite because she has clothed herself in him. All of us that have been baptized in Christ, we have put on Christ and conform to him.¹⁰

II 1. And the Lord God said: *"Look, Adam has become like one of us, knowing good and evil."*¹¹

If this is mockery—as the Jew thinks—then why, tell me, did God make this statement now, rather than when God had called him out, when Adam was hiding after the meal?¹² Or is this statement mystical? If God said this to make fun of him or accuse him, it would have been better to say it as part of his punishment and before all, and then to impose the sentence. But after he had tenderly put on their mantles and clothed them,¹³ like a father escorting the bride, there is no

¹ Cf Gen 3:20. ² Cf Lk 1:31-33, 35, 43; Jn 1:14; 2:1. ³ Cf Lk 2:40, 52. ⁴ Cf Mt 1:18, 20, 23; Lk 1:27-31, 34-35. ⁵ Cf Jn 1:1, 14. ⁶ Cf Gen 37:3; 23, 31-33. ⁷ Cf Mk 16:19; Lk 24:51; Acts 1:9-11. ⁸ Is 63:1. ⁹ Is 63:2-3. ¹⁰ Cf Rom 13:14; Gal 3:27. ¹¹ Gen 3:22. ¹² Cf Gen 3:8-9. ¹³ Cf Gen 3:21.

75 εἶχεν ὅλως χώραν ἢ λόγον τὸ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἐγκαλῶν ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Ἀδὰμ
τοῦτο εἶρηκε πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ ποιήσας διὰ τοῦ χιτῶνος σύνθετον τὸν
πρῶτον ἀσύνθετον, καὶ κρύψας ἐν θνητῇ φύσει τὸν πρὶν ἀκρυπτον
ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐνώσας αὐτῷ τὴν ξένην καὶ ἀλλογενῆ αὐτοῦ φύσιν, καὶ
80 ὥσπερ τινὰ στήλην καὶ τύπον καὶ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐνὸς τῆς Τριάδος Χριστοῦ
κατασκευάσας καὶ διαγράψας αὐτόν, τούτου χάριν πρὸς αὐτόν ἀποβλέ-
πων καὶ οἰοῦναι δεικτικῶς τὸν θεῖον <πρὸς> ἐκείνον ἐκτείνων δάκτυλον
ἔφασκεν· Ἰδοὺ Ἀδὰμ γέγονεν ὡς εἰς ἐξ ἡμῶν τῶν τριῶν τῆς θεότητος
ὑποστάσεων, τουτέστιν ὡς ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς καὶ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν
αἰώνων γενήσεται ὁ τῆς Τριάδος εἰς Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς σύν-
θετος, Θεὸς ὁμοῦ τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος, ὁμοῦ τε διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης
85 φωνῆς εὐαγγελίζεται καὶ τῷ Ἀδὰμ ὁ Θεὸς ὅτιπερ Γεννήσθη ὡς εἰς τῆς
Τριάδος ἐνούμενος δι' αὐτοῦ τῇ θεότητι, καὶ ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ Χερουβικῷ
σύνθρονος ἀνερχόμενος, καὶ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης καθήμενος, καὶ
ὑπὸ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας προσκυνούμενος καὶ δοξολογούμενος.

2. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀντιλέγοντα καὶ φάσκοντα ὅτιπερ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην τοῦ
90 ὄψεως τὴν εἰποῦσαν ὅτι Ἔσεσθε ὡς θεοὶ γινώσκοντες καλὸν | καὶ 1057A
πονηρὸν ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ ὑπαναμιμνήσκων ὁ Θεὸς ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ
φησιν, ἐροῦμεν πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ὁ ὄφης Ἔσεσθε ὡς θεοὶ εἶπε γινώσκοντες
ἅπαντα πολλοὺς θεοὺς καὶ πολυθεῖαν διδάσκων, πλὴν ὅτι οὔτε ἐλάλησεν
ὁ Ἀδὰμ τῷ ὄφει οὔτε ἐώρακεν αὐτόν οὔτε ἐπλησίασεν οὔτε αὐτῷ οὔτε δὲ
95 τῷ δένδρῳ τῆς παρακοῆς, ἀλλὰ μόνη ἡ γυνή. Καὶ εἰ ἄρα ὠνείδισε περὶ
τῶν ῥημάτων τοῦ ὄψεως καὶ πάντως ἐξορίσαι ἐχρῆν, τὴν γυναικα
μᾶλλον ὀφείλει ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τοῦτο ἐξορίσαι.

3. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐπιστήσων μετὰ πολλῆς τινοῦς καὶ θείας τῆς ἀνακρίσεως
ὅτιπερ μετὰ τὴν ἔνδυσιν τούτου τοῦ χιτῶνος οὐκ ἔτι μνείαν τινὰ ποιήσει
100 τῆς γυναικὸς μετὰ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ὁ Θεός, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ πάντα περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώ-
που λέγει. Φησὶ γάρ· Ἰδοὺ Ἀδὰμ γέγονεν ὡς εἰς ἐξ ἡμῶν τοῦ γινώσκειν
καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν, ὡς ἵνα εἴπῃ· Ἰδοὺ τὸν ἐσκιαγραφῆσαμεν τυπικόν τινα
πρωτότυπον τοῦ δευτέρου Ἀδὰμ Χριστοῦ, καὶ νῦν οὕτω καιρὸς, ἵνα
ἐκτείνῃ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ λάβῃ καὶ συμμετάσχη τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς, ἥτις
105 ἐστὶν ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος, μέλλει γὰρ εἰσέτι ἡ ἄρρητος σάρκωσις, καὶ φάγη,
τουτέστιν ἐν τοῖς ἐνδοῦς αὐτοῦ τοῦτον κρύψῃ, καὶ ζήσεται οὗτος ὁ
φαγὼν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Ἀειζῶς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ βιβρωσκόμενος καὶ μετα-
ληπτικῆς ἀθανάτου οὐ δεῖται ζωῆς. Ὅθεν καὶ ἐνταῦθα τελείαν ἀπόδωσιν
ἐποίησαντο τοῦ ῥήματος οἱ ἐρμηνευταὶ καὶ οἱ τὰ Ἑξαπλᾶ συνταξάμενοι,

74 ἐγκαλῶν M 76 θνητῇ] κρυπτῇ N 80 δεικτικός M θεῖον] add. πρὸς Dacier
81/2 ὑποστάσεως N^{com.} 83 εἰς] εἰς M 85 γεννήσθη] Dacier γενῆσθε MN γενῆσθαι P
86 θεότητα M 87 μεγαλοσύνης P 90 ἔσεσθαι M 91 ὑπαναμιμνήσκων P 93 πλ.] πλὴν
P^{com.} 94 οὔτε³] οὔτε M 95 τῶν M δένδρῳ] add. τῷ N 96/7 γυναικᾶν ἄλλον
M^{com.} 99 μνείαν] μνησάν' N^{com.} μνησάν' N^{com.} 102 εἶπῃ] scripsi εἶπῃς MNP ἐσκιᾶ
γραφῆσμεν N^{com.} ἐσκιᾶ γραφῆσμεν N^{com.} τυποκόν P^{com.} 105 ἄρρητος M
108 ἀπόδωσι M ἀπόδοσιν N 109 συντάγματα M

reason and it is out of place to say that God said this to Adam to accuse him.

But by means of the clothing, God made a composite from the person that had formerly been simple. He concealed in a mortal nature the person that previously had been unconcealed. He united him with a nature that was foreign and of another origin. Indeed, he prepared and described him as some monument and type and image of one of the Trinity, Christ.¹ On account of this, God gazed upon him and, as if demonstratively pointing the divine finger at him, he said: "Look, Adam has become like one of us,"² the three persons of the Godhead.³ That is: in a later season, at the final age, one of the Trinity, the Son and Word of the Father,⁴ will become a composite. He will become God and also man.⁵

And at the same time through this statement, God proclaimed to Adam: "You will become as one of the Trinity, unified with the divinity through him [Christ]. He will raise you up to share the throne of the Cherubim. You will sit on the right side of the Majesty, and be worshipped and praised by every Power and Authority."⁶

2. One might object and claim that God said these things to Adam on account of the deception of the snake, who had said: "You will be like gods, knowing good and evil."⁷ One might say that God was primarily recalling these things to Adam. But we will say first that the serpent had said: "You will be like gods knowing all," in order to teach the multiple gods of polytheism. Moreover, Adam never spoke to the serpent: he neither saw him nor came near him or the tree of transgression. Only the woman did.⁸ If then God was making a reproach about the words of the serpent and it was completely necessary to banish someone, God ought rather to have banished the woman on this account.

3. Here note, paying great and divine attention, that after God had clothed Adam with the mantle, he will no longer make any mention of the woman with Adam. He says everything about the man alone. He says: "Look, Adam has become like one of us, knowing good and evil."⁹ Therefore, he might now say: "Look, we have drawn a prototype, a type of the second Adam, Christ. And now is not yet the right time that he might stretch out his hand and take a share in the Tree of Life. For the Life is God the Word, and the indescribable Incarnation is still going to happen. And he might eat—that is, he might conceal it within himself—and he who eats will live forever."¹⁰

He who eats is living eternally. He who participates is not lacking immortal life. For this reason, the interpreters and they who put together the Hexapla made a complete ending of the passage here.

¹ Cf Mt 23:8-10; Jn 1:18; 1 Cor 8:6; 1 Tim 2:5. ² Gen 3:22. ³ Cf Mt 28:19; 1 Cor 12:4-6; 2 Cor 13:13. Cf also Eph 4:4-6; 1 Tim 1:2; 2 Tim 1:2; 1 Pet 1:2; 2 Jn 3; Jd 20-21; Rev 1:4, 8; 4:8. ⁴ Cf Jn 1:1. ⁵ Cf Jn 1:14. ⁶ Cf Mt 19:28; 2 Cor 4:17; Phil 3:21; Col 3:4; 1 Th 2:12; 2 Th 2:14; 2 Tim 2:10; 1 Pet 5:4, 10; Rev 8:17. ⁷ Gen 3:5. ⁸ Cf Gen 3:1-5, 13-15. ⁹ Gen 3:22. ¹⁰ Gen 3:22.

110 καὶ λοιπὸν ἀρχὴν στίχου ὡς τοῦ κεφαλαίου ὄντος ἀνακολουθούτου ἀπήρ-
ξαντο λέγοντες· *Καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν αὐτόν, τουτέστι τὸν Ἀδάμ, Κύριος ὁ*
Θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν, ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθη.

4. Οἶδα ὅτι πάννυ βεβιασμένον φαίνεται τῷ ἀκροατῇ τὸ νόημα τῶν
εἰρημένων. Διὸ χρὴ ἀναλαβέσθαι πάλιν ταῦτα. Δοκοῦσί τινες ἐνταῦθα, ἐξ
115 ὧν εἰσι καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Σαμαρεῖται, ὅτι τοῦτον τὸν νοῦν ἔχουσι τὰ τοῦ
Θεοῦ ῥήματα· Ἰδοὺ Ἀδάμ γέγονεν ὡς εἰς ἐξ ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐνόμιζον τῶν
τριῶν ὑποστάσεων, τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν, καὶ νῦν, μήποτε
ἐκτείνῃ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ λάβῃ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς καὶ φάγῃ καὶ ζήσεται εἰς
τὸν αἰῶνα, ἐξαποστεῖλωμεν αὐτόν ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς.
120 Οὕτως οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων νοοῦσι καὶ οὕτως ὑπολαμβάνουσιν,
ἀλλ' οὐ κεῖται οὕτως τὸ νόημα. Τὸ δὲ ποιοῦν αὐτὸ σκοτεινὸν καὶ ἀσαφές
ἐκείνῳ ἐστίν· ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν· Καὶ νῦν οὕτω καιρός, ἵνα φάγῃ τοῦ ξύλου,
εἶπεν ὁ συγγραφεὺς τό *Καὶ νῦν, μήποτε.*

5. Εἰ δὲ μὴ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς εἶπον, οὐκ ἔχρην ὅλως ἐξορισθῆναι
125 τὸν Ἀδάμ, ἀλλὰ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν ἐκτείνασαν καὶ ἀποτολμήσασαν καὶ
λαβοῦσαν καὶ πρῶτην φαγοῦσαν καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ μεταδοῦσαν. Μᾶλλον δὲ
ἐκβαλλεῖν ἔχρην πρὸ ταύτης τὸν αἴτιον πάντων τῶν | κακῶν ὄφιν. 1060A
Ἐνταῦθα δὲ τοῦναντίον ὁρῶμεν γινόμενον· τοὺς δύο αἰτίους τῆς ἀμαρ-
τίας μὴ ἐξοριζομένους, τὸν δὲ ἀναίτιον ἐκβαλλόμενον. Ὁ Ἀδάμ γὰρ οὐκ
ἠπατήθη. Οὐ γὰρ παύσομαι τῆσδε τῆς φωνῆς ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ τοῦ
ἀναμαρτήτου ταύτην κηρύττων. Εἰ οὖν οὐκ ἠπατήθη, οὐδὲ ἐξορίσθη. Οὐ
γὰρ γέγραπται ἐξορία, ἀλλ' ἐξαποστολή. *Ἐξαπέστειλε γὰρ φησι Κύριος*
ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς ἐργάζεσθαι πάλιν τὴν
γῆν, ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθη. Ἐξαπεστάλη γὰρ ὁ Κύριος κατὰ βουλὴν πατρῶαν ὡς
130 ἀπὸ παραδείσου τῶν κόλπων τῶν πατρικῶν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν γῆν τὴν
ἐπ' ὀδυνον ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν λέγων· Ὁ Πατήρ μου ἐργάζε-
ται, ἀγὰρ ἐργάζομαι, καὶ φυλάττειν ἡμᾶς μήποτε ἐμπαρῶμεν τῷ κέντρῳ
τῆς ἀπιστίας καὶ ἀμαρτίας.

III 1. *Καὶ ἐξέβαλε τὸν Ἀδάμ καὶ κατῴκισεν αὐτόν ἀπέναντι τοῦ πα-*
140 *ραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς, καὶ ἔταξε τὸ Χερουβὶμ καὶ τὴν φλογίνην ρομφαίαν*
τὴν στρεφομένην φυλάττειν τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς.

Ἄκουσον, παρακαλῶ. Ἰδοὺ ἐξηλθεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος μόνος ὁ καὶ ἐξωθεν
εἰσελθὼν. Εἴτα ποῦ ὁ ὄφιν; Ποῦ ἡ γυνή; Ποῦ τὰ θηρία; Οὐ γὰρ ἐξηλθον,
κἂν μυρία φιλονεικήσῃ ὁ Ἰουδαῖος καὶ ὁ Σαμαρεῖτης. Οὐκ ἐξηλθεν αὐτὴ ἡ
145 γυνή ἡ λεγομένη Ζωή, ἀλλ' ἔσω ἐστὶ ζωοποιούσα καὶ ἡρεμοῦσα καὶ
τρέφουσα τὰ θηρία. Οὐκ ἐξεβλήθη οὐδὲ ἐκβάλλεται ποτε. Ἐξεβλήθη γὰρ

110 ὄντως M 111 τουτέστιν N^{a,corr.} 113 πάννυ νυ M βεβιασμένον P^{a,corr.} βεβιασμένα
P^{a,corr.} βεβιασμένον P^{a,corr.} 2 114 τινες] add. ἐν P 120 πολλοὶ M ὑπολαμβάνουσιν] οἱ
πολαβάνουσιν M^{a,corr.} οἱ πολαμβάνουσιν M^{p,corr.} 125 ἀποτολμήσαν P 126 δὲ] καὶ M
127 ἐκβαλεῖν M 132 ἐξαποστολή] ἐξ ἀποστολή M 134 ἐξαπεστάλη] ἐξαπέσταλη N^{a,corr.}
ἐξ ἀπέσταλη P 135 εἰς] καὶ N 137 κέντρον M 140 ἔσταξε M^{a,corr.} 142 ἐξηλθεν] ἐξηλ
P^{a,corr.} 144 Ἰουδαῖος] Ἰδαῖος M^{a,corr.} 145 ζωοποιούσαι M

With the start of the next line, they began a new paragraph. They said:
And the Lord God sent him forth—that is, Adam—from the garden of
*delight to work the earth from which he had been taken.*¹

4. I think, for the listener, the sense of my statements seems rather
forced. Therefore, we should take up these things again. Here it is
thought by some, including Jews and Samaritans, that the words of God
have this meaning: *“Look, Adam has become like one of us (of three*
persons, as they think) knowing good and evil. And now so that he might
not stretch out his hand and take from the Tree of Life and eat and will
*live for ever,*² *let us send him forth from the garden of delight.”*³ Many
men think and accept it so. But the sense does not lie in this way. What
makes is obscure and unclear is that instead of the statement: *“And now*
is not yet the time for him to eat from the tree,” the narrator actually
said: *“And now, lest there be a time.”*

5. If these things are not as I have said, it would have been necessary
to banish the woman, not Adam. She is the one that boldly stretched out
her hand and took; she was the first to eat, and then she shared it with
her man.⁴ In fact, the cause of all the evils, the serpent, should have
been expelled before her.⁵ But here we see that the opposite happening:
the two causes of the sin are not banished, but the innocent man is
expelled. For *Adam was not deceived.*⁶ I will not rest from using this
expression on behalf of Christ,⁷ who is faultless, but proclaim it.⁸

If therefore he was not deceived, he was not banished. And in fact,
there is no mention of a banishment, but of a sending forth. It says: *The*
Lord God sent forth Adam from the garden of delight to work anew the
*earth, from which he had been taken.*⁹ According to the Father's plan,
the Lord was sent from the Paradise of his Father's embrace to our
painful earth to work for our salvation. He said: *“My father works, and I*
*work”*¹⁰—indeed to protect us, so that we might never come close to the
goad of faithlessness and sin.

III 1. *And he expelled Adam and settled him opposite the garden of*
delight. And he stationed Cherubim and the flaming sword, which turns
*to guard the way to the Tree of Life.*¹¹

Listen, please. Only the man went out, the one that had entered from
outside.¹² But where is the serpent? Where is the woman? Where are the
beasts? They did not go out, even if the Jew and Samaritan contentiously
present a thousand arguments. The woman, the one called *Life*,¹³ did
not go out. She is within: giving life, keeping quiet, and nourishing the
beasts. She was not expelled and will never be expelled. But the servant

¹ Gen 3:23. ² Gen 3:22. ³ Gen 3:23. ⁴ Cf Gen 3:6. ⁵ Cf Gen 3:13. ⁶ 1 Tim 2:14.
⁷ Cf Eph 5:32. ⁸ Cf Mt 27:4; Jn 8:46; 2 Cor 5:21; 1 Pet 2:21-22. ⁹ Gen 3:23. ¹⁰ Jn 5:17.
¹¹ Gen 3:24. ¹² Cf Gen 2:8, 15. ¹³ Cf Gen 3:20.

ἡ παιδίσκη σου συναγωγή, ἵνα ἡ ἀληθὴς ἐλευθερία μένη ἔσω. Οὐ γάρ κληρονομήσει ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρης.

2. Καὶ ὅπως καὶ τῷ πιστῷ καὶ τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ βεβαιώσω τὸν λόγον, ἐξ
150 ἐτέρων γυναικῶν τούτους πείσω ὅτι οὐκ ἐξεβλήθη αὕτη ἡ γυνή. Εἰσῆλθέ ποτε Νῶε εἰς τὴν κιβωτὸν μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας γυναικός, καὶ ἐξερχομένου αὐτοῦ ἐξ αὐτῆς γέγραπται καὶ ἡ ἐξοδος τῆς γυναικός αὐτοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ. Ἐξῆλθε πάλιν Ἀβραάμ εἰς Μεσοποταμίαν, καὶ συνεξῆλθε καὶ ἡ γυνή αὐτοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ. Ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐξερχομένου αὐτοῦ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἡ ἐξο-
155 δος Ἀβραάμ καὶ τῆς Σάρρας ἀναγέγραπται. Ἐξῆλθέ ποτε Ἰακώβ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ Λάβαν, καὶ μνημονεύει ἡ γραφή μετὰ πολλῆς τιнос τῆς ἀκριβείας σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐξοδὸν τῆς Ῥαχὴλ καὶ τῆς Λείας. Ἐξῆλθε καὶ Μωϋσῆς ἐκ Μαδιάμ καὶ γέγραπται καὶ ἡ ἐξοδος τῆς γυναικός αὐτοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ. Καὶ ἄλλας δὲ μυρίας συνεξοδίους γυναῖκας μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων
160 ἀνδρῶν εὐρήσεις ἐν τῇ γραφῇ. Καὶ πῶς, εἰπέ μοι, αὕτη πρώτη καὶ μόνη ἀρχὴ καὶ ῥίζα καὶ κεφαλὴ καὶ ζωὴ καὶ βασίλισσα καὶ μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ζώντων οὕσα οὐ συνεξῆλθε τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου, οὔτε τὰ θηρία ἐκεῖνα καὶ τὰ κτήνη, ἅπερ ὁ Θεὸς δι' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ εἰσήγαγεν ἰδεῖν τί καλέσει αὐτά; Εἰ γὰρ ἐξῆλθεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐσιωπᾶτο ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ
165 ἡ ἐξοδος αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ διηγῆσατο τὴν εἴσοδον, οὕτως ἤμελλεν εἰπεῖν ἡμῖν καὶ ὅποτε καὶ μετὰ τίνος ἐξῆλθε.

3. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ περὶ ξένων καὶ παραδόξων πραγμάτων ὁ λόγος ἐστίν, 1061A
ἐξ ἐτέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ἐγκειμένων ἐλέγχω πάλιν τὸν Ἰουδαῖον ὅτι οὐκ ἐξῆλθον τὰ θηρία ταῦτα. Εἰσῆλθον σὺν τῷ Νῶε, πάλιν λέγει, πρὸ
170 τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ κτήνη. Καὶ γέγραπται καὶ ἡ ἐξοδος αὐτῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἐτέθη μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἀκριβείας. Ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν ἐξοδὸν τῶν κτηνῶν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ καὶ τοῦ Λῶτ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ Ἰακώβ διηγῆται ἡμῖν ἡ θεία γραφή τὴν ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας γενομένην, οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀμετρον πληθύν
175 τῶν ζώων τῶν σὺν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξελθόντων. Καὶ πῶς λοιπόν, εἰπέ μοι, τούτων τῶν θεοπλάστων θηρίων καὶ ζώων τῶν οὐ κατὰ πρόσταξιν ὡς τὰ λοιπὰ ζῶα γεγονότων, ἀλλ' αὐτοχείρως ὑπὸ Θεοῦ κτισθέντων, ἡ μὲν ἐν παραδείσῳ εἴσοδος γέγραπται, ἡ δὲ ἐξοδος αὐτῶν ὅλως οὐκ ἐμφέρεται;

4. Φοβερά καὶ παράδοξα πράγματα, εἰ ἡ ἀσπίς καὶ ὁ ὄφις καὶ ἡ ἔχιδνα καὶ ὁ δράκων καὶ ὁ σκορπίος μετὰ τῆς ποτε πλανηθείσης γυναικός τοῦ
180 ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς ἀπολαύουσι, καὶ οὐκ ἐξόρισεν αὐτὰ ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου, οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν, οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς μὴ προσεγγίσει τῷ ξύλῳ τῆς ζωῆς, οὐκ εἶρηκε περὶ αὐτῶν ἢ τῆς γυναικός ὅτι Μήποτε
185 ἐκτείνωσι τὴν χεῖρα καὶ λάβωσι καὶ φάγωσι τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς καὶ

girl, your synagogue, was expelled, so that true freedom might remain within. *For the son of the servant girl will not inherit with the son of the free woman.*¹

2. In order to strengthen my case for the faithful and the Jew, I will use other women to persuade them that this woman was not banished. Noah entered into the ark with his own wife. And when he came out from it, the exit of his wife with him is written.² Again, Abraham came out of Mesopotamia, and his wife came out with him.³ So also, when he came out of Egypt, the exodus of Abraham and Sarah is recorded.⁴ When Jacob left the home of Laban, Scripture records with considerable detail the exit of Rachel and Leah with him.⁵ Moses too came out of Midian, and the exit of his wife with him is also written.⁶ And you will find in Scripture myriads of other women coming out together with their own husbands.

Now you tell me: why did this one, who was the first and only beginning, the root, the head, the life, the queen, and the mother of all living things,⁷ not go out with her husband from Paradise? And why not also those beasts and cattle, which God himself had led to Adam to see *what he would call them?*⁸ For if they had gone out, their exit would not have been silenced by Divine Scripture. Just as it had described their entrance, so it would have told us when and with whom they went out.

3. Since this discussion is about strange and startling matters, I will refute the Jew again from other episodes in Scripture, which prove that these beasts did not come out. Again, it says that the wild beasts and cattle went into the ark with Noah before the flood.⁹ And then their exit with him has also been written down¹⁰—even their number has been set with considerable accuracy. Similarly, Divine Scripture describes for us the exit of the cattle of Abraham and Lot,¹¹ and especially those of Jacob, which came out of Mesopotamia.¹² And not only those, but also the innumerable throng of animals that came out of Egypt with Israel.¹³

So therefore, tell me about the divinely formed beasts and animals. They did not come into being because of a command, as did the other animals:¹⁴ they were made by God's own hand.¹⁵ So why is their entrance into Paradise written about, but their exit is not included?

4. These are surprising and awesome things, if the asp, the serpent, the viper, the dragon, and the scorpion are all enjoying the Tree of Life with the woman, who once had erred. God did not exclude them from Paradise. And he did not command them or hinder them from approaching the Tree of Life. He did not say about them or the woman: "Never may they stretch out a hand and take and eat from the Tree of Life and so live for ever."¹⁶ Then tell me: Why did God, who had made

147 ἵνα] *om.* M ἡ] *om.* MN 152 ἔξω M καὶ] *om.* MN 157 ῥαχὴλ N 158 μαδιάμ] MN^{pcorr.} μαδιάν PP^{corr.} 165 ἤμελλεν M 166 ὅποτε] τὸ πότε N 168 ἐλέγχων M 171 ἡ] *add.* ἡ M *per dittographiam* ὁ] *om.* P 172 ὁμοίως] ἀλλὰ M 173 τὴν] *om.* P 181 πλανηθείσης MP 184 μήποτε P^{pcorr.} 185 ἐκτείνω M

¹ Gen 21:10. ² Cf Gen 8:16, 18. ³ Cf Gen 11:31; 12:5. ⁴ Cf Gen 13:1. ⁵ Cf Gen 31:17-55. ⁶ Cf Ex 4:19-20. ⁷ Cf Gen 3:20. ⁸ Gen 2:19. ⁹ Cf Gen 7:2-3, 5, 8-9, 13-17. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 8:17, 19; 9:10. ¹¹ Cf Gen 12:5; 13:1-2, 5. ¹² Cf Gen 31:18. ¹³ Cf Ex 12:38. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 1:20-25. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 2:19. ¹⁶ Cf Gen 3:22.

ζήσονται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ πῶς, εἶπέ μοι, τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν κατ' εἰκόνα
καὶ ὁμοίωσιν αὐτοῦ πεποίηκε καὶ τῷ θεῷ αὐτοῦ ἐψύχωσεν ἐμφυσήματι,
οὕτω πῶς ὑπὲρ τὸν ὄφιν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἁμαρτίας
ἤμελλε κατακρῖναι καὶ ἐξορίᾳ ἀσυγχωρήτῳ αὐτὸν μόνον ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ
190 θηρία τὰ ἐναπομένοντα ἐν παραδείσῳ καταδικάσαι: Φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι
Ἐξαπέστειλε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου, καὶ κατώκισεν
αὐτὸν ἀπέναντι τῆς τρυφῆς τοῦ παραδείσου, καὶ ἔταξε τὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ
τὴν φλογίνην ῥομφαίαν τὴν στρεφομένην φυλάττειν τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ ξύλου
τῆς ζωῆς. Ὁλῶλεν οὖν ἄνθρωπος μονώτατος, εἴ γε ὑπὲρ τοὺς θῆρας
195 κατεδικάσθη. Ἐδυστύχησαν δὲ καὶ τὰ Χερουβὶμ τῶν θηρῶν καὶ κτηνῶν
καὶ ἐρπετῶν μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας τοῦ παραδείσου ἀπολαυόντων, αὐτὰ δ'
ἐκ τοῦ Χερουβικοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῆς προσωπικῆς δουλείας καὶ παρουσίας
καὶ ἀπολαύσεως τῆς αἰδίου δόξης θυρωροὶ καὶ συκοφύλακες κηπωρικῆς
γεηρᾶς θηροτροφίας εἶναι ταγέντα, καὶ καταδικασθέντα τὸν κατάκριτον
200 ὄφιν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα δουλικῶς πυλωρεῖν ἡτιμώθησαν.

5. Ἄλλ' ἅπαγε τῆς τῶν ῥημάτων τούτων ἀτοπίας. Ἐπιστάς ὁ θεο-
τατος εἶπέ μοι Παῦλος αὐστηρῶς ἐμβριμώμενος, εἰς ἐμὲ ἀποβλέψας· Τὸ
μυστήριον τούτων τῶν θεωρημάτων μέγα ἐστίν, ἐγὼ δέ σοι λέγω εἰς
Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Καὶ ταῦτα νόει κατὰ τόνδε | τὸν τρόπον. 1064A
205 Ἡ μὲν γὰρ γυνὴ ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς προελθοῦσα πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον γεννήτο-
ρα τὴν ἀποστροφὴν ἔσχευ, ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἐκ Πατρὸς προελθὼν πρὸς τὸν
ἴδιον Πατέρα τὴν ἀνάλυσιν ἀπὸ γῆς ἐποιήσατο, ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πρὸς
τὴν ἰδίαν συγγένειαν ἐπανελθὼν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ σαρκο-
γενῆς καὶ παραδεισογενῆς ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ χωρίῳ καὶ κήπῳ μεμένηκεν, ὁ δὲ
210 θεογενῆς καὶ οὐρανοπολίτης Ἀδὰμ Χριστὸς εἰσηλθε μὲν γυμνὸς Θεὸς ἐν
παραδείσῳ καὶ βίῳ τῷ ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐξέστη ἀτρέπτως τὴν σωτήριον
αὐτοῦ ἑκατασιν, δι' ἧς τὴν οἰκεῖαν σύμβιον ἐκκλησίαν τέτοκε, καὶ προσε-
κολλήθη ταύτῃ σαρκωθεὶς ὑποστρεψάσῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν καλῶς, καὶ
ἀνεδέξατο πάντα τὰ αὐτῆς, τὴν βρώσιν, τὴν φυγὴν, τὸν φόβον, τὴν
215 ὕβριν, τὴν κατάραν (γενόμενος κατάραν ὡς κρεμασθεὶς ἐπὶ ξύλου), τὴν
γύμνωσιν, τὴν κατάκρυψιν, ἣν ἐν τῷ ἄδη ἐκρύβη μετὰ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ
σταυροῦ. Διὸ καὶ καλέσας αὐτὸν ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τῆς κατακρύψεως ἐκείνης
ἐξήγαγε καὶ ἀνέστησεν ἐπαμφιασθέντα τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ περιζώ-
ματος ἐκείνου τοῦ φθαρτοῦ, τοῦ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ ὄντος τὸ κατὰ
220 σάρκα, χοϊκοῦ καὶ χορτογενοῦς σαρκίου, χιτῶνα ἄραφον περιθεμένου,

188 πῶς] *scripsi* πῶς MNP 189 ἀσυγχωρήτῳ M 190 ὅτι] *add.* καὶ N 191 ἐξαπέστειλε] MNP ἐξαπέστειλεν αὐτὸν Gen 3:23 192 τῆς τρυφῆς τοῦ παραδείσου] MNP τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς Gen 3:23-24 194 οὖν] *add.* ὁ M μονώτατος M 195 ἐδυστήχησαν M 196 ἀπολαυόντων N 199 τάγματα M 201 τῶν] τῶν N^{corr.} 203 σοι] *om.* M 207 ἀνάβασιν M ἀλάλυσιν N^{corr.} ἀνάλησιν P ἕκαστον M 209/10 ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ - θεογενῆς] *om.* P 213 σαρκωθεὶς] *scripsi* σαρκωθέντος M σαρκωθέντος NP 214 τὰ] *add.* ἐν P 214/5 τὴν φυγὴν - ὕβριν] *om.* M 217 ἐκ] *om.* M 218 τῇ ἀφθαρσίᾳ P 219 σπέρματος] *add.* ἐκείνου N^{corr.} 220 ἄραφον] ἀφθαρτον P

man in his image and likeness and had filled him with his divine breath,¹ convict him, just like that, more than the serpent and the woman, who were the causes of the sin? Why did he condemn the man alone to banishment without pardon, more than all the beasts that remained behind in Paradise? For it says: *The Lord God sent out Adam from the garden, and settled him opposite the garden of delight. And he stationed the Cherubim and the flaming sword, which turns to guard the way to the Tree of Life.*² Man alone was destroyed, if he was condemned more than the beasts.

And while the beasts and herds and reptiles were enjoying Paradise with full license, the Cherubim were suffering their misfortune. For they were stationed away from the Cherubic throne³ and the presence, enjoyment, and personal service to the invisible glory. They were condemned to be doormen, guardians of a fig tree, and feeders of wild beasts in an earthly garden. They had to suffer the dishonor of guarding the gate like slaves—for the accursed serpent and the woman.

5. But away with the absurdity of these words!⁴ The very divine Paul stood beside me, and looking at me, he admonished me sternly. He said: *"The mystery of these divine words is great. But I say to you, it refers to Christ and the Church."*⁵ Consider even these words in this way."

For the woman, having left her man, later returned to him, her begetter.⁶ But the man, having come from the Father,⁷ untied himself from the earth and went back to his own.⁸ Each of them returned to his or her own kind and fatherland. The one born from the flesh and in the garden remained in her own place, the garden.⁹ But the one born from God and a citizen of heaven,¹⁰ Adam, Christ,¹¹ had entered as a naked God into the garden and the life here.¹² Then without changing, he was taken up into his life-saving ecstasy,¹³ through which he gave birth to his own wife, the Church. And he clung to her, when he was incarnate, and she properly returned to him. And he took upon himself all that was hers: the meal, the flight, the fear, the contempt, the curse, the nakedness, and the concealment. He became a curse when he was hung upon the cross.¹⁴ And with the tree of the cross, he was hid by the concealment of Hades. Then God called him and led him out of that concealment and raised him up, clothed in incorruptibility on top of that corruptible garment,¹⁵ which was made from the seed of David according to the flesh,¹⁶ which was from the earth, like flesh from the grass.¹⁷ But then he put on a mantle that was seamless, incorruptible, strong,

¹ Cf Gen 1:26-27; 2:7. ² Gen 3:23-24. ³ Cf Ps 17(18):11; 79(80):1; 98(99):1; Is 37:16; Ezek 1:4-28; 10:1-22. ⁴ Cf 1 Cor 15:34; 2 Th 3:2. ⁵ Eph 5:32. ⁶ Cf Gen 3:1, 6. ⁷ Cf Gen 2:7-8, 15. ⁸ Cf Gen 3:23-24. ⁹ Cf Gen 2:22-23. ¹⁰ Cf Phil 3:20. ¹¹ Cf 1 Cor 15:45. ¹² Cf Gen 2:25. ¹³ Cf Gen 2:21. ¹⁴ Cf Dt 21:23; Gal 3:13. ¹⁵ Cf Acts 2:24, 27, 31-32; 1 Cor 15:53-54. ¹⁶ Cf Mt 1:1; Lk 1:27, 32; 2:4-5. ¹⁷ Cf 1 Pet 1:24.

ἄφθαρτον, στερρόν, θεότευκτον, ἐκ τοῦ ἄνωθεν Θεοῦ ὑφαντόν, ἀθάνατον, μεταποιηθέντα αὐτῷ εἰς ἀδιάλυτον ὑπὲρ τὸν πρότερον, ὃ δ' ἦν ὁ ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς θεοτόκου ἐνεδύσατο σῶμα αὐτοῦ μετασκευάσας καὶ στερρώσας. Διὸ μετὰ τὴν ἐνδυσιν τοῦ θείου χιτῶνος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, ἐπεὶ
225 ἄδύνατον ἦν ἐγχρορίζειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ φθαρτῷ βίῳ, ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν ἐνδεδυμένον τὸν εἰσελθόντα ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας γυμνὸν Θεὸν καὶ ἄσώματον, καὶ κατῴκισεν αὐτὸν Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀπέναντι τῆς τρυφῆς τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς ἐκκλησίας (κατέναντι γὰρ τῆς γῆς ὑπάρχει ὁ οὐρανός) ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὸν τὴν γῆν, ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθη καὶ ἀνελήφθη,
230 θη, τουτέστι τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος συντηρεῖν τῇ αὐτοῦ κηδεμονίᾳ κακοῦ παντοῖου ἀνέπαφον.

6. Καὶ ἔταξε τὰ Χερουβίμ καὶ τὴν φλογίνην ῥομφαίαν φυλάσσειν τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς.

Χερουβίμ ἐρμηνεύεται πλῆθος γνώσεως, γνώσις δὲ ἐστὶν ἀληθῆς ἡ εἰς
235 Θεὸν ἡμῶν τῶν πιστῶν εὐσεβῆς πίστις, ἣν τινα ἔταξε καὶ ὥρισεν ὁ Θεὸς φυλάττειν ἀπλανῆ, ἥτοι τὴν πάροδον καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ ἡμῶν ὁδόν. Ξύλον δὲ νόησον ὅλον τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ζωὴν δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡν ἐκάλεσε Ζωὴν ὡς μητέρα οὔσαν πάντων τῶν ἐν Θεῷ ζώντων, ἣν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα φυλάττουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ὁφεινῶς τὰ Χερουβίμ
240 καὶ τὰ Σεραφίμ καὶ ἡ φλογίνη ῥομφαία, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν πῦρ καταναλίσκων ἐστί. Στρεφόμενην δὲ αὐτὴν λέγει ὡς περιφρουροῦσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κύκλῳ, καὶ πάλιν ὡς στρεφόμενον τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ πρὸς τὴν | ἀποστραφεῖσαν αὐτὸν ἐκκλησίαν. 1065A
Ζῶν γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐνεργῆς ὑπάρχει καὶ τομώτερος
245 ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν δίστομον, ὡς φησὶ Παῦλος. "Ὡς περ γὰρ ὁ Υἱὸς ὁδὸς ἡμῖν ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα λέγων· 'Εγὼ εἰμι ἡ ὁδός, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία ὁδὸς ζωῆς ἡμῖν ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν λέγοντα· 'Εγὼ εἰμι ἡ ζωή.

7. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ζωὴν ὠνόμασε καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα, ὡς τὰ ζῶα ἡμᾶς ζωοποιοῦσαν καὶ ὁδηγοῦσαν πρὸς τὴν πάντων ζωὴν. Διὸ καὶ
250 ξύλον ἑαυτὸν τῆς ζωῆς λέγει ὁ Χριστός, ὡς ἵνα εἴπῃς ἄνδρα τῆς ζωῆς, τουτέστι τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς αὐτῷ ἀρμοσθείσης ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ συνενδυθείσης τὸν ἐκ ζώων τοῦ παραδείσου δερμάτινον χιτῶνα. "Ὅταν μὲν οὖν ὁ Χριστὸς οἰκῇ ἐν ἡμῖν, ὡς Παῦλος βοᾷ, δερμάτινον χιτῶνα ἐνδύεται. "Ὅταν δὲ πάλιν τὴν λεγομένην Ζωὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν
255 ὥς περ πινὰ δίσκηνον θεάσης, ἐνδοθεν μὲν ἔχουσιν τὸ ἱερὸν ἰλαστήριον, ἔμψυχον σάρκα περιφέρουσιν τὴν τοῦ ἀμνοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐξωθεν δὲ τὸ ἅγιον κοσμικόν, ἐνόησον Παῦλον αὐτὰ διδάσκοντα σαφῶς καὶ τὰ τοῦ νόμου εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀναφέροντα καὶ παριστῶντα μὲν τὸ πρότερον

222 αὐτῷ] αὐτῶν N^{com}. 22] P 23 M 24 N 223 αὐτοῦ] δ καὶ M om. P 224 θείου] τοιοῦτου M om. P 225 ἔλαβεν] ἔλαβον 226 εἰσελθόντα] ἀδάμ M 226/8 γυμνὸν - τῆς ἐκκλησίας] om. P 232 φλογίνη M 235 ὥρισεν P 238 τῶν] ὡν M^{com} 239 ζώντων N 244 τομώτερος M τὸ μωτέρος N^{com} 245 φησὶν ὁ M 252 δερμάτινον M 255 θεόσης M θεάσης N ἐνδοθεν] ὅθεν P 257 καὶ] om. M 258 ἐκκλησίαν] add. διδάσκοντα, καὶ M

made by God, woven from God above, immortal, transformed for him, indestructible, beyond the former. God changed and strengthened that body¹ which he had put on from Mary, the Mother of God.² He was now clothed, he who had entered the Paradise of the Church as a naked God and bodiless. And after the divine mantle of incorruptibility was put on, since it was not possible for him to continue in a life that was corruptible, the Lord God took him out and settled him in the heavens opposite the delight of the garden of the Church.³ For heaven is opposite the earth. And there he was to work the earth, from which he had been taken and lifted up.⁴ That is: he was to protect the human race in his care, untouched by any evil.

6. And he stationed the Cherubim and the flaming sword to guard the way to the Tree of Life.⁵

Cherubim is interpreted to mean "full of understanding". True understanding is pious faith in God by us, the faithful. God stationed and ordained it to guard, unwavering, the entrance and the way into this our life. But think of *the Tree* as the whole people of Christ, and *Life* as the Church. He called it *Life*, since it is the mother of all those living in God.⁶ And the Cherubim and Seraphim⁷ and flaming sword guard it from the serpent for all eternity.⁸ The flaming sword is the Word of God,⁹ because our God is a consuming fire.¹⁰ It is turning because it guards the Church in a circle, and also because God the Word turns from heaven to the Church, which turned away from him. *The Word of God is living and active; it is sharper than any two-edged sword*, as Paul says.¹¹ Our way to the Father is the Son, who said: "*I am the way.*"¹² Just so, the Church is our way of life. It is the way to the Son, who said: "*I am the life.*"¹³

7. On account of this, he called Life his wife, since she gives life to us animals and leads us to the life of all.¹⁴ Thus Christ is also calling himself the Tree of Life: the husband of Life, you might say, who is the husband of the Church. She was joined to him by the Father, and she was clothed in a garment made of skins from the animals of Paradise.¹⁵ Therefore, when Christ dwells in us, Paul said, he too puts on a garment of skin.¹⁶

Again, when you look upon the one called Life, his wife, the Church, as the two tabernacles,¹⁷ the inside tent holds the holy Seat of Mercy: it carries the ensouled flesh of the Lamb of God; the outside tent contains the holy of this world. Think of Paul as clearly teaching these things and comparing the things of the Law to the Church: he presents the first veil

¹ Cf Lk 24:16, 37, 39; Jn 20:14; 21:4. ² Cf Mt 1:16, 18, 20-21; 2:11; Mk 6:3; Lk 1:30-33, 35. ³ Cf Mk 16:19; Lk 24:51; Acts 1:9-11. ⁴ Cf Mt 28:18, 20; Mk 16:20. ⁵ Gen 3:24. ⁶ Cf Gen 3:20. ⁷ Cf Is 6:1-7. ⁸ Cf Gen 3:15; Rev 12:1-17. ⁹ Cf Eph 6:17; Rev 1:16; 2:12, 16; 19:15, 21. ¹⁰ Cf Heb 12:29. ¹¹ Cf Heb 4:12. ¹² Jn 14:6. ¹³ Jn 14:6. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 3:20. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 3:21. ¹⁶ Cf Rom 8:11; 12:5; 1 Cor 3:16; 6:15; 12:27; Eph 1:22-23; 5:23, 29-30; Col 1:18. ¹⁷ Cf Ex 25-40; Jn 1:14; Heb 8:1-6; 9:1-14; Rev 13:6; 15:5; 21:3.

καταπέτασμα, ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ δεύτερον, ὥσπερ δὴ πάλιν καὶ τὴν πρώτην
260 καὶ ἐξωτέραν σκηνὴν ἔχουσιν δικαιοῦματα λατρείας, εἴτα μετὰ τὸ
δεύτερον καταπέτασμα δηλοῦντα ἄλλην σκηνὴν Ἀγίαν τῶν Ἀγίων.

IV 1. Λείπεται τοίνυν τῷ λόγῳ λοιπὸν πρὸς τὸ πέρας τοῦ δρόμου
ἐπείγομένῳ δεῖξαι ὅτι περὶ σωματικῆς ζωῆς λέγεται ὑπὸ Θεοῦ περὶ
τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τό· *Μήποτε ἐκτείνῃ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ λάβῃ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς*
265 *ζωῆς καὶ φάγῃ καὶ ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*, ἀλλὰ περὶ πνευματικῆς τινος
βρώσεως καὶ ζωῆς ἀναστελλεῖ αὐτὸν τότε, ὡς μήπω χωροῦν(τος) αὐτοῦ
ταύτας, δι' ἣν ἡμελλεν εἰδωλολατρίαν ὑπομένειν ἐν τῇ τῆς εἰδωλο-
λατρίας πλάνῃ. Τί γὰρ μέγα, εἰπέ μοι, καὶ ἐξαίρετον ἦν τὸ ἀθάνατον
αὐτὸν κατὰ σάρκα διαμῖναι κατὰ τὴν τῶν δαιμόνων ἀθανασίαν ἐν
270 ἀσεβείᾳ ζῶντα; Μᾶλλον δὲ ὀλεθριώτερον αὐτῷ τὸ πρᾶγμα νῦν ἵσκειτο μὴ
παυσαμένῳ τῆς ἀμαρτίας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μειζρόνως κολαζομένῳ. Οὐκοῦν,
ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ ἀπεδείξαμεν ὅτι οὐ περὶ σωματικοῦ θανάτου εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· *Ἦ*
δ' ἂν ἡμέρᾳ φάγησθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε, καὶ τὸ πάλιν
εἰπεῖν· *Ἐν λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα*, οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα χρὴ νοεῖν καὶ εἰπεῖν τῇ
275 ἐκκλησίᾳ ποία βρώσις ἐστὶν αὕτη, ἐξ ἧς ὁ μεταλαμβάνων ζήσεται εἰς τὸν
αἰῶνα.

2. Οἶδα ὅτι πάντες οἱ ἀκούσαντες τοῦ λεχθέντος ῥήματος εὐθέως εἰς
τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ μετάληψιν τοῦτο
νενοήκατε. Τί οὖν, εἰπέ μοι; Πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μεταλαμβάνοντες
280 ἔχουσι ζωὴν αἰώνιον, καὶ οὐδεὶς τούτων ἀπελεύσεται εἰς κόλασιν
αἰώνιον; Καὶ πῶς ἐκεῖ τοὺς Κορινθίους μεταλαμβάνοντας τῶν μυστηρίων
εὐθέως ἀπ' ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη εὐθὺς θανατοῖ | ἢ μετάληψις; Ἀλλὰ καλὸν ἦν,
ἵνα μὴ ἐγεννήθη καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀχράντων
χειρῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεταλαβὼν Ἰούδας. Ἰῶσοι δὲ πάλιν ἐν ἐρήμοις
285 ἀπεχόμενοι τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου ἄρτου μεταλήψεως ἔχουσι ζωὴν αἰώνιον καὶ
εἰς κρίσιν οὐκ ἔρχονται; Ἀλλὰ μεταβεβήκασι ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου εἰς τὴν
ζωὴν αὐτοὶ ὅλοι δι' ὅλου ἄρτος Θεοῦ καὶ σῶμα γενόμενοι καὶ αἷμα καὶ
οἶκος καὶ ναὸς καὶ θυσιαστήριον καὶ ὀλοκαύτωσις καὶ προσφορὰ καὶ
χριστοὶ καὶ θεοὶ τῇ θεώσει καὶ σύσσωμοι καὶ σύμμορφοι τῆς δόξης τῆς
290 εἰκόνης τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ μετάληψις ἁγία ὡς μεταληφθέντες ὑπὸ Θεοῦ καὶ
μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ οἰκίσαντες τὸν Θεόν, ὥστε πρόδηλον ὅτι
οὐχ ἡ τοῦ ἄρτου μετάληψις μόνη ἐστὶν ἡ βρώσις, ἐξ ἧς φαγὼν τις ἔχει
ζωὴν ψυχῆς τὴν αἰώνιον. Τὴν γὰρ τῶν σωμάτων αἰώνιον ζωὴν πάντες
μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ὁμοίως ἔχομεν οἱ πιστοὶ τε καὶ ἄπιστοι.

260 καὶ] *om.* M 261 τῶν] *add.* τῶν P *per dittographiam* 262 λήπεται P^{corr.} 263 δεῖξαι
ὅτι περὶ] δεικνύς ὅτι περὶ M δὲ ὅτι περὶ P ὑπὸ Θεοῦ] *om.* N 264 τοῦ] *om.* P ἐκτείνει P^{corr.}
266 χωροῦν(τος) *scripsi* χωροῦν MNP 267 ἡμελλεν P εἰδωλολατρίας M^{corr.} ὑπομένειν
ἐν τῇ τῆς] *om.* M 267/8 εἰδωλολατρίας] εἰδωλολατρίας N *om.* M 268 καὶ] *om.* M
270 δὲ] *om.* M γὰρ P νῦν ἵσκειτο] κυρίσκειτο M 271 παυσαμένῳ N 271 οὐ] *om.* M
273 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ θανάτῳ] *om.* M ἀποθανεῖσθε] *om.* M ἀποθανῆσθε N 278 τοῦ] *om.*
MNP^{corr.} 283 καὶ] *om.* MP 287 αἷμα καὶ] *om.* M 290 μεταληφθέντοι N^{corr.} 291 οὐχ ἡ]
ἀρχὴ N 294 ἔχωμεν N

and then the second.¹ The first and outer tent holds the ordinances of
legal worship. Behind the second veil, he reveals the other tent, the Holy
of Holies.

IV 1. In this book, which is hastening finally to the end of the race,²
there now remains to show that the statement about man was not said
by God about his physical life: "*So that he might not stretch out his hand
and take from the Tree of Life and eat and will live for ever.*"³ Rather, it
was with reference to a spiritual meal and life,⁴ that God restrained him
then. It was not yet possible for him [to partake] of this meal, by which
he would experience idolatry [caught up] in the error of idolatry. For
why was it important, tell me, that he remain immortal in the flesh? Since
he was going to live in impiety, it would have been like the immortality of
the demons. Such a situation would have been quite destructive for him, as
he would not cease from his sinning. And on account of this, he would have
been punished the more.

We have already pointed out that God was not speaking about a
physical death in the statement: "*On whatever day you eat from it, you
will die in death.*"⁵ (And in the other statement too: "*In pain you will
bear children.*"⁶) So also here, it is necessary to consider and explain to
the Church: What is this meal from which the participant will live forever?

2. I know that all of you who heard the statement above have thought
right away that it pertained to communion in the Mystery of the Body of
Christ.⁷ So tell me, do all those in the Church who take communion have
eternal life? None of them will go to eternal chastisement? Then why did
participation in the Mystery immediately or immediately thereafter
cause the death of the Corinthians that were participating?⁸ Indeed, it
would have been good if that man had never been born:⁹ Judas, who took
communion from the pure hands of Christ himself.¹⁰

Again, how many of those in the desert, who remain away from
partaking of the holy bread, have eternal life and do not come to
judgment? They all passed from death to life—they who became
completely the bread and body of God, and the blood, the dwelling and
the sanctuary, the altar, the sacrifice, and the offering. They became
anointed and divine with deification. They conformed and became one
body with the glorious image of God. They became the Holy Communion,
because God received them and they receiving settled God inside
themselves. So, it is obvious that the meal from which someone might
eat and gain eternal life for the soul is not only communion in the bread.
For after the resurrection, all of us, the faithful and unfaithful, will have
eternal life for our bodies in like manner.

¹ Cf Heb 8:1-6; 9:1-14. ² Cf Acts 13:25; 20:24; 2 Tim 4:7. ³ Gen 3:22. ⁴ Cf Jn 6:27, 48-
51, 53-58. ⁵ Gen 2:17. ⁶ Gen 3:16; Rom 7:4-6. ⁷ Cf Mt 26:26; Mk 14:22; Lk 22:19;
Acts 2:46; Rom 7:4; 1 Cor 11:23-26. ⁸ Cf 1 Cor 11:20-34. ⁹ Cf Mt 26:24; Mk 14:21.
¹⁰ Cf Mt 26:23; Mk 14:20; Lk 22:21; Jn 14:26-27, 30.

295 3. Δύο τοίνυν ὑπῆρχον βρώσεις ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ θεόδοτοι, ἐξ ὧν
ἐβούλετο ὁ Θεὸς μεταλαμβάνειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον· μία μὲν, ὡς ἂν εἴπη τις,
καθολική, ἐξ ἧς φαγὼν οὐ πάντως ἔξει τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν (αὕτη δὲ ἦν
ἐκείνη, περὶ ἧς εἴρηται τό 'Ἀπὸ παντός ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ
φάγη), ἑτέρα δὲ καὶ πνευματικώτερα τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς, ἐξ ἧς πᾶς ὁ
300 ἐσθίων ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὴν μακαρίαν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον. Τίς οὖν
ἐστὶν ἡ βρώσις ἡ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀκουσον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος ἄρτου ζωῆς
Χριστοῦ ταύτην ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ κατὰ 'Ιωάννην εὐαγγελίῳ διηγούμενος καὶ
λέγοντος· 'Εργάζεσθε μὴ τὴν βρώσιν τὴν ἀπολλυμένην, ἀλλὰ τὴν βρώσιν
τὴν μένουσαν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. Εἴτα διαπορησάντων τῶν ἀκουσάντων
305 τὸ ποία ἐστὶν ἡ βρώσις, ἣν λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς, φησὶν ὅτι 'Ὁ Πατὴρ μου
δίδωσιν ὑμῖν ἄρτον τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβαίνοντα. 'Εγὼ
εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς. 'Εάν τις φάγη ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἄρτου, ζήσεται εἰς
τὸν αἰῶνα. Οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἔφαγον τὸ μάννα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ ἀπέ-
θανον. Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβαίνων, ἵνα τις ἐξ
310 αὐτοῦ φάγη καὶ μὴ ἀποθανεῖται.

4. Εἰπὼν δὲ· 'Ὁ καταβαίνων δείκνυσι τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ καταβαίνοντα διηλεκτῶς, ἵνα γὰρ μὴ νομίσης ὅτι περὶ τοῦ
σώματος αὐτοῦ λέγει καὶ δόξης ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὅτι πᾶς ὁ μετέχων αὐτοῦ, οἷος
δ' ἂν καὶ ἔσται πονηρός, ἔχει διὰ τῆς μεταλήψεως ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον,
315 ἀπαλλάττει σε τῆς τοιαύτης ἐννοίας καὶ δείκνυσί σοι ὅτι διττῶς μετέ-
χουμεν τῶν μυστηρίων. Οἱ μὲν ἄξιοι ἐκείνου ἀπολαύουσι τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ
καταβαίνοντος αἰὲ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τουτέστι τῆς ἐνοικήσεως καὶ ἐλλάμ-
ψεως τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος τῆς θεότητος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς τὰ θεία
καὶ οὐράνια φρονοῦντες. Οἱ δὲ γήινοι καὶ τὰ γήινα φρονοῦντες τῆς
320 γηγενοῦς καὶ μόνης σαρκὸς | τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεταλαμβάνουσι τολμηρῶς
καὶ ἀναξίως, ἄλλη γὰρ αὕτη παρὰ τὴν μετάληψιν ἐκείνην. "Ὅθεν διδάσκει
ἡμᾶς ἀμφοτέρας. Μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν ὅτι 'Εγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς ὁ ἐκ τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ καταβάς, τουτέστιν ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος, καὶ 'Εάν τις φάγη ἐκ τοῦ
ἄρτου τούτου, ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἐπάγει λέγων· Καὶ ὁ ἄρτος, ὃν
325 ἐγὼ δώσω αὐτῷ, ἡ σὰρξ μου ἐστίν, ἣν ἐγὼ δώσω ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου
ζωῆς. 'Ακούεις περὶ διαφορᾶς βρώσεως ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ ἐκ οὐρανοῦ
καταβαίνοντος. Τοὺς ἐσθίοντας εἶπεν ἔχειν ζωὴν αἰώνιον· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς σαρ-
κὸς οὐ τέθεικε τοῦτο.

5. "Ὅθεν καὶ περὶ φρικτῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτων μυστηρίων λαλῶν, ὅρα
330 πῶς τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολλάκις ἄνω καὶ κάτω ἀναλαμβάνεται λόγους.
Μαινομένων γὰρ πάλιν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν 'Ιουδαίων ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ καὶ

3. In Paradise, God gave two meals from which he wished all to participate. One—a person might say—was universal. The person that eats from this will not have eternal life at all. This is the meal about which it was said: "From every tree in the garden you might eat."¹ The other, more spiritual meal was from the Tree of Life.² Every person that eats from this will live the blessed eternal life forever.

What is this meal in the Church? Listen to the living Bread of Life, Christ, who describes it for us in the gospel of John. He says: "Work not for the meal that perishes, but for the meal that remains for life eternal."³ Because his listeners were wondering what was that meal that he was describing to them, he said: "My father gives to you the true bread coming down from heaven.⁴ I am the bread of life.⁵ If someone eats from this bread, he will live forever.⁶ Your ancestors ate the manna in the desert and died. This is the bread coming down from heaven, so that one might eat from it and not die."⁷

4. When he says coming down, he points out that this bread from heaven comes down continuously. So do not imagine that he is speaking about his body.⁸ And do not suppose to yourself that every man that shares in it, no matter how evil he may be, will have eternal life. He wards you off from such thinking, and he points out to you that we participate in the Mystery in two ways. The worthy enjoy the bread that comes down forever from heaven. That is: they enjoy the inhabitation and illumination of the Holy Spirit of Christ's divinity,⁹ as they reflect upon divine and heavenly things.¹⁰ But the earthly and they who are absorbed by earthly matters participate boldly—and unworthily—only in the earth-born flesh of Christ. This is something different from that communion.¹¹

Therefore, he teaches us about both. He says: "I am the bread of life,¹² which comes down from heaven"¹³—that is, God the Word.¹⁴ And: "If someone eats from this bread, he will live forever."¹⁵ Then he adds: "And the bread that I will give to him is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world."¹⁶ Here you hear about a different meal: he said that they who eat of the bread that comes down from heaven have life eternal, but he did not establish this about his flesh.¹⁷

5. And since he is speaking about awesome and inexpressible mysteries, see how often he repeats the same words constantly. When the Jews were raging again in their confusion and misunderstanding of

¹ Gen 2:16. ² Cf Gen 2:9; 3:22; Pr 3:18; Rev 22:2, 14, 19. ³ Jn 6:27. ⁴ Jn 6:32.

⁵ Jn 6:35, 48. ⁶ Jn 6:51. ⁷ Jn 6:49-50. ⁸ Cf Mt 26:26; Mk 14:22; Lk 22:19; Acts 2:46; Rom 7:4; 1 Cor 11:23-26. ⁹ Cf Jn 14:16-17. ¹⁰ Cf Jn 16:13-15. ¹¹ Cf 1 Cor 2:12.

¹² Jn 6:35, 48. ¹³ Jn 6:51. ¹⁴ Cf Jn 1:1-2; Rev 19:13. ¹⁵ Jn 6:51. ¹⁶ Jn 6:51.

¹⁷ Cf Jn 6:63.

296 τις] add. ἡ P 301 ἄρτου] om. P^{2-corr} 302 [(ωάνν)ω MP 305 φησὶν] om. MP 306 ὑμῖν] add. τὸν N ἡμῖν P 308 ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν P 308 ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τὸ μάννα N 309 ὁ] om. P^{2-corr} 311 τοῦτον] τοῦ M 312 γὰρ] om. P 313 δόξης] add. ἐν αὐτῷ MP ἐν ἑαυτῷ] om. M 315 ἐνοίας M δείκνυσί M^{2-corr} 315/6 μετέχουμεν M 322 τὸ] τοῦ MP 325 τοῦ] om. P 328 τέθηκε MP 331 ἀπειρία] ἀπορρία P

ἀκαταληψία τῶν λεγομένων λέγει ἀκολούθως πρὸς αὐτούς· Ἀμήν, ἀμήν
λέγω ὑμῖν (καὶ δις λέγω τό· Ἀμήν, ἵνα γινώτε ὅτι Ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ
335 παρελεύσεται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσιν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα
ἐδραῖοι διαμενοῦσιν), ἀμήν, ἀμήν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν μὴ φάγητε τὴν σάρκα
τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πίνητε τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἔχετε ζωὴν αἰώνιον
ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. Ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα ἔχει ζωὴν
αἰώνιον, κἀγὼ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. Αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐστίν,
ὡς πολλάκις εἶπον, τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς τὸ ζωοποιόν. Εἰ δὲ οὐ πιστεύεις,
340 ἄκουσον τοῦ ἐπαγομένου. Λέγει γὰρ ἀκολούθως ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος· Ὁ τρώ-
γων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ.
Οὐ περὶ τῆς ὀρωμένης αὐτοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος λέγει. Μετέλαβε γὰρ
καὶ Ἰούδας καὶ Σίμων ὁ Μάγος τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τῆς
εὐχαριστίας τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου, ἀλλ' οὐ κατέκρησεν οὐδὲ
345 μεμνήσκεν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁ Χριστός, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ ἐν αὐτῷ.

6. Τίς δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀληθὴς βρώσις τῆς μυστικῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ
τί τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ κρυπτόμενον ἀπόρρητον αἷμα αὐτοῦ, καταλιμπάνω μὲν
τοῖς ἱκανωτέροις καὶ γνωστικωτέροις, οἷς χρὴ μεταδιδούσι. Ταῦτα ἡμῖν
εἴρηται εἰς τὸ σαφέστερον βεβαιῶσαι τὸν ἀκροατὴν ὅτι τὸ μὲν ξύλον τὸ
350 λεγόμενον τῆς ζωῆς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἦν ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ μετάληψις τε καὶ
ἐνώσις ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ μεταλαμβάνοντι αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ξύλον
τὸ τοῦ θανάτου ποιητικὸν ἡ ἀντικειμένη δύναμις τοῦ ὄφεως ὑπάρχει. Σὺ
δέ, ὅταν ἀκούσης ὅτι ἔνδον ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ μόνον ἐστὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς
ζωῆς ὁ Θεός, καὶ ὅτι ἔνδον σὺν αὐτῷ ἔμεινεν ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ λεγομένη
355 Ζωή, γινώθι ἀκριβῶς ὅτι περ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἑτέρα τις
πίστις μεταλαμβάνουσα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς βρώσεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι ὁ μὴ
ἐκ ταύτης τρώγων καὶ πίνων, ὡς ὁ Λόγος φησὶν, οὐκ ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον,
καὶ ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ἡ ζωσα πίστις, εἰ μὴ ἔσω, ὅπου τὰ ζῶα
ἐναπέμειναν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ Ζωὴ σὺν αὐτοῖς πλησίον τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ ζῶντος
360 τῆς ζωῆς, περὶ ἧς γυναικὸς καὶ γέγραπται πάλιν· Ἀδὰμ δὲ ἔγνω Εὐάν
τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἔτεκεν υἱὸν καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐκτῆσάμην
ἄνθρωπον διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐ διὰ τοῦ ὄφεως, οὐ διὰ τοῦ ξύλου, οὐ διὰ τῆς
βρώσεως, οὐ διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς, οὐ διὰ τῆς κατάρας, οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς ἄλλης
τῆς οἰασοῦν εὐλόγου ἢ ἀλόγου προφάσεως καὶ ὁμοίας πράξεως, ἀλλ'
365 Ἐκτῆσάμην ἄνθρωπον ἐγὼ ἡ ζωὴ ἡ ἐκκλησία διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τουτέστι
Χριστοῦ. Ὅθεν οἱ ἄλλοι | τῶν ἐρμηνευτῶν οἱ περὶ τὸν Σύμμαχον θαυμα-
σίως ἐκδεδώκασι τὴν τοιαύτην φωνήν. Ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἰπεῖν· Ἐκτῆσάμην
ἄνθρωπον διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ μὲν εἶπεν· Ἐκτῆσάμην ἄνθρωπον σὺν Κυρίῳ,

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what he had said, he followed up with this: "Amen, amen, I say to you
...¹ Indeed twice I say amen to emphasize that heaven and earth will
pass away, but my words do not pass away.² They remain steadfast
forever. Amen, amen, I say to you: if you do not eat the flesh of the Son of
Man and drink his blood, you do not have eternal life in yourselves. The
one eating my flesh and drinking my blood has eternal life, and I will
raise him on the last day."³ For he is—as I have often said—the Tree of
Life, which enlivens.

But if you are not convinced, listen to what is added. God the Word
then says: "He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood remains in me
and I in him."⁴ He is not speaking about his visible flesh and blood. For
Judas and Simon Magus⁵ partook of the Body and the Blood of the
Eucharist: the Bread and the Cup. Yet Christ neither dwelt nor
remained in them, nor they in him.

6. What is the true meal of the mystical flesh of Christ? And what is
his blood, hidden within the flesh and inexpressible? I leave these
questions to those who are more qualified and more knowledgeable. It is
they who need to share this information. The things that have been said
by me are simply to confirm and make clearer for the listener that the
tree which is called "of life"⁶ is nothing other than participation and
unification with God, by the person who partakes in him. But the other
tree,⁷ which is the creator of death, is the opposing power of the serpent.

When you hear that the one and only Tree of Life, God, is inside
Paradise and that his wife, the one called Life, remains inside with him,
then know with certainty that besides the Church there is no other faith
that participates in God and his meal. And the one that does not eat and
drink from this—as the Word says—does not have eternal life.⁸ Nowhere
else is there life and the living faith, except inside. There the animals
and Life, his wife, stayed behind, near the living Tree of Life.

It is also written about this woman: *And Adam came to know Eve his
wife. And she, having become pregnant, gave birth to a son. And she said:
"I have created a man through God."*⁹ Not because of the serpent, the
tree, the meal, the disobedience, or the curse; and not because of any
other such act or motive, whether reasonable or unreasonable. But "I,
the Life, the Church, have created a man through God"—that is, through
Christ.

Therefore other translators around Symmachus amazingly came up
with the following phrase. Instead of the statement: "I have created a
man through God," they said: "I have created a man with the Lord."¹⁰

¹ Mt 24:34. ² Mt 24:35. ³ Jn 6:53-54. ⁴ Jn 6:56. ⁵ Cf Acts 8:9-24. ⁶ Cf Gen 2:9;
3:22; Pr 3:18; Rev 22:2, 14, 19. ⁷ Cf Gen 2:9; 3:3-6, 11, 12, 17, 22. ⁸ Cf Jn 6:53; cf also
6:27, 31-58. ⁹ Gen 4:1. ¹⁰ Gen 4:1.

332 ἀκαταληψία M λεγομένων] λό(γω)ν P 335 ἀμήν²] om. P 336 αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα N
339 ζωοποιούν P πιστεύης M^{pc}. 342 οὐ M αὐτῷ P καὶ] ἡ N 348 ἡμῖν] μὲ M
351 ἕτεροι MP 352 ποιητικόν] ὑλικόν M 353 ἀκούσεις P 356 ὁ] om. M 358 ἡ] om. M
359 ἡ²] om. N Ζωή] om. M 360 δέ] om. N 361 γυναῖκα] add. καὶ M^{pc}. 365 ζωὴ ἡ] om. P
366 τόν] om. P 366/7 θαυμαστώσ M 367 δεδώκασι M 368 σὺν Κυρίῳ] om. M

370 τούτέστιν ἄνθρωπον ἡνωμένον τῷ Κυρίῳ, Θεὸν ὄντα ὁμοῦ τὸν αὐτὸν
καὶ ἄνθρωπον. Ὁ δὲ ἕτερος πάλιν τῶν ἑρμηνευτῶν *Ἐκτῆσάμην ἄνθρω-*
πον Κύριον ἔγραψεν, ἵνα εἴπῃς ἄνθρωπον Θεόν, καθὰ καὶ Θωμᾶς εἶπε
πρὸς αὐτόν· *Ὁ Κύριός μου καὶ ὁ Θεός μου.*

V 1. Εὐλογημένη λοιπὸν σὺ ἐν γυναιξί, μόνη ζωὴ καὶ ζωοτόκος μήτηρ
τῶν πιστῶν, πολύφωτε μήτηρ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία, ἡ σύζυγος τοῦ
375 πνευματικοῦ Ἀδὰμ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ εὐλογημένος ὁ καρπὸς τῆς κοιλίας σου,
ὁ λαὸς τῶν ζώων ἐθνῶν. Σὺ γὰρ καὶ μόνη ἐκτίσω ἄνθρωπον ἄσπορον
διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου, ὑποστάντα δι' ἑαυτοῦ, ἡνίκα ἔγνω σέ τὴν γυναῖκα
αὐτοῦ, ἦν τὸ πρὶν οὐκ ἔγνω ὡς ἀγνοοῦσαν καὶ οὐπω ἐπιστρέφουσιν
380 πρὸς αὐτόν. Σὺ πλευρὰ καὶ μέρος καὶ μέλος τοῦ Ἀδὰμ Θεοῦ τῶν λοιπῶν
πασῶν πίστεων ξένων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀλλοτρίων καὶ ἀλλοφύλων οὐσῶν. Σὲ
ᾤκοδόμησεν εἰς ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον καὶ γυναῖκα τῶν λοιπῶν γυναικῶν τῶν
ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ, τῶν μὴ τοιούτων καταλελειμμένων, μεινασῶν
τῇ πλάνῃ. Σὺ καὶ μόνη ὅστοῦν ἐκ τῶν ὁστέων τῆς στερρᾶς θεότητος
αὐτοῦ καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος αὐτοῦ, ἐν ᾗ ἔκρυψε τὴν
385 θεότητα αὐτοῦ ἀσύντριπτον, τὸ ὅστοῦν γὰρ αὐτοῦ οὐ συντριβήσεται.
Σὺ καὶ μόνη ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός σου ἐλήφθης καὶ συνέλαβες καὶ ἔτεκες ἐκ αὐτοῦ,
καὶ ἄλλη οὐδὲ μία, ὡς τῶν λοιπῶν πίστεων ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός αὐτῶν ὄφως
συλλαμβανουσῶν καὶ τικτουςῶν. Σοὺ ἐρασθεῖς ὁ σὸς ἐραστής Ἰησοῦς
κατέλιπε τὸν φιλοπόλεμον λαὸν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τὴν μοιχαλίδα μητέρα
390 αὐτοῦ συναγωγὴν καὶ προσεκολλήθη πρὸς σέ τὴν πανάφθορον γυναῖκα
αὐτοῦ, καὶ γεγόνατε οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν, εἰς ψυχὴν μίαν, εἰς καρδίαν
μίαν, εἰς ἓν σῶμα, εἰς ἓν ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, εἰς ἓνα Χριστόν, εἰς μίαν πίστιν, εἰς
ἓν βάπτισμα, εἰς ἓνα λαόν, εἰς μίαν ποίμνην, εἰς ἓνα ποιμένα, τῶν λοιπῶν
πασῶν ἀγγελῶν καὶ λαῶν πολλοὺς ποιμένας καὶ πλάνους ἐχόντων. Σὲ
395 ἤγαγεν ὁ Θεὸς ὡς ὥραιαν πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ εἰς γυναῖκα, τῶν λοιπῶν
πασῶν γυναικῶν ὡς πορνάδων καὶ μοιχαλίδων ἔξω ῥεμβομένων καὶ
μολυνομένων. Σοὶ καὶ μόνη εὐηγγελίσαστο λέγων ὅτι *Πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα σου*
Χριστόν ἔσται ἡ ἀποστροφή σου, ὡς τῶν λοιπῶν συναγωγῶν μὴ
ἐπιστρεφουσῶν ποτε πρὸς Θεόν.

400 2. Διὸ εὐλογημένη πάλιν λέγω σὺ ἐν γυναιξί, σὺ μόνη, ὧ πολυστέφανε
καὶ πολύτεκνε καὶ πολύφωτε Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία Χριστοῦ. Σὺ μόνη εὐλογη-
μένη ἐν γυναιξί καὶ ἄλλη οὐδὲ μία, ὅτι σὺ μόνη ὑπὸ Κυρίου τῶν κυρίων
ἐκυριεύθης, πάντων τῶν ἄλλων λαῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δράκοντος κυριευομένων.

369 τὸν] τε P 377 δι' ἑαυτοῦ] om. M ἐν ἐνώσει N 378 ἦν] ἡ N^{corr.} οὐκ ἔγνω] σε M
vacat ± 9 N^{a corr.} ἔκτισεν N^{p corr.} ἡ κτίσις P ἀγνοοῦσαν M 379 καὶ μέρος· καὶ μέρος P
380 πασῶν] πασῶν M^{p corr.} πας P^{a corr.} 380 καὶ ἀλλοτρίων] om. MP οὐσῶν] οὐ M
382 τοιούτων] add. τῶν M 383 σὺ] σε M 384 σὰρξ] σὰρ N 385 γὰρ] om. M
386 ἐλήφθης] spatium θης M 387 καὶ] add. ἡ M 388 τικτουςῶν] τικτουςῶν M
391 αὐτοῦ] add. συναγωγὴν M^{a corr.} 392 εἰς] εἰς N^{a corr.} 394 σε] om. P 395 υἱὸν] υἱὸς
N^{a corr.} 396 ῥεμβομένων] M^{a corr.} 401/2 Χριστοῦ - γυναιξί καὶ] πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου
μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα M add. ἡ P 402 ὑπὸ] add. θ(εο)ῦ M 403 λαῶν M

That is: a man who is united with the Lord: the same being God and likewise man. Again another translator wrote: *"I created a man Lord,"*—a man-God, you might say. So also Thomas had said to him: *"My Lord and my God."*¹

V 1. You are blessed, then, among women.² You are the only life and bearer of life, you are the mother of the faithful³ and the brightly shining mother of Christ. You are the Church, the wife of the spiritual Adam, of God. And blessed is the fruit of your womb:⁴ the people of the animals, the nations. You alone, through God the Word, possessed a man not born of seed,⁵ who subsisted by himself,⁶ when he came to know you as his wife.⁷ He did not know you before, since you had not yet turned toward him and were unknowing. You are a rib and a part and a limb of Adam, of God.⁸ All the other faiths are strangers to him, since they belong to another and are alien.⁹ He built you up as his own home and wife.¹⁰ All the other women, the other churches in the world, were not of such quality and were left behind; they remained in error. You alone are bone from the bones of his hard divinity, and flesh from the flesh of his humanity,¹¹ in which he concealed his uncrushable godhead. His bone will not be crushed.¹² You alone were received from your husband, and conceived from him and gave birth. There is no other one. The other faiths are pregnant and give birth from their own man, the serpent.¹³

Your lover, Jesus, having fallen in love with you, abandoned the Judean people (those lovers of war) and their adulterous mother, the synagogue. He stuck fast to you,¹⁴ his bride, completely uncorrupt. And you two became one flesh,¹⁵ one soul, one heart, one body, one Holy Spirit, one Christ, one faith, one Baptism,¹⁶ one people,¹⁷ one flock, and one shepherd.¹⁸ All the other herds of people have many deceptive shepherds.¹⁹ God led you, when you were in bloom,²⁰ to his son as his bride. All the other women, since they are whores and adulterers,²¹ roam around outside and defile themselves. To you and you alone he brought good tidings, saying: *"To your man, Christ, you will return."*²² The other congregations never turn towards God.

2. On account of this, I say again that you are blessed among women,²³ you alone, O you who are much crowned, and bear many children, and give much light, Church of God, Church of Christ. You alone, and no other one, are blessed among women, because you alone were lorded over by the Lord of Lords, while all other peoples were possessed by the dragon. You are the enemy, the unconquerable warrior, and the

¹ Jn 20:28. ² Cf Lk 1:42. ³ Cf Gen 3:20. ⁴ Cf Lk 1:42. ⁵ Cf Jn 1:12-13. ⁶ Cf Jn 1:3.
⁷ Cf Gen 4:1. ⁸ Cf Gen 2:21-23; Rom 12:4-5; 1 Cor 12:12-13, 27; Eph 4:15-16. ⁹ Cf Rev
22:14-15. ¹⁰ Cf Gen 2:22. ¹¹ Cf Gen 2:23. ¹² Cf Ex 12:46; Jn 19:33-36; 1 Cor 5:7.
¹³ Cf Mt 3:7; 12:34; 23:31-33; Jn 8:44. ¹⁴ Cf Gen 2:24. ¹⁵ Cf Gen 2:24; Eph 5:31.
¹⁶ Cf Eph 4:4-6. ¹⁷ Cf Gal 3:28. ¹⁸ Cf Jn 10:16. ¹⁹ Cf Jn 10:1-5, 7-8, 10; Rev 13:3, 14.
²⁰ Cf S of S 6:4; Rev 21:2. ²¹ Cf Jer 2:1; 5:7; 9:1; 13:22, 26; Ezek 16:32-38; 23:37-45;
Hos 2-4; Mal 3:5; Mt 12:39; 16:4; Mk 8:38; Jas 4:4. ²² Gen 3:16. ²³ Cf Lk 1:42.

Σὺ εἶ ἐχθρὰ καὶ μαχητὴς ἀκαταγώνιστος καὶ ἀναιρέτης τοῦ ὄφεως,
 405 πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων πίστεων φίλων καὶ ἰδίων καὶ ἀγαπητῶν αὐτῶ
 οὐσῶν. | Σὲ καὶ μόνην Ζωὴν ζωηφόρον, μητέρα πάντων ἡμῶν τῶν διὰ 1073A
 σοῦ ζώντων ὀνόμασεν, ὡς τῶν ἄλλων πίστεων νεκρῶν τεθανατωμένων
 τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ οὐσῶν. Σὲ καὶ μόνην ἐνέδυσε καὶ ἐκόσμησεν ὡς οἰκίαν
 νύμφην, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ῥεμβάδας συναγωγὰς γυμνὰς καὶ ἀπερικαλύπ-
 410 τούς καὶ ἀσχήμους τῆς οὐρανίου σκέπης κατέλιπε μὴ προσφυγούσας ὑπὸ
 τὴν σκέπην τῶν πτερύγων σοῦ.

3. Καὶ μόνης, ὧ πανάφθορε, τὸ θεόσπορον τοῦ Λόγου σπέρμα,
 ἀντίδικον καὶ ἀναιρετικὸν τοῦ ὀφιογενοῦς σπέρματος τοῦ δράκοντος,
 415 ὑπάρχει, ἐξ οὗ συλλαβοῦσαι αἱ λοιπαὶ πίστεις τίκτουσιν ὄφεις καὶ ἀσπί-
 δας καὶ σκορπίους λαοὺς πικροὺς, ὡς γεννήματα ὄντες ἐχιδνῶν. Σὺ καὶ
 μόνη τηρεῖς καὶ ἀποτρεῖς καὶ συνθάπτεις καὶ θανατοῖς τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ
 πολυκεφάλου δράκοντος ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτὸν ἀπο-
 πνίγουσα καὶ ἀπολλύσα. Σὲ γὰρ ὁ σὸς ἀνὴρ μόνην κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ'
 420 ὁμοίωσιν αὐτοῦ πεποίηκε σύμμορφον τῆς δόξης τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς τῶν
 ἄλλων πασῶν συναγωγῶν συμμόρφων οὐσῶν τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ ἐχθροῦ.
 Σὲ μόνην σὺν τῷ σῶ συνεύνω εὐλόγησε τοῦ ἀυξάνεσθαι καὶ πληρῶσαι
 τέκνων τὴν γῆν, τὰς δὲ ἀστείας τῇ φύσει ἐταιρίδας ἀνευλογήτους
 κατέλιπε.

4. Σὲ Χριστὸς πασῶν δέσποιναν καὶ ἄρχουσιν καὶ τύραννον καὶ
 425 βασιλίδαν τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἁγίων ἀγγέλων καὶ τῶν θηρίων
 τῆς γῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων τῶν πάντῃ ἀλόγων κατέστησε, καὶ
 ὑποχείριους ἀνδραπόδεις τὰς ἀπίστους πίστεις καθυπέταξε. Σοὶ καὶ μόνη
 τὴν ἀκήρατον καὶ ἄρρευστον ἀπόλαυσιν ἐχαρίσατο τῆς τρυφῆς καὶ τοῦ
 ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς, τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν οἰμωττουσῶν ὡς κυνῶν καὶ
 430 ἀγεύστων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἄρτου ὑπαρχουσῶν. Σὺ ἐργάζῃ μόνη καὶ
 φυλάττεις καλῶς τὸν σὸν παράδεισον τοῦ σοῦ ἀμπελῶνος πόρρω
 διώκουσα τοὺς λύκους καὶ ἀλώπεκας, τοὺς ἀφανίζοντας ὡς ἀφυλάκτους
 τὰς ἀνεργάστους καὶ καρποζιζανηφόρους ἀρούρας τῶν κακοπίστων.

5. Ὡ τοῦ θαύματος. Σὺ μόνη γέγονας βοηθὸς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, τῷ
 435 βοηθῷ καὶ σκεπαστῇ σου Θεῷ, κοπιῶσα, διδάσκουσα, κηρύττουσα,

404 ἀναιρέτης] *spatium* M ἀναιρετική N 405 ἀγαπητῶν] ἀγα *spatium* πητῶν M
 406 καὶ] *om.* N ζωηφόρον N 407 ἄλλων] λοιπῶν P 408 οὐσῶν σὲ καὶ]
 οὕτως καὶ σὲ P οἰκίαν P 409 καὶ] *om.* M 410 ἀσχημόνους P κατέλιπε] κατήργησεν M
 411 πτερύγων σοῦ. Καὶ] *scripsi* πτερύγων σου· σοῦ καὶ M πτερύγων αὐτοῦ· σοῦ καὶ N
 πτερύγων σοῦ καὶ P 412 θεόσπορον M 413 ὀφιογενοῦς σπέρματος] ὀφιοι *spatium* ματος M
 ὀφιογενοῦς σπέρματος N⁴⁰⁹. ὀφιογενήματος P 414 συλλαμβάνουσαι N πίστες M
 415 ὄντες] ἔντες N⁴⁰⁹. 416 θανατοῖς] *scripsi* θανατεῖς MNP 417/8 ἀποπνέγουσα M
 419 σύμμορφον M τῆς] *om.* M 420 συναγωγῶν M σύμμορφων M 421 σὺν τῷ]
spatium M 421 σῶ] *om.* MP 422 τέκνων] *spatium* M ἐτερίδας P ἀνευλογότους N⁴⁰⁹.
 424 δέσποινα N 426 τῶν] *om.* M 427 πίστει N σὺ P 429 οἰμωττουσῶν] *scripsi*
 ἀμωττουσῶν MP αἰμωττουσῶν N 430 ἀγεύστου M μόνη] μόλις N
 433 καρποζιζανηφόρους N

destroyer of the serpent, while all other faiths are its friends, its family,
 and its lovers. He named you and only you Life, bearer of life, and
 mother of us all that live through you.¹ The other faiths are dead, killed
 by sin. He clothed and adorned you alone as his own bride.² But he left
 the remaining synagogues out of his heavenly shelter, roaming naked,
 uncovered, and unsightly, because they did not flee beneath the shelter
 of the wings.³

3. The God-sown seed of the Word belongs to you alone, O wholly
 uncorrupt. It is the adversary and destroyer of the snake-born seed of
 the dragon. The remaining faiths are pregnant from the latter and give
 birth to serpents, asps, and scorpions—venomous peoples, since they are
 offspring of vipers.⁴ And you alone watch, carefully observe, bury, and
 kill the head of the many-headed dragon; you drown and destroy it in
 the water of Baptism.⁵

Your husband made you alone in his *image and likeness*:⁶ you share
 his form, the glory of God. All other synagogues share the shape of the
 image of the snake. He blessed only you and your consort, to increase
 and fill the earth with children.⁷ He left unblessed the courtesans with
 their charming nature.

4. Christ established you as the ruler, leader, queen, and princess
 over all the birds of heaven (the holy angels), the beasts of the earth (the
 Gentiles), and the fish, who are altogether without speech.⁸ And he
 subjugated the faithless faiths to slavery beneath your hand.

He gave to you alone the undefiled enjoyment, without change, of the
 delight and the Tree of Life. The other women are wailing like dogs and
 do not taste the heavenly bread.⁹ You alone work and keep close guard
 over your Paradise.¹⁰ You chase away from your vineyard the wolves and
 foxes, which obliterate the heretics' fields. They are left unsecured¹¹ and
 untended, and produce weeds for crops.¹²

5. What a wonder! You alone have become a helper to man and to
 God, your helper and protector.¹³ You labor, teach, report, illuminate,
 bring back, and call to him, as if to the light, those who sit in the

¹ Cf Gen 3:20. ² Cf Rev 19:7-8; 21:2; ³ Cf Ps 16(17):8; 35(36):7; 60(61):4; 62(63):7.

⁴ Cf Mt 3:7; 12:34; 23:31-33; Jn 8:44. ⁵ Cf Gen 3:15; Rev 12:7-11; 19:20; 20:1-3; 10.

⁶ Gen 1:26. ⁷ Cf Gen 1:28. ⁸ Cf Gen 1:26, 28; Rev 12:1. ⁹ Cf Mt 15:26-27; Mk 7:27-28.

Cf also Ps 58:7-8, 15-16 (59:6-7, 14-15); Mt 13:41-42, 50; 25:10-12; Rev 22:15.

¹⁰ Cf Gen 2:15. ¹¹ Cf Jn 10:11-15. ¹² Cf Mt 13:37-42. ¹³ Cf Gen 2:18, 20.

φωτίζουσα, ἐπιστρέφουσα, καλοῦσα πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς πρὸς φῶς τοὺς ἐν
 σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου καθημένους, ἀναγεννῶσα καὶ γεννῶσα καὶ
 τρέφουσα τῷ ἄρτῳ καὶ ποτίζουσα τῷ ποτηρίῳ καὶ αὖξουσα καὶ
 καρποφοροῦσα καὶ ἐγ|κεντρίζουσα καὶ φυτεύουσα καὶ ὁσημέραι τοὺς
 440 σοὺς κήπους καὶ παραδείσους καὶ σὰς ἀγέλας τέκνα. Διὸ δὴ ὡς τοιαύτη
 φιλεργῶ καὶ οἰκουρῶ καὶ φιλάνδρῳ καὶ φιλοστόργῳ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ
 βοηθῶ καὶ ὀπλίτιδι καὶ μαχήτιδι ὑπαρχούσῃ, καὶ αἰεὶ ἐτοίμως τε καὶ
 προθύμως τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ σοῦ ἀνδρὸς Ἀδὰμ Χριστοῦ τιθείῃ καὶ
 445 προκινδυνεύουσῃ, ἔταξε καὶ ὑπέταξε σοι ὡς βασιλίδι τὰ Χερουβὶμ
 ὠπλισμένα ταῖς φλογηφόροις καὶ ἀπεριστρόφοις ῥομφαιομόρφοις
 παντευχίαις, ὅπως σοι ἀβλαβῇ τε καὶ ἀθάνατον τὴν ζωὴν αἰεζῶν τὰ
 Χερουβὶμ φυλάττωσι, τὰ Σεραφὶμ περιέπωσι, τὰ Ἐξαπτέρυγα σκέπωσιν,
 οἱ Θρόνοι διαναπαύωσι, τὰ Πολυόμματα ἐπιβλέπωσιν, αἱ Ἀρχαὶ
 δουλεύωσιν, αἱ Ἐξουσαὶ διακονῶσιν, αἱ Δυνάμεις λατρεύωσι, βασιλεῖς
 450 προσκυνῶσιν, οἱ ἱερεῖς δοξάζωσιν, οἱ βροτῶν χοροὶ ἀνυμνῶσι, τὰ ἔθνη
 κατακοσμῶσιν, αἱ γλῶσσαι ἐπαινῶσιν.

6. Ἐπεὶ οὖν σὺ μόνη καὶ οὐδέ τις ἄλλη τοιαύτης καὶ τοσαύτης δόξης
 καὶ τιμῆς παρὰ τοῦ σοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπήλαυσας Χριστοῦ, δέομαί σου καὶ
 ἀντιβολῶ ὡς ἐμῆς ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων καὶ ἐκ προγόνων ὑπαρχούσης
 455 μητρὸς καὶ τροφοῦ, μὴ παύσῃ τὸν σὸν μοι τοῦ καθαροῦ καὶ ἀδόλου τοῦ
 λόγου γάλακτος ἐπιδιδούσα πλουσίως μαζόν, ὅπως ἐκ σοῦ σὲ καὶ τοὺς
 σοὺς καλῶς θηλάσω ἄρνας διδασκάλους. Μὴ παύσῃ, ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου
 Πνεύματος ἄσπιλος περιστέρα ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεοῦ, ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ καρδίᾳ ἐνοι-
 κοῦσα καὶ ἐμπεριπατοῦσα καὶ πολλοὺς νεοσσούς δι' ἐμοῦ γεννῶσα. Μὴ
 460 ἀπαξιώσῃς, ὦ φίλανδρε καὶ μόνανδρε τοῦ Χριστοῦ τρυγῶν, ἐκ τοῦ σοῦ
 στόματος ἐν τῷ στόματί μου χορηγεῖν τὴν βρῶσιν τοῦ σπόρου, ὅπως ἐξ
 αὐτοῦ ἀντιθρέψω σὲ καὶ τοὺς σοὺς ἐν τῇ σῇ καλ[λ]ῇ νεοττοῦς. Μὴ
 σιγήσῃς, ὦ οὐρανία ἀηδὼν, αἰεὶ ᾄδουσα καὶ ἐνηχοῦσα μου τοῖς ὡσαύ-
 465 τὰ θεῖα λιγυρίσματα εἰς τὸ αἰεὶ περιίπτασθαι τῇ σῇ νοσιᾷ καὶ καταθέλγειν
 τὰ στρουθία σοῦ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ. Μὴ ἀναβάλλῃς, ὦ ἀένναε πηγὴ τῆς ζωῆς,
 ζῶντα τοῦ παραδείσου ἀναβλύζουσα ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἐδέμ θεωρίας τὰ διειδῆ
 σου καὶ ἀθόλωτα νάματα εἰς τὸ πληροῦν ὕδατος ζῶντος ταύτας σου

436 φωτίζουσα N^{a.corr.} 438 ποτήριον M^{a.corr.} 440 κήπας M 440 διὸ δὴ ὡς] *spatium* M
 441 φιλοστόργῳ] φιλῶ M ἀνδρέα M^{a.corr.} 442 ὀπλίτι P ὑπακούσῃ M 443 τιθήσῃ P
 445 ὠπλισμένα] *scripsi* πεπλισμένα M καθοπλισμένα N ὀπλισμένα P φλογιφόροις P
 ῥομφαιομόρφοις] ῥο *spatium* μόρφοις M 446 ἀθανάτη M 447 χερουβὶν M φυλάττουσι
 P^{a.corr.} 447/8 τὰ ἔξαπτέρυγα σκέπωσιν οἱ] *om.* N 448 θρόνοι] οὐ(ρα)νοὶ M *om.* N
 διαναπαύωσι] *om.* N Ἐπιβλέπουσιν P 449 δουλεύουσιν P αἱ ἐξουσαὶ διακονῶσιν] *om.*
 M αἱ δυνάμεις] *om.* M οἱ ἄγγελοι N 449 λατρεύωσι] *om.* M βασιλεῖς] βασι *spatium*
 Λεῖς 450 προσκυνοῦσιν P^{a.corr.} ἐρεῖς M βρωτῶν N ἀνυμνοῦσι M^{a.corr.} 452 καὶ] *om.*
 M^{a.corr.} 453 σοῦ] *om.* M 455 ἀδόλου τοῦ] ἀδολότου M 457 θηλάσσω N μὴ παύσῃ]
spatium M ἡ] *om.* P 458 περιστέρα] *add.* ἡ N ἐν] *om.* M 459 νεοσσούς M νεωσσοὺς
 N^{a.corr.} 460 ἀπαξιῶσῃς M 460 σοῦ] *om.* M 462 καλλιᾷ] *scripsi* καλλιᾷ MNP
 463 ᾄδουσα M 465 ἀνα *spatium* λης M ἀναβάλλῃς N 466 παραδείσου] *add.* ἀνα P

darkness and shadow of death.¹ You give birth and rebirth, and you give
 nourishment with the Bread and give drink with the Cup. You cause
 increase and fruitfulness, and plant and graft each day your orchards
 and gardens and your herds, who are your children.

You are industrious, keeping the home, loving your husband,
 affectionate, strong, helpful, and armed with shield and sword.² You are
 always ready and eager to risk and give your life for your man, Adam,
 Christ. Therefore, since you are so, he stationed and placed the Cheru-
 bim beneath you as their queen.³ They are dressed for battle, their
 weapons flaming, unyielding, broad, and sharp. The Cherubim will keep
 your life alive, immortal, and unharmed; the Seraphim will be vigilant;
 the angels with six wings will shelter you; the Thrones will give you
 rest; the angels with many eyes will be attentive; the Principalities will
 be your servants; the Powers will minister; and the heavenly hosts will
 venerate. Kings will worship; priests will glorify; choruses of mortals
 will raise hymns; nations will adorn; and tongues will sing your praises.

6. I petition and entreat you, since you alone and no one else enjoy
 such honor and so much glory from your husband, who is Christ. You
 have been my nourishing mother ever since my childhood and [life with]
 my parents. Do not cease from giving me abundantly your breast of
 clean and guileless milk, the Word,⁴ so that from you I might suckle you
 and your lambs,⁵ the teachers.⁶ Do not cease, Church of God, pure dove
 of the Holy Spirit,⁷ your inhabitation and stirring in my heart and giving
 birth to many young birds through me. The turtle dove of Christ, you
 who have and love but one man, do not refuse to give me food, the seed
 from your mouth to mine, so that I in turn might feed you and your
 nestlings. Do not grow quiet, O heavenly singer, always chanting and
 resounding in my ears with divine melodies, so that they may echo
 forever in your nest and enchant your fledglings that are there.

Do not delay, O eternally youthful spring of life,⁸ bubbling up for us
 from your contemplation of Eden,⁹ the living, clear, and untroubled
 streams of Paradise.¹⁰ Fill your rational and animated flocks of sheep,
 which will receive your living water.¹¹ O beautiful gardener crowned
 with garlands,¹² do not grow weary of inoculating and engrafting us, so
 that we may inoculate and cultivate the shoots in you.¹³

¹ Cf Jb 12:22; Ps 106(107):10; Lk 1:79. Cf also Jb 3:5; 10:21; 28:3; 34:22; Ps 22(23):4;
 106(107):14. ² Cf Rom 6:13; 13:12; 2 Cor 6:7; 10:4; Eph 6:11-17; 1 Pet 4:1.

³ Cf Gen 3:24; Rev 12:6-14. ⁴ Cf 1 Pet 2:2. ⁵ Cf 1 Cor 3:2. ⁶ Cf Heb 5:12-13.

⁷ Cf Mt 3:16; Mk 1:10; Lk 3:22; Jn 1:32. ⁸ Cf Jn 4:14; Rev 21:6. ⁹ Cf Gen 2:10.

¹⁰ Cf Jn 4:10; 7:38; Rev 22:17. ¹¹ Cf Gen 2:10; Ps 45:5 (46:4); Ezek 47:1-12; Rev 22:1-2.

¹² Cf Lk 13:19; Jn 20:15. ¹³ Cf Rom 11:17-24.

τὰς λογικὰς καὶ ἐμψύχους τῶν προβάτων ἀγέλας δεξαμένης. Μὴ ἀποκάμῃς ἡμᾶς ὀφθαλμίζουσα, ὡς καλὴ καὶ στεφανίτης κηπωρέ, καὶ ὁμματίζουσα πρὸς τὸ καλῶς καλλιεργεῖν καὶ ὀφθαλμίζειν τὰ φυτὰ τὰ ἐν σοί. Μὴ λίπῃς ἢ ἐκλείψῃς, ὡς ἀειφανὴς σελήνη, καθοδηγοῦσα ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τῆς ἀθείας <καί> τῶν γραφῶν παννυχία καὶ ἀκαταληψία. Μὴ καταδύσῃς, ὡς σύζυγε καὶ σύνδρομε τοῦ σοῦ ἀμφιφώτου σεληνάνδρου ἡλίου Χριστοῦ, μὴ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀκτῖνα ἡμῖν καταπέμπουσα, ὅπως ἐξ αὐτοῦ διὰ σοῦ καταφωτίσας πολλοὺς φωστῆρας ἐκ σοῦ ἐξανάψω ἐν σοί. Διό, ὡς Θεοῦ θησαυρός, μὴ παύσῃ πλουσίως ἡμῖν χορηγοῦσα τὸ ἀκίβδηλον καὶ βασιλικόν τῆς ἀληθοῦς σου εἰκόνος ἀργύριον, ὅπως τοῦτο καταβαλὼν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τραπέζαις τῶν σῶν πόρων σὲ δι' αὐτῶν τὴν θεόπλουτον καταπλουτήσω.

Μετὰ δὴ ταῦτα πάντα καὶ πρὸ τούτων, ὡς βοηθὸς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γενομένη ὑπὸ Θεοῦ καὶ ἰ γνωρίζομένη, μὴ παύσῃ προϊσταμένη καὶ βοηθοῦσα ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ τόπῳ καὶ πράγματι τοῖς ὑπὲρ σοῦ πρεσβεύουσι, καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σάρκα τὴν ἑαυτῶν διὰ σοῦ ἐτοιμῶς τιθεῖσι, καί, ὅση δύναμις ἔῃ, τῇ βοηθῷ ἀόκνως βοηθοῦσι, καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἀποθνήσκουσι, καὶ τὸν ἴδιον τράχηλον ξίφει τείνουσι, καὶ τὸ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σοῦ εὐψύχως κενοῦσι, καὶ τόνδε πη ἅπαντα τὸν τοῦ ἀγῶνος δρόμον καὶ πόνον κατὰ τῶν σῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς ἀπολογίας ἀνύσασιν εἰς τὸ τὸ σὸν κέρασ ἀνυψῶσαι, τοὺς δὲ σοὺς ἀντιδίκους τοῖς δυσὶ κέρασι τοῦ σοῦ ἀμνοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ, ταῖς φύσεσιν ἢ ἐνεργείαις ἢ θελήσει, κερατίσαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι, ὅτι αὐτὸς διὰ σοῦ μόνος Θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ἡ πνοὴ καὶ ἡ σύστασις τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων, καὶ αὐτῷ πρέπει πᾶσα τιμὴ καὶ δόξα σὺν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ Πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

1077A

desinunt MP

desinit N

Do not wane or eclipse, O forever shining moon,¹ and guide us in this night of godlessness [and] amidst the incomprehensible obscurity of the Scriptures.² Do not set, O wife and companion of the sun of Christ,³ who is the husband of the moon and shines all around you. Do not stop sending down to us his rays, so that illuminated by him through you, I might ignite a multitude of lights in you.

On account of this, O treasure chest of God,⁴ do not cease from providing abundantly your royal and unadulterated silver, stamped with your true image.⁵ Then I, having deposited this in their souls—the banks filled with your revenues—through them might enrich you, who are divinely wealthy.⁶

Finally after and before all these things, since through God you became a helper to man and are thus known to him,⁷ do not cease coming forward and helping your ambassadors in every season, place, and deed.⁸ They willingly offer their life and limb for you. And with so much power as they have, they help their helper without delay. Every day they die for you. They stretch out their neck to the sword and joyfully pour out their blood for you. And so they complete this whole race of the competition and finish the labor in your defense against your enemies. They do this to raise your horn, and to gore and destroy your adversaries with the two horns of your Lamb and God—be they his two natures, or energies, or wills. He alone, through you, is our God. He is the life, the breath, and the constitution of our bodies and souls. It is fitting that all honor and glory be his with the immortal Father and the Holy Spirit forever. Amen.

¹ Cf Gen 1:14-18; Rev 12:1. ² Cf 2 Cor 4:6. ³ Cf Mt 17:2; Rev 1:16; 21:23-24; 22:5.

⁴ Cf Mt 6:20; 13:44; 19:21; Mk 10:21; Lk 12:33; 18:22; 2 Cor 4:7. ⁵ Cf Gen 1:27; Rom 8:29; 1 Cor 15:49; 2 Cor 3:18; 4:4; Col 1:15; 3:9-11. ⁶ Cf Lk 16:11; Rom 9:22-24; 11:33; Col 1:27; 2:2; Heb 11:26. ⁷ Cf Gen 2:18, 20. ⁸ Cf 2 Cor 5:20; Eph 6:20.

468 εὐψύχους M 469 στεφανίτης] *spatium* M τεχνίτης N 470 καλῶς] *spatium* ὡς M 470/1 τὰ ἐν σοί] *om.* M τὰ ἐν σὸν N 471 λίπῃς] *scripsi* λίποις MNP ἀφανής M σελήνη] *spatium* M 472 ἀθείας] θείας M παννυχία καὶ ἀκαταληψία] Dacier παννυχίας καὶ ἀκαταληψίας MNP 472/3 μὴ καταδύσῃς] *spatium* δύσης M 474 μὴ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀκτῖνα] *spatium* να M 475 διὰ σοῦ] *spatium* M ἀνάψω M σοί] *spatium* M 476 χορηγοῦσα] χορηγοῦ *spatium* Σα M 478 τῶν σῶν] *om.* M πόρων] *correxī* πῶρων N *spatium* ρων MP^{a,corr.} δῶρων PP^{corr.} 479 καταπλουτήσω] *spatium* σω M 480 ὡς βοηθός] *scripsi* ὡς βοηθῶ NP *spatium* ηθῶ M 482 παντὶ] *spatium* M 483 πρεσβεύουσι] πρὸς σὲ τείνουσι N σοῦ ἐτοιμῶς] σ *spatium* μως M σὲ προθύμως N 484 βοηθῷ] βωηθῶ M^{a,corr.} 485 ἀποθνήσκουσι] θνήσκουσι M τείνουσι] τέμνουσι M 486 τόνδε πη] *scripsi* ἰσοῦ M τόν δὲ πη N τόνδε P δρόμων M^{a,corr.} 487 πόνων M πόνου P κατὰ] *spatium* τα M ἀνύσασιν] *spatium* σασί M οἷαις ἰσασίν P 487/8 εἰς τὸ τὸ σὸν] εἰς τὸν ὃ σὸν M^{a,corr.} εἰ τὸ σὸν P 488 δὲ] *om.* MP σοῦ] *om.* M 489 ἐνεργείαις] ἐνεργήαις M^{a,corr.} *hac voce desinunt* MP

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